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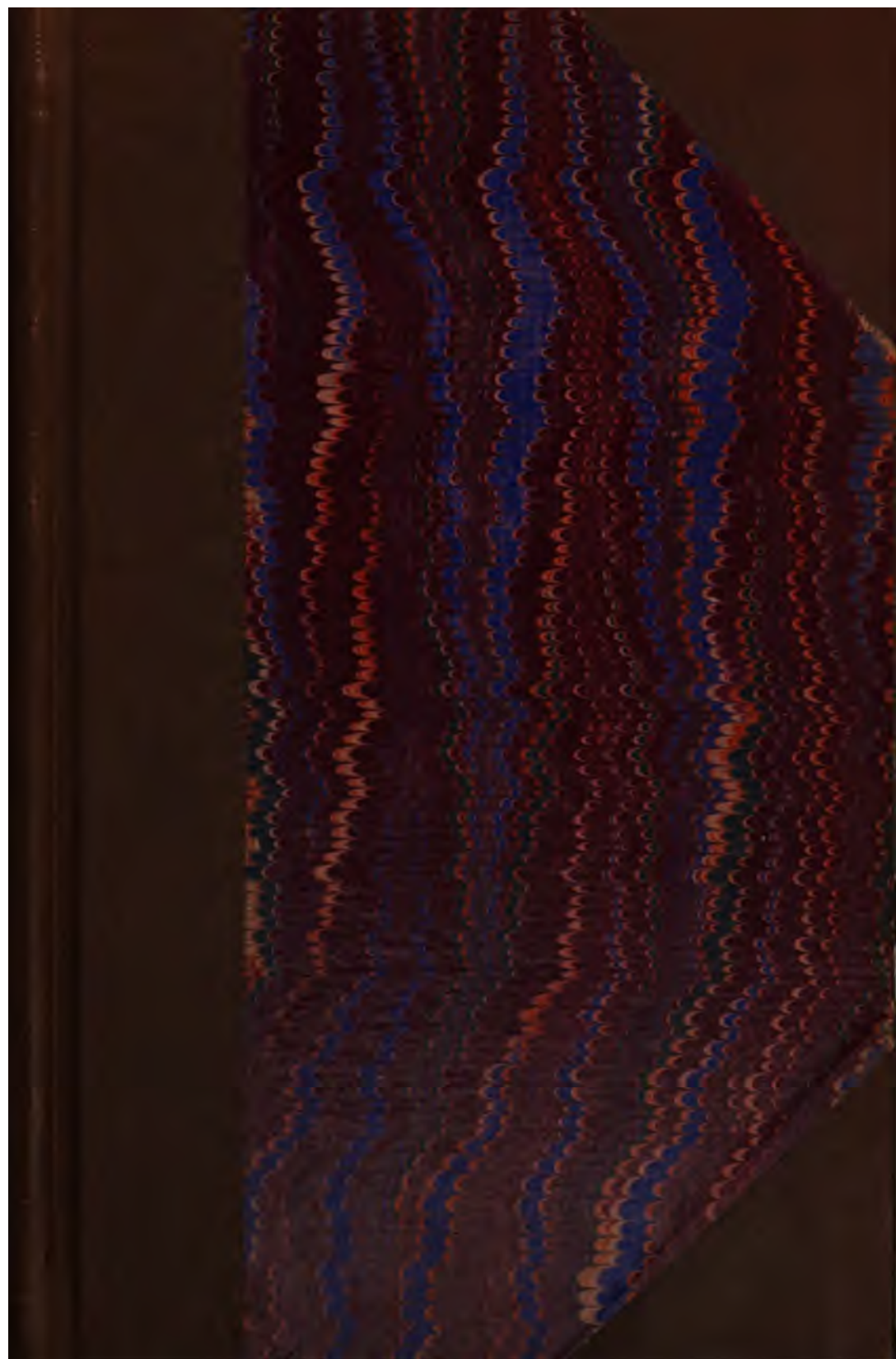
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4(c1) '88' [Bw]

*This book belonged to the
late Hugh Edward Egerton,
Beit Professor of Colonial
History in the University of
Oxford from 1905 to 1920*

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1776

Per. 2227 e. 571



THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1776.

THE FOURTH EDITION.



L O N D O N:

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1788.





P R E F A C E.

IT would be a bad return to the continued favours we experience from the Public, if our zeal and industry was not proportioned to the importance of the subjects on which we treated, and to their interest in them. The transactions of foreign nations, however general or extensive their consequences, however connected by interest or alliance we might be in them, or however brilliant the matter which they afforded for history, are not only of a secondary but very remote consideration, when placed in any degree of comparison with the subjects of which we now treat. Our public affairs are unfortunately at present the history of all that part of the world which affords materials for any. Britains, however deeply, are not alone interested in the consequences. They may extend, not only to the refined, but widely into the more uncultivated parts of the Globe. It
therefore

iv P R E F A C E.

therefore behoved us, not to pass through negligence, omit through hurry, or render obscure by an ill-timed brevity, any matter which tended to the elucidation of a subject, in which our Readers are so immediately and deeply concerned. The time of publication was with us, and we will believe with them, by no means the principal object of attention. We might have saved much labour and time by publishing early, and of course, more imperfectly.

Our Publisher has liberally seconded our views in affording the expence consequent of so great an extension of the Historical Article. He thinks he cannot do too much to testify his gratitude to the Public, and desires we would observe, that from the abundance of matter which is now necessarily discussed, it trebles in extent the amount of the History in any year of the late war. For ourselves, if we have the happiness to experience a continuance of that approbation with which we have been so long honoured by the Public, it will be an additional spur to our future industry.

THE

The success which attended the
[A] expe-

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expedition to the Lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, in the beginning of the summer 1775, by which, it might be said, that the gates of Canada were thrown open, rendered the affairs of that country more immediately interesting, and encouraged the Congress to a bold measure, which they would not otherwise perhaps have ventured upon. This was no less than the sending of a force for the invasion and reduction of that country.

A measure of so extraordinary a nature required the most serious consideration. The commencing of an offensive war with the sovereign, was a new and perilous undertaking. It seemed totally to change the nature of the ground on which they stood in the present dispute. Opposition to government had hitherto been conducted on the apparent design, and avowed principle only, of supporting and defending certain rights and immunities of the people, which were supposed, or pretended, to be unjustly invaded. Opposition, or even resistance, in such a case, supposing the premises to be fairly stated, is thought by many to be entirely consistent with the principles of the British constitution; and this opinion is said to have received the sanction of precedents of the first authority. At any rate, the questions in dispute were of such a nature, that mankind might for ever be divided in opinion, as to the matter of right or wrong, justice or injustice, oppression or good government. But to render themselves at once the aggressors, and not content with vindicating their own real or pretended rights, to fly wantonly in the face of the

sovereign, carry war into his dominions, and invade a province to which they could lay no claim, nor pretend no right, seemed such an outrage, as not only overthrew every plea of justifiable resistance, but would militate with the established opinions, principles, and feelings of mankind in general.

On the other hand, the danger was pressing and great. The extraordinary powers placed in the hands of General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, by a late commission, were new, alarming, and evidently pointed out the purposes for which they were granted. By these he was authorized to embody and arm the Canadians, to march them out of the country for the subjugation of the other colonies, and to proceed, even to capital punishments, against all those, and in all places, whom he should deem rebels and opposers of the laws. The strong powers of government which he also possessed within his province, were equal to those of the most arbitrary European monarchs, and had been already felt both by the English and French subjects. Thus, though the Canadians had hitherto refused to be embodied, or to march upon any terms out of the province, it was easily seen, that as soon as the Governor's authority was supported by the arrival of a body of English forces, they would be obliged implicitly to obey him, as well in that, as all other matters. He had besides already engaged a considerable number of the Canada, and other Indians, in his service, and if his arms once became predominant, the desire of spoil and blood would bring them in crowds from the remotest deserts to his assistance.

assistance. Besides they were perfectly acquainted with, and therefore had every thing to dread, from the zeal, the spirit of enterprise, and the military talents, of that able and resolute officer.

In these circumstances, considering a war not only as inevitable, but as already begun, they deemed it inconsistent with reason and policy to wait to be attacked by a formidable force at their backs, in the very instant that their utmost exertions would be requisite, and probably insufficient, for the protection of their capital cities and coasts against the resentment of the mighty power whom they had so grievously offended, and with whom they were entering into so untried and arduous a contest. They argued, that preventing the known hostile intentions of an enemy, by forestalling his designs ere they could be carried into execution, was as much a matter of self-defence, and less cruel, than waiting to be attacked by him under every disadvantage, and when he had arrived at his utmost force. There was no natural law, nor convention among mankind, by which a person was bound to be a simple and inactive looker-on, while his enemy was loading a gun for his destruction; was he to wait till the execution took place, for fear he should be deemed an aggressor? Questions in casuistry, however edifying upon other occasions, have nothing to do in circumstances upon which the fate of nations depended. Were they only to seek a remedy, when the savages had penetrated into their country, and the fury of the flames which consumed their settlements were only

retarded by the blood of their women and infants?

The congress were also sensible, that they had already gone such lengths as could only be justified by arms. The sword was already drawn, and the appeal made. It was too late now to look back, and to waver would be certain destruction. If a certain degree of success did not afford a sanction to their resistance, and dispose the court of Great-Britain to an accommodation upon lenient terms, they would not only lose those immunities for which they at present contended, but all others would lie at the mercy of a jealous and irritated government. In such a state, their moderation in the single instance of Canada, they thought, would be a poor plea for compassion or indulgence.

The knowledge they had of the present state of affairs, and the temper of the people in Canada, also contributed much to encourage them in this enterprize. They knew that the French inhabitants, excepting the noblesse and clergy, were in general as much discontented at the overthrow of the English laws, and the introduction of the present system of government, as even the British settlers. It seemed therefore probable, that this discontent, operating with the rooted aversion which they bore to their ancient proud and oppressive tyrants, the noblesse, or lords of the manors, and the mortal dread which they entertained of being again reduced to their former state of feudal and military vassalage, would induce them to consider the Provincials rather as friends than invaders, and to embrace so favourable

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an opportunity of obtaining a share in that freedom for which they were contending. Though they were perfectly unacquainted with the nature of the particular controversy, and little interested in it, it seemed to be for freedom, and American freedom, and the name was pleasing. It was in favour of colonies; and Canada was a colony.

The Congress accordingly determined not to lose the present favourable opportunity, while the British arms were weak and cooped up in Boston, for attempting the reduction of that province. The Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New-York militia, a body of New-England men, and some others, amounting in the whole to near 3000 men, were appointed to this service. A number of batteaux, or flat boats, were built at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, to convey the forces along Lake Champlain to the river Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada, and is composed of the surplus waters of the lakes, which it discharges into the river St. Lawrence, and would afford a happy communication between both, were it not for some rapids that obstruct the navigation.

Not above half the forces were yet arrived, when Montgomery, who was at Crown-Point, received some intelligence which rendered him apprehensive that a schooner of considerable force, with some other armed vessels, which lay at the fort of St. John's, on the river Sorel, were preparing to enter the lake, and thereby effectually obstruct their passage. He thereupon, in the latter end of August, proceeded with such force as he had

to the isle of Aux Noix, which lies in the entrance of the river, and took necessary measures to guard against the passage of those vessels into the lake. Schuyler, who at that time commanded in chief, having also arrived from Albany, they published a declaration to encourage the Canadians to join them, and with the same hope or design pushed on to the fort of St. John, which lies only about a dozen miles from the island. The fire from the fort, as well as the strong appearances of force and resistance which they observed, occasioned their landing at a considerable distance, in a country composed of thick woods, deep swamps, and intersected with creeks and waters. In this situation they were vigorously attacked by a considerable body of Indians, who did not neglect the advantages which they derived from it; along with which, finding that the fort was well garrisoned and provided, they found it necessary the next day to return to their former station on the island, and to defer their operations until the arrival of the artillery and reinforcements which were expected.

Schuyler upon this retreat returned to Albany, to conclude a treaty which he had for some time been negotiating with the Indians in that quarter, and found himself afterwards so occupied by business, or broken in upon by illness, that the whole weight and danger of the Canada war fell upon Montgomery, a man most eminently qualified for any military service. His first measure was to detach those Indians who had joined General Carleton from his service, and being strengthened by the

the arrival of his reinforcements and artillery, he prepared to lay siege to the fort of St. John. This fort was garrisoned by the greater part of the 7th and 26th regiments, being nearly all the regular troops then in Canada; and was well provided with stores, ammunition, and artillery.

The provincial parties were spread over the adjacent country, and were every where received with open arms by the Canadians, who besides joining them in considerable numbers, gave them every possible assistance, whether in carrying on the siege, removing their artillery, or supplying them with provisions and necessaries. In this state of things, the adventurer Ethan Allen, who, without any commission from the Congress, had a principal share in the original expedition to the lakes, and the capture of the forts, and who since, under the title of colonel, seems rather to have acted as a partizan, than as obedient to any regular command, thought to signalize, and raise himself into importance, by surprizing the town of Montreal. This rash enterprize he undertook at the head of a small party of English provincials and Canadians, without the knowledge of the commander in chief, or the assistance, which he might have procured, from some of the other detached parties. The event was suitable to the temerity of the undertaking. Being met, at some distance from the town, by the militia, under the command of English officers, and supported by the few regulars who were in the place, he was defeated and taken prisoner, with near forty of his

party, the rest who survived escaping in the woods. Allen, with his fellow-prisoners, were by General Carleton's orders loaded with irons, and sent in that condition on board a man of war to England, from whence, however, they were in some time remanded back to America.

The progress of Montgomery was for some time retarded by a want of ammunition sufficient for carrying on a siege, which of all operations demand the greatest supply of powder and ball. The fort of St. John's, which commands the entrance into Canada, could not be reduced without a tolerable provision of that kind. A fortunate event disengaged him from this difficulty. A little fort called *Chamblé* lay deeper in the country, and seemed covered by St. John's. It was garrisoned by a small detachment of the 7th regiment, and was in no very defensible condition. To this he turned his first thoughts, and, by pushing forward a party joined by some Canadians, he easily made himself master of that fort. Here he found considerable stores; but the article of greatest consequence to him was the gunpowder, which they were much distressed for, and of which they took above 120 barrels. This acquisition facilitated the siege of St. John's, which had languished for want of ammunition.

The garrison of St. John's, under the command of Major Preston, amounted to between 6 and 700 men, of which about 500 were regulars, and the rest Canadian volunteers. They endured the difficulties and hardships of a very long siege, augmented by a scarcity of provisions, with unabating constancy

ey and resolution. In the mean time, General Carleton was indefatigable in his endeavours to raise a force sufficient for its relief. Attempts had been for some time made by Colonel M'Lean, for raising a Scotch regiment, under the title of Royal Highland Emigrants, to be composed of natives of that country who had lately arrived in America, and who in consequence of the troubles had not obtained settlements. With these and some Canadians, to the amount of a few hundred men, the Colonel was posted near the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Lawrence. The General was at Montreal, where, with the greatest difficulty, and by every possible means, he had got together near a thousand men, composed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and some English officers and volunteers. With these he intended a junction with M'Lean, and then to have marched directly to the relief of St. John's. But upon his attempting to pass over from the island of Montreal, he was encountered at Longueuil by a party of the Provincials, who easily repulsed the Canadians, and put a stop to the whole design. Another party had pushed M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians having received advice of the Governor's defeat, immediately abandoned him to a man, and he was obliged to make the best of his way to Quebec with the emigrants.

In the mean time, Montgomery pushed on the siege of St. John's with great vigour, had advanced his works very near the body of the fort, and was making prepara-

tions for a general assault. Nor was there less alacrity shewn in the defence, the spirit as well as the fire of the garrison being equally supported to the last. In this state of things, an account of the success at Longueuil, accompanied by the prisoners who were taken, arrived at the camp, upon which Montgomery sent a flag and a letter by one of them to Major Preston, hoping, that as all means of relief were now cut off by the Governor's defeat, he would, by a timely surrender of the fort, prevent that further effusion of blood, which a fruitless and obstinate defence must necessarily occasion.

The Major endeavoured to obtain a few days time in hopes of being relieved; but this was refused, on account of the lateness and severity of the season; he also endeavoured, in settling the terms of capitulation, to obtain liberty for the garrison to depart for Great Britain, which proved equally fruitless, and they were obliged, after being allowed the honours of war, on account of their brave defence, to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves Nov. 3d. prisoners. They were allowed their baggage and effects, the officers to wear their swords, and their other arms to be preserved for them till the troubles were at an end. In all transactions with our forces, Montgomery writ, spoke, and behaved with that attention, regard, and politeness, to both private men and officers, which might be expected from a man of worth and honour, who found himself involved in an unhappy quarrel with his friends and countrymen. All the prisoners were sent up the Lakes, by the way of

of Ticonderoga, to those interior parts of the colonies which were best adapted to provide for their reception and security. The Provincials found a considerable quantity of artillery and useful stores in the place.

Upon M'Lean's retreat to Quebec, the party who had reduced him to that necessity, immediately erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Lawrence, in order to prevent the escape down the latter of a number of armed vessels, which General Carleton had at Montreal; they also constructed armed rafts and floating batteries for the same purpose. These measures effectually prevented the passage of General Carleton's armament to Quebec, which were not only foiled in several attempts, but pursued, attacked, and driven from their anchors up the river by the Provincials; so that as General Montgomery approached Montreal immediately after the surrender of St. John's, the Governor's situation, whether in the town or aboard the vessels, became equally critical.

This danger was soon increased by the arrival of General Montgomery at Montreal, where a capitulation was proposed by the principal French and English inhabitants, including a kind of general treaty, which Montgomery refused, as they were in no state of defence to entitle them to a capitulation, and were unable to fulfil the conditions on their part. He, however, gave them a written answer, in which he declared, That the continental army having a generous disdain of every act of oppression and violence, and having

come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security, he therefore engaged his honour to maintain, in the peaceable possession of their property of every kind, the individuals and religious communities of the city of Montreal. He engaged for the maintenance of all the inhabitants in the free exercise of their religion; hoped that the civil and religious rights of all the Canadians would be established upon the most permanent footing by a provincial congress; promised that courts of justice should be speedily established upon the most liberal plan, conformable to the British Constitution; and, in general, complied with other articles, so far as they were consistent and in his power. This security being given to the people, Nov. 13th. his troops took possession of the town.

Nothing could now afford the slightest hope of the preservation of any part of Canada but the lateness of the season. Whether through inability for so great an enterprize, or from difference of opinion, the invasion of that province was not undertaken until the season for military operations was nearly passed. To balance this, there remained but an handful of regular troops in Canada, and the taking of General Carleton, which seemed nearly certain, would have rendered its fate inevitable. Fortune, however, determined otherwise, and at the time that all hopes of the armed vessels being able to get down the river were given up, and that Montgomery was preparing batteaux with light artillery at Montreal to attack them on that side, and force them

them down upon the batteries, means were successfully taken for conveying the Governor in a dark night, in a boat with muffled paddles, past the enemies' guards and batteries, and he arrived safely at Quebec, which he found environed with danger from an unexpected quarter. As it was impracticable to save the ships, General Prescott was obliged to enter into a capitulation with the Provincials, by which the whole of the river naval force, consisting of eleven armed vessels, was surrendered into their hands, the General himself, with several other officers, some gentlemen in the civil department, Canadian volunteers, and near 120 English soldiers, all of whom had taken refuge on board upon the approach of General Montgomery to Montreal, becoming prisoners of war.

Whilst the Provincials were thus carrying on the war in Upper Canada from the New-York side, and by the old beaten course of the Lakes, an expedition, considerably distinguished by its novelty, spirit, enterprize, by the difficulties that opposed, and the constancy that succeeded in its execution, was undertaken directly against the lower part of the province and the city of Quebec, from the New-England side, by a route which had hitherto been untried, and considered as impracticable. This expedition was undertaken by Colonel Arnold, who about the middle of September, at the head of two regiments, consisting of about 1100 men, marched from the camp near Boston, to Newbury Port, at the mouth of the river Merrimack, where vessels were in readiness to convey them

by sea to the mouth of the river Kennebec, in New Hampshire; a voyage of about forty leagues.

On the 22d of the same month they embarked their stores and troops in 200 batteaux, at Gardiner's Town, on the Kennebec, and proceeded with great difficulty up that river, having a rapid stream, with a rocky bottom and shores, continually interrupted by falls and carrying places, with numberless other impediments to encounter. In this passage the batteaux were frequently filled with water, or overset; in consequence of which a part of their arms, ammunition, and provisions, were sometimes lost. At the numerous carrying places, besides the labour of loading and reloading, they were obliged to convey the boats on their shoulders. The great carrying place was above twelve miles across. That part of the detachment which was not employed in the batteaux, marched along the banks of the river, and the boats and men being disposed in three divisions, each division encamped together every night. Nor was the march by land more eligible than the passage by water. They had thick woods, deep swamps, difficult mountains, and precipices, alternately to encounter, and were at times obliged to cut their way for miles together through the thickets. At the carrying places they were obliged to traverse the same ground several times heavy loaded. From all these impediments their progress was of course very slow, being in general only from four or five to nine or ten miles a day. The constant fatigue and labour caused many to fall sick, which added to their

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their difficulties, and provisions grew at length so scarce, that some of the men eat their dogs, and whatever else of any kind that could be converted to food.

When they arrived at the head of the Kennebec, they sent back their sick, and one of the Colonels took that opportunity of returning with his division, under pretence of the scarcity of provisions, without the consent or knowledge of the Commander in Chief, who had marched forwards. By this desertion, and the sick that were returned, Arnold's detachment was reduced about one third from its original number. They, however, proceeded with their usual constancy; and having crossed the heights of land, as a ridge that extends quite through that continent is called, and from whence the waters on either side take courses directly contrary to those on the other, they at length arrived at the head of the river Chaudiere, which running through Canada, falls into the river St. Lawrence, near Quebec. Their difficulties now were growing to an end, and they soon approached the inhabited parts of Canada; on the 3d of November, a party which they had pushed forward returned with provisions, and they soon after came to a house, being the first they had beheld for thirty-one days, having spent that whole time in traversing an hideous wilderness, without ever meeting any thing human.

The Canadians received them here with the same good-will that Montgomery's corps had experienced in the neighbourhood of Montreal; they supplied them liberally with provisions and ne-

cessaries, and rendered them every other assistance in their power. Arnold immediately published an address to the people, signed by General Washington, of the same nature with that which had been before issued by Schuyler and Montgomery. They were invited to join with the other colonies in an indissoluble union. To range themselves under the standard of general liberty. They were informed, that the armament was sent into the province, not to plunder, but to protect and animate them; that they themselves were enjoined to act, and to consider themselves, as in the country of their best friends; they were requested, therefore, not to desert their habitations, nor fly from their friends; but to provide them with such supplies as their country afforded; and he pledged himself for their safety and security, as well as for an ample compensation.

The city of Quebec was at this time in a state of great weakness, as well as internal discontent and disorder. The British merchants and inhabitants had been long much disgusted and dissatisfied. Their opposition to the Quebec Act, and the petitions which they had sent to England upon that subject, had been grievously resented by their own government; and from that period they had, as the discontented said, not only been slighted and treated with indifference, but even regarded with an apparent eye of distrust and suspicion. They complained, that as the great political object in that country was to attach the native Canadians inviolably to government, so the French noblesse, and civil

civil officers, became, excepting the British military, the only favourites; and these having soon acquired the manners and affectations of all other courtiers and favourites, passed no occasion to insult the English as malcontents, with the violence of their zeal, and the outrageousness of their loyalty. They represented, that these new courtiers industriously brought up questions upon public affairs, and discourses upon government in their company, and then construed that freedom of opinion, which the native English had derived from nature and habit, as well as from present discontent, as proceeding from real ill design and disaffection. There needs not a stronger proof how little they were trusted or regarded, than that when the troops were sent off to Montreal and the Sorel to oppose the rebels, notwithstanding the very alarming state of public affairs, and that the city, together with the large property which they possessed in it, were left exposed without a garrison; yet their application for leave to be embodied as a militia for its defence, so far from being complied with, was not even, as they affirmed, deemed worthy of an answer. How much of this representation was the mere effect of discontent, we cannot undertake to say. It is certain that great heartburnings and animosities prevailed among the English civil subjects and the military power in that government, which the Quebec Act irritated and inflamed to an high degree.

Neither does it appear that any great reliance could be placed at that time upon the French inhabitants for the defence of the city.

Many of them were at least wavering, and some worse. As to other matters there were no troops of any sort in the place, until M'Leon's handful of new-raised emigrants arrived from the Sorel. Some marines which the Governor had sent for to Boston were refused by a naval council of war, from the lateness of the season, and the danger of the navigation. The militia, however, had been lately embodied by the Lieutenant-Governor.

Such was the state of Nov. 9th. affairs at Quebec, when Arnold and his party appeared at Point Levi, opposite the town. The river was fortunately between them, and the boats secured, otherwise it seems highly probable that they would have become masters of the place in the first surprise and confusion. This defect was indeed remedied in a few days by the alacrity of the Canadians, who supplied them with canoes, and they effected their passage in a dark night, notwithstanding the vigilance of the armed vessels and frigates of war in the river. But the critical moment was now passed. The discontented inhabitants, English and Canadians, as soon as danger pressed, united for their common defence. They became seriously alarmed for the immense property which Quebec contained. They desired to be, and were, embodied and armed. The sailors had landed, and were at the batteries to serve the guns, the defendants were considerably superior in number to the assailants, and Arnold had no artillery. In these circumstances, his only hope must have been the defection of the inhabitants; and disappointed in

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in that, nothing remained practicable for him, but intercepting the roads, and cutting off the supplies, until the arrival of Montgomery. He accordingly paraded for some days on the heights near the town, and sent two flags to summon the inhabitants; but they were fired at, and no message admitted; upon which, he at length drew off his detachment into quarters of refreshment.

In the mean time, Montgomery having found plenty of woollen manufactures, and other articles of wear, at Montreal, took that opportunity of new-cloathing his troops, who had suffered excessively from the severity of the climate, the deepness of the roads, and the want of covering suitable to such circumstances. Notwithstanding the flattering appearance of his successes, the situation of that commander was far from being enviable; and indeed was attended with continual and growing difficulties, that nothing less than his own genius could surmount. The difficulty of conducting and governing an army, composed wholly of new soldiers, and these led directly from their civil occupations to the field, even supposing them raised in old countries, and where subordination is the most perfectly established, will be conceived by those persons who are the least conversant in military affairs. But here the troops were composed of men the most unused, and who from principles, habits, and manner of life, were the most averse to every idea of subordination, of any civilized people in the known world; they were to be trained on through numberless wants and distresses, through strange and de-

sart countries, and when arrived at the scene of action, with arms in their hands, in all the wantonness of military parade and novel power, their wants were to be endured, their appetites restrained, and their licentiousness controuled, for fear of alienating the affections of the Canadians, while every appearance of a harsh or strict military discipline was equally to be avoided, under the dread of their own defection. They were besides only enlisted for a certain short term, according to the usual practice of the colonies; and as the time of their discharge now drew near, there was nothing but the name of their leader, and affection to his person, to keep them longer together.

General Carleton arrived at Quebec about the time that Arnold's detachment had retired from its neighbourhood, and immediately took such measures for its defence, as were suitable to that military character which he had long established. His first act was to oblige all those to quit the town, with their families, who refused to take up arms in its defence. The garrison, including all orders who did duty, consisted of about 1500 men, a number, supposing them even the best troops, totally unequal to the defence of such extensive works, if an equal weakness had not prevailed on the side of the besiegers. Of these, it could scarcely be said that any were regulars, M'Lean's corps being newly raised, and the only company of the 7th regiment which had escaped being taken, consisting principally of recruits; the rest were composed of the British and French militia, a few marines,

marines, and about 450 seamen, belonging to the king's frigates, and to the merchant-ships that wintered in the harbour. These last, habituated to the management of great guns, and to prompt manœuvres, were the real strength of the garrison.

Montgomery, having left some troops in Montreal and the forts, and sent detachments into different parts of the provinces, to encourage the Canadians, as well as to forward supplies of provisions and necessaries, pushed on with as many men as could be spared from these services, and such artillery as he could procure, to join Arnold. Their march was in winter; through bad roads, in a severe climate; beneath the fall of the first snows, and therefore made under great hardships; which, however, they encountered with equal resolution; and arrived with incredible expedition at Quebec.

Dec. 5th. Upon their arrival before the town, Montgomery wrote a letter to the Governor, magnifying his own strength, stating the weakness of the garrison, shewing the impossibility of relief, and recommending an immediate surrender, to avoid the dreadful consequences which must attend a storm, irritated as, he said, his victorious troops were, at the injurious and cruel treatment which they had in various particulars received at his hands. Though the flag that conveyed this letter, as well as every other, was fired at, and all communication absolutely forbidden by the Governor, Montgomery found other means to convey a letter of the same nature; but neither threats nor dangers could produce

any effect upon the inflexible firmness of the veteran Governor.

It does not appear that Montgomery's forces were very much superior, in number or quality, to those, such as they were, who defended the town. His only prospect of success seemed therefore to be founded upon the impression which the parade of his preparations, and the violence of his attacks, might make upon the motley garrison, or, if those failed, to weary them out by continual motions and false alarms. He accordingly commenced a bombardment, with five small mortars, which continued for some days, and might have been supposed to have answered the former of those intentions, by throwing the garrison into disorder; but the intrepidity of the Governor, seconded by the bravery, indefatigable industry, and perseverance, of the chief officers, as well as the activity of the seamen and marines, prevented the expected effect. We must do justice also to the garrison in general, who nobly followed the example, and supported the bravery of their commanders, and endured the incommodities, wants, and distresses, incident to so long a siege, joined to a most grievously severe and unremitted duty, with wonderful constancy and resolution.

In a few days Montgomery opened a six-gun battery at about 700 yards distance from the walls; but his metal was too light to produce any considerable effect. In the mean time the snow lay deep upon the ground, and the severity of the climate was such, that human nature seemed incapable of withstanding its force in the field.

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The hardships and fatigues which the provincial soldiers underwent, both from the season, and the smallness of their number, seemed incredible, and could only be endured from their enthusiastic adherence to their cause, and through the affection or esteem which they bore to their General. This constancy must however fail, if the evils were increased, or too long continued. The time for which many of the soldiers had engaged was also expired, or expiring; and it could not be answered how soon they might insist upon returning home, nor whether such an event would not totally break up the little army. It is said, that the New-York men were too sensible of the climate; and did not shew the vigour or perseverance of those hardy New-Englanders who had traversed the desarts with Arnold.

In these circumstances, Montgomery thought that something decisive must be immediately done, or that the benefit of his past successes would, in a great degree, be lost to the cause in which he was engaged, and his own renown, which now shone in great lustre, be dimmed, if not obscured. He knew the Americans would consider Quebec as taken from the instant that they heard of his arrival before it. That the higher their expectations were raised, the more grievous the disappointment would be in case of a failure. Their confidence of success was founded upon the high opinion which they held of his courage and ability; to forfeit that opinion, was the worst of all possible consequences. Yet, to attempt the city by storm, with a garrison equal in number to the

assailants, and the great natural strength of the upper town to encounter, which is one of those places that are usually called impregnable, seemed an effort truly desperate. But great minds are seldom good calculators of danger; and if the glory in view be great, do not minutely attend to the difficulties which lie in their way to that object. Indeed, the most illustrious military achievements, in all ages, have owed their success to a noble contempt of common forms, and common calculations. Fortune, in contempt of the pride of man, ever was, and ever will be, the greater arbiter in war. Upon the whole, Montgomery, depending much upon fortune, and not a little upon the nature and disposition of the garrison, determined upon a desperate attempt to carry the place by escalade.

Whilst he was making the necessary preparations for this purpose, it is said that the garrison received intelligence of it by some deserters, and that he perceived, by their motions, that they were not only acquainted with the general design, but with the particular mode of carrying it into execution, which they were accordingly preparing with the utmost vigour and order to oppose. This untoward circumstance rendered a total change in his original dispositions necessary; and it is not impossible, that this disarrangement had a considerable influence on the succeeding events. However that was, early in the morning, on the last day of the year 1775, and under the cover of a violent snow-storm, he proceeded to this arduous attempt. He had disposed of his

his little army in four divisions, of which two carried on false attacks against the upper town, whilst himself and Arnold conducted two real against opposite parts of the lower. By this means the alarm was general in both towns, and might have disconcerted the most experienced troops; from the side of the river St. Lawrence, along the fortified front, and round to the Basin, every part seemed equally threatened, if not equally in danger.

About five o'clock, Montgomery, at the head of the New-York troops, advanced against the lower town, at Anne de Mere, under Cape Diamond; but from some difficulties which intervened in his approach, the signal for engaging had been given, and the garrison alarmed, before he could reach the place. He however pressed on in a narrow file, upon a scanty path, with a precipice to the river on one side, and an hanging rock over him; seized and passed the first barrier, and, accompanied by a few of his bravest officers and men, marched boldly at the head of the detachment to attack the second. This barricade was much stronger than the first. Several cannon were there planted, loaded with grape shot. From these, as well as from a well-directed and supported fire of musquetry, an end was at once put to the hopes of this enterprising officer, and to the fortune of his party in Canada. The General himself, with his Aid de Camp, some other officers, and most of those who were near his person, fell upon the spot. The command devolved upon a Mr. Campbell, who immediately retired without any

farther effort. Whether he yielded too easily to the first impression, as the Americans asserted, it is impossible for those who are not perfectly acquainted with all the particulars to determine.

In the mean time, Arnold, with a body of those troops who had originally signalised themselves by the memorable expedition under his command in Canada, supported by some New-York artillery, made their attempt on that part of the town called the Saut at Matelot, and having penetrated through St. Roques, they attacked a small but well-defended battery, which they carried with considerable loss, after an hour's sharp engagement. They had likewise the fortune upon this occasion to be left without a commander; for Arnold's leg being shattered by a shot, he was necessarily carried off to the camp. His place was, however, well supplied by the goodness of the officers, and the resolution of the men; who, being ignorant of Montgomery's misfortune, were so far from being dispirited by their own, that they pushed on with great vigour, and made themselves masters of another barrier.

The garrison now being recovered from their surprize, and their hands cleared in all other quarters, had time to attend to the situation of Arnold's division, and to perceive the opportunity which was offered of cutting them off. Their situation was such, that in attempting a retreat they must pass for a considerable way within fifty yards of the walls, exposed to the whole fire of the garrison. To render their fate inevitable, a considerable detachment, with several field-

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field-pieces, issued through a gate which commanded that passage, and attacked them furiously in the rear, whilst they were already fully occupied in every other part, by the troops which now poured upon them from all quarters. In these desperate circumstances, without a possibility of escape, attacked on all sides, and under every disadvantage of ground as well as number, they obstinately defended themselves for three hours, and at length surrendered prisoners of war.

The prisoners were treated with the greatest humanity by General Carleton; a conduct, which the habitual military severity of his temper rendered the more honourable. All enmity to Montgomery expired with his life, and respect to his private character prevailed over all other considerations; his dead body received every possible mark of distinction from the victors, and was interred in Quebec with all the military honours due to a brave soldier. It appears, by comparing different circumstances previous and subsequent to this engagement, that the rebels, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, did not lose fewer than half their number. A letter from Arnold, written soon after, states their remaining force at only 700 men.

Thus fell Richard Montgomery. He was a gentleman of good family in the kingdom of Ireland, served with reputation in the late war, and fell in the prime of life. The excellency of his qualities and disposition had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities had of public esteem; and there was probably no man engaged on the same side,

and few on either, whose loss would have been so much regretted both in England and America. He is represented as a real and eager lover of liberty; and having married a lady, and purchased an estate in New-York, was from thence induced to consider himself as an American. Thus, say his friends, he was led by principle to quit the sweets of an easy fortune, the enjoyment of a loved and philosophical rural life, with the highest domestic felicity, to take an active share in all the miseries and dangers of the present troubles. He had undoubtedly considerable, and probably great, military abilities; and it remains to be lamented, that a man, who seemed so well formed to support the interests and glory of his country against her natural foes, should have perished in an unnatural and most unhappy civil contest. In America, he was revered as a martyr to the cause of human nature, and the liberties of mankind. What was more extraordinary, the most powerful speakers in the British parliament displayed their eloquence in praising his virtues and lamenting his fate. A great orator, and veteran fellow-soldier of his in the late war, shed abundance of tears, whilst he expatiated on their fast friendship and participation of service in that season of enterprize and glory. Even the minister extolled his virtues, whilst he condemned the rebellious cause they were employed in, and the fatal effects which their mistaken application had produced.

The Governor and officers acquired great and deserved honour by this defence, and the behaviour

our of the raw garrison would have done credit to veterans. It afforded an instance, how far the conduct and example of a few brave and experienced officers might operate, in rendering the rawest and worst-formed troops respectable. Indeed, the emulation arising between the different orders of men which composed the garrison, probably converted an apparent weakness into a real strength.

The besiegers immediately quit-
ted their camp, and retired about
three miles from the city, where
they strengthened their quarters in
the best manner they were able,
being apprehensive of a pursuit
and attack from the garrison. The
latter, however, though now su-
perior in number, were unfit for
a service of that nature, and their
able Governor, with a degree of
wisdom and sobriety equal to his
intrepidity and firmness, content-
ed himself with the unexpected ad-
vantage and security he had gain-
ed, without hazarding the fate of the
province, and perhaps of America,
in any rash enterprize. The city
was now completely out of danger,
and the great succours which were
expected could not fail to relieve the
whole province.

By the death of Montgomery,
the command of the American
army devolved upon Arnold, whose
wound rendered him, for the pre-
sent, unequal to so arduous a task.
Their perseverance was, however,
astonishing in their circumstances.
They had lost, besides their Gene-
ral (in whom it might be said all
their hopes and confidence resided),

the best of their officers, and the
bravest of their fellows, with a
part of their small artillery. The
hope of assistance was distant, and,
at best, the arrival of succours
must be slow. It was well known
that the Canadians, besides being
naturally quick and fickle in their
resolutions, were peculiarly dis-
posed to be biased by success, so
that their assistance now grew ex-
tremely precarious. The severity
of a Canada winter was also far
beyond any thing they were ac-
quainted with, and the snow lay
above four feet deep upon a level.
In these circumstances, it required
no small share of activity, as well
as address, to keep them in any
manner together. Arnold, who
had hitherto displayed uncommon
talents in his march into Canada
(which may be compared to the
greatest things done in that kind),
discovered on this occasion the ut-
most vigour of a determined mind,
and a genius full of resources. De-
feated and wounded as he was, he
put his troops into such a situation
as to keep them still formidable.
He dispatched an express to Woo-
ster, who was at Montreal, to
bring succours, and to assume the
command; but as this could not
be done immediately, he bore up,
with the force he had, against the
difficulties with which he was sur-
rounded. From that time the
siege was for some months con-
verted into a blockade, and Ar-
nold found means effectually to ob-
struct the arrival of any supplies of
provisions or necessaries in the
town.

CHAP. II.

Virginia, Provincial Congress. Powder removed from the magazine at Williamsburg. Consequences thereof. Assembly convened. Magazine rifled. Lord Dunmore retires on board a ship of war. Various transactions between the Governor and the Assembly. Report from the Committee of Enquiry. Refusal of the Governor to go on shore to pass the bills. Assembly will not attend him on board the Forney, and put an end to their session. Convocation of Delegates held. Means used to arm the province. Declaration to justify their proceedings. Lord Dunmore repulsed in his attempt to destroy the town of Hampton. Proclamation for martial law, and the emancipation of the Negroes. Action near the Great Bridge. Connelly taken prisoner, and his scheme for raising the Indians and the Back Settlers, discovered and frustrated. Town of Norfolk reduced to ashes by Lord Dunmore. Transactions in South and North Carolina. General Gage returns to England. Command of the army at Boston devolves upon General Howe. Continental army before Boston enlist for a new term. Town of Falmouth cannonaded, and nearly destroyed. Law passed by the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, for granting letters of marque and reprisal. Articles of confederation proposed by the Continental Congress. Commercial resolution, suspending in certain cases the prohibition with respect to exportation and importation. Declaration in answer to the royal proclamation of the 23d of August.

DURING these proceedings in Canada, a long course of jealousy, distrust, suspicion, and altercation, between the Governor, and the major part of the governed, in the colony of Virginia, finally terminated in open hostility, and a ruinous, intestinal, and predatory war. These unhappy effects proceeded (as is too frequently the case) from a cause apparently unimportant; but as the heat of controversy nourished the quarrel, so mutual distrust and apprehension supplied the place of an object.

The people of that colony, as we have formerly shewn, had been at least as forward as any other, in all the common acts, of sending Delegates to the General Congress, acceding to its decrees, under whatever form or title they were issued, and in the instituting of

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committees, and the entering into associations, among themselves. They were also among the freest in expressing their resolutions, and the readiest in shewing their determination, to support, at all risques and events, what they deemed, or termed, the rights of America. But in other respects, the greatest order and quiet was preserved in the province; and notwithstanding the uneasiness excited by the prorogation or dissolution of their assemblies, and the consequent expiration of their militia laws, (which, in a country where a great majority of the people are in a state of slavery, was a circumstance of the most alarming nature, and which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences) yet with these causes of complaint, the people seemed to pay a more

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than

than common degree of attention and personal regard, to the earl of Dunmore, their Governor.

In this state of things, however, the want of a legal assembly, seeming to give some sanction to the holding of a convention, a Provincial Congress was assembled in the month of March, 1775, who immediately (under the cover of an old law of the year 1738, which they said to be still effective) took measures for arraying the militia; but to supply in some degree those defects in that law, to remedy which, as they pretended, all subsequent ones had been passed, they recommended to each county to raise a volunteer company, for the better defence and protection of the country.

This interference in the militia, probably alarmed the Governor, and seems to have been the cause, that rendered the public magazine belonging to the colony in the capital city of Williamsburg, an object of his apprehension. However that was, he soon afterwards employed the captain of an armed vessel, which lay at a few miles distance in James River, with a detachment of marines, to convey the powder, by night, from the magazine on board his ship.

Though this measure was conducted with great privacy, it was by some means discovered the ensuing morning, when the apparent secrecy, and seeming mysteriousness of the act, increased the consternation and alarm among the inhabitants, who immediately assembled with such arms as they had at hand, with an intention of demanding, or, perhaps, obtaining, restitution of the gunpowder.

The mayor and corporation, however, prevented their proceeding to any extremities, whilst they presented an address to the Governor, stating the injury, reclaiming the powder as a matter of right, and shewing the dangers to which they were peculiarly liable from the insurrection of their slaves; a calamity, which had for some time been particularly apprehended, and which the removal of their only means of defence, would at any time have accelerated.

His Lordship acknowledged, that the gunpowder had been removed by his order; said, that as he had heard of an insurrection in a neighbouring county, and did not think it secure in the magazine, he had it conveyed to a place of perfect security; but gave his word, that whenever an insurrection rendered it necessary, it should be immediately returned. He also said, that it had been removed in the night to prevent giving an alarm; expressed great surprise at the people's assembling in arms; and observed, that he could not think it prudent to put powder into their hands in such a situation.

Whatever satisfaction this answer might have afforded to the magistrates, they prevailed on the people to retire quietly to their houses, without any remarkable outrage, that we can learn, having been committed; indeed, it appeared, from depositions afterwards taken by order of the assembly, that the officers of the men of war, on that station, and particularly the gentleman who might be supposed to have rendered himself obnoxious by removing the powder, appeared publicly in the streets, during the time of the greatest

greatest commotion, without their receiving the smallest insult. A report being, however, spread in the evening, that detachments from the men of war were upon their march to the city, the people again took to their arms, and continued all night upon the watch, as if in expectation of an attack from an enemy. They also from this time increased their night patrols, and shewed an evident design to protect the magazine from any further attempts.

The whole value of the powder and arms in the magazine, or any purpose to which they were capable of being converted, either in the hands of friends or enemies, seemed very inadequate to the alarm, suspicion, and disturbance, which this measure excited. The quantity of powder removed amounted only to fifteen half barrels, containing fifty pounds each, of a very ordinary sort, and the remaining stock left behind in the magazine, to about six of the same kind; neither does it appear that the number of serviceable muskets was sufficient to answer any essential purpose, or even to justify apprehension, and the caution of stripping these of their locks, only marked the suspicion from which it proceeded. A considerable quantity of old arms, and common trading guns, were not meddled with. Upon the whole, this act derived its only importance, from time, manner, and circumstance.

The Governor seems to have been exceedingly irritated at the behaviour of the people in these commotions, and perhaps resented too highly, for such times, their assembling in arms, not only with-

out, but with an evident intention to oppose his authority. In this warmth of temper some threats were thrown out, which upon a cooler reflection would probably have been avoided. Among these, a threat of setting up the royal standard, of enfranchising the negroes, arming them against their masters, and destroying the city, with other expressions of a similar nature and tendency, not only spread a general alarm throughout the colony, but excited a kind of abhorrence of government, and an incurable suspicion of its designs.

In the mean time, several public meetings were held in different counties, in all of which, the measure of seizing and removing the powder, as well as the Governor's threats, were reprobated in the strongest terms. Some of the gentlemen of Hanover, and other of the neighbouring counties, were not, however, satisfied with simple declarations. They assembled in arms to a considerable number, under the conduct of a Mr. Henry, who was one of the provincial Delegates to the General Congress, and marched towards Williamsburg, with an avowed design; not only to obtain restitution of the gunpowder, but to take such effectual measures for securing the public treasury, as should prevent its experiencing a similar fate with the magazine. A negotiation was, however, entered into with the magistrates, when they had arrived within a few miles of the city, in which it was finally settled, that the Receiver-General of the colony's security, for paying the value of the gunpowder, should be accepted as restitution, and

that upon the inhabitants engaging for the future, effectually to guard both the treasury and magazine, the insurgents should return to their habitations.

The alarm of this affair, induced Lady Dunmore, with the Governor's family, to retire on board the Fowey man of war in James River, whilst his Lordship, with the assistance of a detachment of marines, converted his palace into a little garrison, fortified it in the best manner he was able, and surrounded it with artillery. A proclamation from the Governor and Council, in which Henry and his followers were charged with rebellious practices, in extorting the value of the powder from the Receiver-General, and the present commotions were attributed to disaffection in the people, and a desire of changing the established form of government, served only to afford more room for altercation, and to increase the heat and discontent. Several county meetings were held, Henry's conduct vindicated and applauded, and resolutions passed, that at the risque of every thing dear, he and his followers should be indemnified from all suffering, loss, and injury, upon that account. The charge of disaffection was peremptorily denied, and those of changing the form of government, and causing the present troubles, retorted. They insisted, that they wanted nothing but to preserve their ancient constitution, and only opposed innovations, and that all the disturbances sprung from the Governor's late conduct.

As there are times when all circumstances seem to conspire towards the nourishment and increase

of political, as well as, natural disorders, so it appeared now in Virginia, every thing tending to one common center of distrust, jealousy, and discontent. The copies of some letters from the Governor to the Minister of the American department, were by some means procured, and public and severe censures passed upon them, as containing not only unfavourable, but unfair and unjust representations, as well of facts, as of the temper and disposition of the colony. Thus one distrust begot another, until all confidence being totally lost on both sides, every false report that was circulated, was believed on either, and served for its time to keep up the public fever.

In this state of commotion and disorder, June 1st. on the arrival of dispatches from England, the General Assembly was suddenly and unexpectedly convened by the Governor. The grand motive for this measure, was to procure their approbation and acceptance of the terms, included in Lord North's conciliatory motion, and the parliamentary resolutions founded thereupon. His Lordship, accordingly, in his speech, used his utmost address to carry this favourite point; he stated the favourable disposition of parliament, as well as of government, towards the colonies; the moderation, equity, and tenderness, which induced the present advances towards a happy reconciliation; he dwelt upon the justice of their contributing to the common defence, and bearing an equitable proportion of the public burthens, observed, that as no specific sum was demanded, they had an opportunity

portunity of giving a free scope to their justice and liberality, and that whatever they gave, would be a free gift, in the fullest sense of the terms; that they would thus shew their reverence for parliament, and manifest their duty and attachment to the sovereign; and the kindness with which it would be taken, that they met, on their side, the favourable disposition shewn on the other, towards bringing the present unhappy disputes to a period. He also took pains to convince them, from the proceedings and resolutions of parliament, that a full redress of all their real grievances, would be the immediate consequence of their compliance.

The first act of the assembly was the appointment of a committee to enquire into the causes of the late disturbances, and particularly to examine the state of the magazine, that necessary measures might be accordingly taken for its replenishment. Though the magazine was the property of the colony, it was in the custody of the Governor, who appointed a keeper, so that an application to him for admittance was necessary. During an altercation which arose upon this subject, and before the order for admittance was obtained, some people of the town and neighbourhood broke into the magazine, and carried off some of the arms; several members of the House of Burgesses, however, used their personal interest and application in getting as many of them as they could, returned. It appeared by the report of the Committee, that they found most of the remainder of the powder buried in the magazine yard, where it had been de-

posited by the Governor's orders, and suffered considerable damage from the rain; the depriving the muskets of their locks was also now discovered, as well as the nakedness and insufficiency of the magazine in all respects. Among other matters which served to irritate the people, was the planting of spring guns in the magazine, (without giving any public notice of such a mode of security) and some effect they had taken at the time of the late depredations.

Whilst the Governor's speech, with the propositions which it recommended, were yet under the consideration of the assembly, and before their address was determined upon, his lordship, with his lady and family, quitted the palace privately, 8th. and suddenly, at night, and retired on board the Fowey man of war, which then lay near Yorktown, on the river of the same name. He left a message for the House of Burgesses, acquainting them, that he thought it prudent to retire to a place of safety, as he was fully persuaded, that both himself and his family were in constant danger of falling sacrifices to the blind and unmeasurable fury of the people; that so far from intending to interrupt their sitting, he hoped they would successfully proceed in the great business before them; that he would render the communication between him and the House as easy and safe as possible; and that he thought it would be more agreeable to them to send some of their members to him as occasion should require, than to have the trouble of moving their whole body to a nearer place. He assured them, that he should attend

attend as usual to the duties of his office, and of his good disposition to restore that harmony which had been so unhappily interrupted.

This message produced a joint address from the Council and House of Burgesses; declaring their unbelief that any persons in that province, could meditate so horrid and atrocious a crime as his lordship apprehended; lamenting that he had not acquainted them with the ground of his uneasiness before he had adopted this measure, as they would have used all possible means to have removed every cause of his disquietude; they feared that his removal from the seat of government would be a means of increasing the uneasiness which unhappily prevailed among the people; declared that they would cheerfully concur in any measure which he should propose for the security of himself and his family; observing how impracticable it would be to carry on the business of the session with any degree of propriety and dispatch, whilst he was at such a distance, and so inconveniently situated. They concluded by intreating his return, with his lady and family, to the palace, which would afford great public satisfaction, and be the likeliest means of quieting the minds of the people.

10th. Lord Dunmore returned a written answer, in which he justified his apprehensions of danger, from the public notoriety of the commotions among the people, as well as of the threats and menaces with which they were attended; besides complaints of the general conduct and disposition of the House of Burgesses, he specified several charges against that body:

that they had countenanced the violent and disorderly proceedings of the people, particularly with respect to the magazine, which was forced and rifled in the presence of some of their members; that instead of the commitment of those persons who had been guilty of so daring and heinous an offence, they only endeavoured to procure a restitution of the arms. That the House, or its Committee, had ventured upon a step fraught with the most alarming consequences, in appointing guards, without his approbation or consent, under pretence of protecting the magazine, shewing thereby a design of usurping the executive power, and of subverting the constitution.

He observed, that no means could be effectual for affording the security which they promised to concur in, but, by reinfusing him in the full powers of his office, by opening the courts of justice, and restoring the energy of the laws; by disarming all independent companies, or other bodies of men, raised and acting in defiance of legal authority; by obliging the immediate return of the King's arms and stores; and by, what was not less essential than any other matter, their own example, and their endeavours to remove that general delusion which kept the minds of the people in a continual ferment, and thereby to abolish that malice and spirit of persecution, which now operated so dangerously against all those, who from duty and affection to their King and country, opposed the present measures, and who from principle and conviction differed with the multitude in political opinion. That these were the means to afford

ford the security requisite for all parties; and that, for the accomplishment of those ends, together with the great object and necessary business of the session, he should have no objection to their adjourning to the town of York, where he would meet them, and remain till the business was finished.

He concluded by representing, that unless they had a sincere and active desire of seizing the opportunity which was now offered by parliament, of establishing the freedom of their country upon a fixed and known foundation, and of uniting themselves with their fellow-subjects of Great Britain in one common bond of interest and mutual assistance, his return to Williamsburg would be as fruitless to the people, as it might possibly be dangerous to himself; but that if their proceedings manifested that happy disposition, he would return with the greatest joy, and consider it as the most fortunate event of his life, if they gave him an opportunity to be an instrument of promoting their happiness, and of being a successful mediator between them and the supreme authority.

The mollifying terms of the conclusion, were by no means equal to the removal of the acrimony excited by those severe charges and implications, which were contained in the foregoing parts of this long message. It accordingly produced a reply of an uncommon length, under the form of an address, which was fraught with all the bitterness of recrimination, as well as with defensive arguments, and an examination of facts. The House had now received the report of its Committee relative to the causes

of the late disturbances, backed by the depositions of a number of British merchants, who were resident in different and remote parts of the colony, all whose testimony tended to shew the general tranquillity which prevailed previous to the late affair of the powder, and the Governor's declaration relative to the slaves, the latter of which, so far as it was believed, having particularly irritated the people; that notwithstanding, quiet and order were soon every where restored, and still continued; that there was a general acquiescence every where in the determinations of the General and Provincial Congress; but they all concurred in believing, that the people had no design or wish of an independency on Great Britain; and some, that, on the contrary, they had a most eager desire for such a connection, as it stood before the late acts of parliament; they were unanimous in their opinion, that a redress of the grievances complained of, would establish a perfect tranquillity, and produce a reconciliation with the parent state.

To refute the charges or insinuations of disaffection and disloyalty, the House of Burgesses took a retrospective view of the behaviour of the people, and of several transactions in the colony, for some years back; they stated the happiness which they derived under the conduct of former Governors, as a strong contrast to their present situation; they attributed that happiness, particularly in a very late instance, to the discountenancing of tale-bearers and malicious informers, to a proper examination of every subject, and the taking of nothing upon trust; and, finally,

to the transmitting home a faithful representation of things in the colony. They stated their former conduct and behaviour with respect to his Lordship, and observed, that changes seldom happened without some sufficient cause; that respect was not to be obtained by force from a free people; that nothing was so likely to insure it, as dignity of character, a candid and exemplary conduct. That they did not mean to insinuate his Lordship would, designedly, misrepresent facts; but that it was much to be feared, he too easily gave credit to designing persons, who, to the great injury of the community, possessed much too large a share of his confidence.

They controverted the facts, and examined with great severity, the representations and charges contained in those two letters to the Earl of Dartmouth, which we have already taken notice of; these they represented as exceedingly injurious and unjust, as founded on misconception, misinformation, the height of colouring, the misstating, or the assumption of facts without evidence. They then proceeded to justify the steps which had been taken with regard to the militia; their supposed countenance to the acts done concerning the magazine, and the other matters which first excited, and afterwards inflamed, the controversy.

The House of Burgesses 14th. also presented their address in answer to the Governor's speech, in which they entered into a long discussion of the proposition contained in the parliamentary resolution, founded upon Lord North's conciliatory motion. This they combated upon the same grounds,

and with a variety of arguments of the same nature, that we have formerly stated; and they ultimately declared, that as it only changed the form of oppression, without lessening its burthen, they could not close with its terms. They observed, however, that these were only offered as the sentiments of an individual part of the whole empire; and for a final determination; they referred the affair to the General Congress, before whom they would lay the papers. To them also they referred the discovery of that proper mode of representing their well-founded grievances, which his Lordship assured them, would meet with the attention and regard so justly due to them. For themselves, they made the following declaration: "We have exhausted every mode of application which our invention could suggest, as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with parliament; they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our King with supplications; he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed to the native honour and justice of the British nation; their efforts in our favour have been hitherto ineffectual."

In this state of distrust and ill-humour on both sides, every day afforded new ground for bickering, and every incident fresh room for altercation, so that there was a continued intercourse, by addresses, messages, and answers, between the House of Burgesses and the Fowey. This was a singular situation; an attempt to govern, without choosing, or finding it safe, to set a foot on shore in the country to be governed.

At

At length, the necessary bills having passed the assembly, and the advanced season requiring their attendance in their several countries, the council and Burgesses jointly intreated the Governor's presence, to give his assent to them and finish the session. They observed, that though the business had been greatly impeded by his absence from the seat of government, and they had submitted to the inconvenience of repeatedly sending their members twelve miles to attend his Excellency on board a ship of war, they could not but think it highly improper, and too great a departure from the constitutional and accustomed mode of transacting their business, to present the bills to him at any other place than the capital.

Lord Dunmore in his answer was somewhat rough. He insisted upon his right of calling them to any place in the colony, where the exigence of affairs might render their attendance necessary. He further observed, that as he had not been made acquainted with the whole proceedings of the Assembly, he knew of no bills of importance, which, if he were inclined to risque his person again among the people, they had to present to him, nor whether they were such as he could assent to if they had.

To obviate these objections, though it was an unprecedented act, the Assembly sent the bills, as well as other papers which were afterwards demanded, on board the *Fowey*, for his inspection. The most interesting of those bills, seemingly to all parties, was that for the payment of the forces, who had lately, under his Lordship's command, suffered considerably, at

the same time that they had done essential service to their country, by their bravery and success in the late Indian war. This bill was objected to by the Governor, for its imposing a tax upon the importation of slaves, and for some informality in respect to the emission of paper money. The other bills were approved of.

This produced the final address from the House of Burgesses, in which they intreated his Excellency, that he would meet them the ensuing day at Williamsburg, to pass the bills that were ready; expressed their hopes, that he could not still entertain any groundless fears of personal danger; but declared, that if it was possible he remained under so strange an influence, they pledged their honours, and every thing sacred, for his security. If nothing could prevail, they requested that he would grant a commission for passing such bills as he approved.

Lord Dunmore persisted in the objections he had made to the bill; said that the well-grounded cause he had for believing his person not safe at Williamsburgh, had increased daily. That he therefore could not meet them, as they requested, at the capital; but that he would be ready to receive the House on the following Monday, at his present residence, for the purpose of giving his assent to such acts as he should approve of.

This answer put an end to all public correspondence and business between the Governor and colony. The transferring the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of a great country on board a man of war, was evidently not to be expected. Their danger in such
a situa-

a situation, if on other accounts it were possible they could put themselves into it, was no less than Lord Dunmore's could be on land. It may, however, be supposed, that the Governor's conduct was operated upon by causes, or influenced by motives, with which we are unacquainted.

Upon receiving the forgoing answer, the Burgesses passed resolutions, in which they declared, that the message requiring them to attend the Governor on board a ship of war, was a high breach of their rights and privileges. That the unreasonable delays thrown into their proceedings, and the evasive answers to their sincere and decent addresses, gave them reason to fear that a dangerous attack was meditated against the unhappy people of that colony, and it was therefore their opinion, that they should prepare for the preservation of their property, and their inestimable rights and liberties. And then, strongly professing loyalty to the King, and amity to the mother country, they broke up their session.

Thus, unhappily, was an end put, for the present, to the English government in the colony of Virginia. A convention July 18th. of delegates was soon appointed to supply the place of the assembly, who having an unlimited confidence reposed in them by the people, became accordingly possessed of an unlimited power in all public affairs. These immediately took in hand the raising and embodying of an armed force, as well as the providing means for its support, and pursued every other measure which could tend to place the colony in a strong state of de-

fence. Whilst they were pursuing these dangerous steps, they published a declaration in justification of their conduct, tracing the measures that led to the present unhappy state of public affairs, setting forth the cause of their meeting, and shewing the necessity of immediately putting the country in a posture of defence, for the protection of their lives, liberties, and properties. They concluded, as the assembly had done, with the strongest professions of faith and loyalty, and declared, that as, on the one hand, they were determined at the peril of the extremest hazards, to maintain their just rights and privileges, so on the other, it was their fixed and unalterable resolution, to disband such forces as were raised for the defence of the colony, whenever their dangers were removed, and America restored to its former state of tranquillity and happiness.

Whether Lord Dunmore expected that any extraordinary advantages might be derived from an insurrection of the slaves, or that he imagined there was a much greater number of people in the colony, who were satisfied with the present system of government, than really was the case, (a mistake, and an unfortunate one, which like an epidemical distemper, seems to have spread through all our official departments in America) upon whatever grounds he proceeded, he determined, though he relinquished his government, not to abandon his hopes, nor entirely to lose sight of the country which he had governed. He accordingly, being joined by those friends of government, who had rendered themselves too obnoxious to the people

people to continue with safety in the country, as well as by a number of runaway negroes, and supported by the frigates of war which were upon the station, endeavoured to establish such a marine force, as would enable him, by means of the noble rivers, which render the most valuable parts of that rich country accessible by water, to be always at hand, and ready to profit of any favourable occasion that offered.

Upon this, or some similar system, he by degrees equipped and armed a number of vessels of different kinds and sizes, in one of which he constantly resided, never setting his foot on shore but in a hostile manner; the force thus put together, was, however, calculated only for depredation, and never became equal to any essential service. The former, indeed, was in part a matter of necessity, for as the people on shore would not supply those on board with provisions or necessities, they must either starve, or provide them by force. The Virginians pretend, that while the depredations were confined to those necessary objects, the respect which they bore to the rank and office of their governor, prevented his meeting with any resistance; but their nature was soon changed into open and avowed hostility. Obnoxious persons, they said, were seized and carried on board the ships; plantations ravaged and destroyed; the negroes carried off; houses burnt, and at length lives lost on both sides. In one of these expeditions, his Lordship destroyed a number of iron cannon, and carried off some others, which he supposed were provided for the purposes of rebellion, though the Virginians assert they were ship guns. These

proceedings occasioned the sending of some detachments of the new-raised forces to protect the coasts, and from thence ensued, a small, mischievous, predatory war, incapable of affording honour or benefit, and in which, at length, every drop of water, and every necessary, was purchased at the price or the risque of blood.

During this state of hostility, he procured a few soldiers from different parts, with Oct. 25th. whose assistance, an attempt was made to burn a port-town, in an important situation, called Hampton. It seems the inhabitants had some previous suspicion of the design, for they had sunk boats in the entrance of the harbour, and thrown such other obstacles in the way, as rendered the approach of the ships, and consequently a landing, impracticable on the day on which the attack was commenced. The ships cut a passage through the boats in the night, and began to cannonade the town furiously in the morning; but at this critical period they were relieved from their apprehensions and danger, by the arrival of a detachment of rifle and minute men from Williamsburg, who had marched all night to their assistance. These, joined with the inhabitants, attacked the ships so vigorously with their small arms, that they were obliged precipitately to quit their station, with the loss of some men, and of a tender which was taken.

In consequence of Nov. 7th. this repulse, a proclamation was issued by the Governor, dated on board the ship William, off Norfolk, declaring, that as the civil law was at present insufficient

to prevent and punish treason and traitors, martial law should take place, and be executed throughout the colony; and requiring all persons capable of bearing arms to repair to his Majesty's standard, or to be considered as traitors. He also declared all indebted servants, negroes, and others, appertaining to rebels, who were able and willing to bear arms, and who joined his Majesty's forces, to be free.

This measure of emancipating the negroes, excited less surprise, and probably had less effect in exciting the desired insurrection, from its being so long threatened and apprehended, than if it had been more immediate and unexpected. It was, however, received with the greatest horror in all the colonies, and has been severely condemned elsewhere, as tending to loosen the bands of society, to destroy domestic security, and encourage the most barbarous of mankind, to the commission of the most horrible crimes, and the most inhuman cruelties; that it was confounding the innocent with the guilty, and exposing those who were the best friends to government, to the same loss of property, danger, and destruction, with the most incorrigible rebels. It was said to establish a precedent of a most dangerous nature in the new world, by giving a legal sanction to the arraying and embodying of African negroes, to appear in arms against white men, and to encounter them upon an equal footing in the field: for however founded distinctions with respect to colour may appear, when examined by the tests of nature, reason, or philosophy, while things continue in their present state, while commerce, luxury, and ava-

rice, render slavery a principal object in the political system of every European power that possesses dominion in America, the idea of a pre-eminence must always be cherished, and considered as a necessary policy. This measure is perhaps liable to be charged with another political fault, which has attended too many others that have been lately adopted with respect to America, viz. that of violent irritation, without affording any adequate benefit.

The proclamation, however, with Lord Dunmore's presence, and the encouragement of the small marine force he had with him, produced, for the present, some effect in the town of Norfolk, and the adjoining country, where many of the people were well affected to government. He was accordingly joined by some hundreds both of blacks and whites, and many others, who did not chuse to take an active part, publicly abjured the Congress, with all its acts, and all conventions and committees, whatever. It is probable that Lord Dunmore now hoped, that the facility and good disposition which he experienced here, would have been so general, as to enable him to raise a considerable armed force, and thus, perhaps, without any foreign assistance, to have the glory of reducing one part of the province by the means of the other.

This pleasing hope was interrupted by intelligence, that a party of the rebels were marching towards them with great expedition. To obstruct their designs, and protect the well affected, he took possession of a post called the Great Bridge, which lay at some miles distance from Norfolk, and was a pass

pais of great consequence, being the only way by which they could approach to that town. Here he constructed a fort on the Norfolk side of the bridge, which he furnished well with artillery, and rendered as defensible as the time would admit. Notwithstanding the loyalty of the people in this quarter, which included two small counties, it does not appear that his force was at all considerable, either as to number or quality; he had indeed about 200 regulars, including the grenadiers of the 14th regiment, and a body called the Norfolk volunteers; the rest were a motley mixture of blacks and whites. The enemy, under the command of a Colonel Woodford, fortified themselves also, within less than cannon shot of our people; they had a narrow causeway in their front, which must be passed to come at their works, so that both parties seemed pretty well secured from surprise.

In this state they continued quiet on both sides for some days, until at length a design was formed, of surprizing the rebels in their entrenchments. This was Dec. 9th. undertaken before daylight. Capt. Fordyce, at the head of his grenadiers, amounting to about sixty, led the attack. They boldly passed the causeway, and marched up to the entrenchments with fixed bayonets, and with a coolness and intrepidity, which first excited the astonishment, and afterwards the praise of their enemies; for they were not only exposed naked to the fire in front, but enlisted by another part of the works. The brave Captain, with several of his men, fell; the Lieutenant, with others, were taken,

and all the survivors of the grenadier company, whether prisoners or not, were wounded.

The fire of the artillery from the fort, enabled our people to retire without pursuit, as well as to carry off many of their dead and wounded. It will excite no great surprize, that the slaves in this engagement, did more prejudice to our own people, than to the enemy. It has been said, that we were led into this unfortunate affair, through the designed false intelligence of a pretended deserter, who was tutored for the purpose: however that may be, it was grievous, that such uncommon bravery should be squandered to no purpose. Capt. Fordyce was interred with every military honour by the victors, who shewed due respect to his former merit, as well as to the gallantry which signalized his last moments. The English prisoners were treated with great kindness; the Americans who had joined the king's standard, with equal rigour.

The King's forces retired from the post at the Great-Bridge the ensuing night, without any other loss than a few pieces of cannon, and some trifling stores which they left behind; and as all hopes in this quarter were now at an end, Lord Dunmore thought it necessary to abandon the town and neighbourhood of Norfolk, and retired again with his people on board the ships, which were considerably increased in number, by those which they found in that port. Many of the well-affected, (or Tories, which was the appellation now given to them throughout America) thought it prudent, with their families, to seek the same asylum, whither they also carried the

the most portable and valuable of their effects. Thus his Lordship formed a considerable fleet, with respect to the number of vessels and tonnage, and these were also crowded with people; but the ships were without force, and contained mouths without hands fit to navigate them. The rebels took possession of Norfolk, and the fleet moved to a greater distance.

During these transactions a scheme had been in agitation, for raising a considerable force at the back of the colonies, particularly in Virginia and the Carolinas, where it was known there were many well affected to the King's government; it was hoped that some of the Indian nations might be induced to become parties in this design; and that thus united, they not only would make such a diversion, as must greatly alarm and distress the rebels, but that they might penetrate so far towards the coasts, as to form a junction with Lord Dunmore. One Connelly, a native of Pennsylvania, an active enterprizing man, who seems to have been well calculated for such an undertaking, was the framer of this design; and his project being approved by Lord Dunmore, he with great difficulty and danger carried on a negotiation with the Ohio Indians, and his friends among the back settlers, upon the subject. This having succeeded to his satisfaction, he returned to Lord Dunmore, who sent him with the necessary credentials to Boston, where he received a commission from General Gage, to act as colonel commandant, with assurances of support and assistance, at the time and in the manner appointed. It was in-

tended, that the garrisons which we had at Detroit, and some other of the remote back forts, with their artillery and ammunition, should be subservient to this design, and the adventurer expected to draw some assistance, at least, of volunteers and officers, from the nearest parts of Canada. He was to grant all commissions to the officers, and to have the supreme direction in every thing of the new forces, and as soon as they were in sufficient condition, he was to penetrate through Virginia in such a manner, as to meet Lord Dunmore, at a given time in the month of April, in the vicinity of Alexandria, upon the river Potowmac, who was to bring such a naval force, and other assistance, as was deemed necessary for the purpose. It was also a part, and not the least comprehensive, of this plan, to cut off the communication between the northern and southern colonies.

Thus far, affairs seemed to look well with our adventurer; but on his road through Maryland to the scene of action, and when he was so far advanced that the worst seemed nearly over, the vigilance, or suspicious temper of one of the committees unfortunately frustrated all his hopes. Being taken up on suspicion, with two of his associates who travelled along with him, his papers betrayed every thing; among these was the general scheme of the design, a letter from Lord Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs, with such other authentic vouchers, as left nothing to be doubted. The papers were published by the Congress, and the undertakers sent to prison.

As it does not appear that the loyalists

loyalists were very lenient to those who differed with them in political opinions, during the short time of their superiority in the country adjoining to Norfolk, so now, upon the turn of affairs, the obtaining a plausible shew of justice, under the colour of retaliation, afforded such a favourable opportunity for the practice of severity, and the gratification of private pique, and natural malignity, on the other side, as is never known to be neglected by any party in similar circumstances. For though many had taken shelter on board the ships, a much greater number remained behind; some being willing to hazard some danger, rather than abandon their property; others hoping that their conduct, from its moderation, would bear enquiry; and the majority, from their having no prospect of subsistence if they quitted home, and an expectation that their obscurity would save them from notice. To conclude, such charges of oppression, injustice, and cruelty, were made on both sides, as are usually done in such cases.

In the mean time, the people in the fleet were distressed for provisions and necessaries of every sort, and were cut off from every kind of succour from the shore. This occasioned constant bickering between the armed ships and boats, and the forces that were stationed on the coast, particularly at Norfolk. At length, upon the arrival of the Liverpool man of war from England, a flag was sent on shore, to put the question, whether they would supply his majesty's ships with provisions? which being answered in the negative, and the ships in the harbour being con-

tinually annoyed by the fire of the rebels, from that part of the town which lay next the water, it was determined to dislodge them by destroying it. Previous notice being accordingly given to the inhabitants, that they might remove from the danger, the first day of the new year was signalized by the attack, when a violent cannonade, from the Liverpool frigate, two sloops of war, and the Governor's armed ship the Dunmore, seconded by parties of the sailors and marines, who landed and set fire to the nearest houses, soon produced the desired effect, and the whole town was reduced to ashes.

It appears from a gazette published in the Governor's ship, (who had removed the printing press and materials thither from Norfolk) that it was only intended to destroy that part of the town which was next the water; but that the rebels completed the destruction, by setting fire to the back and remote streets, which, as the wind was in their favour, would have otherwise been safe from the fury of the flames. It is not, however, easy to prescribe limits to the progress of a fire in such, or indeed in any circumstances. A few of those who landed, as well as of the rebels, were killed and wounded.

Such was the fate of the unfortunate town of Norfolk, the most considerable for commerce in the colony, and so growing and flourishing before these unhappy troubles, that in the two years from 1773 to 1775, the rents of the houses increased from 8000 to 10,000 pounds a year. The whole loss is estimated at above 30,000l. However just the cause, or urgent the necessity, which induced this measure,

measure, it was undoubtedly a grievous and odious task to a governor, to be himself a principal actor, in burning and destroying the best town in his government. The rebels, after this transaction, to cut off every resource from the ships, and partly perhaps to punish the well-affected, burnt and destroyed the houses and plantations within reach of the water, and obliged the people to remove, with their cattle, provisions, and portable effects, farther into the country.

Nor was the situation of other governors in America, much more eligible than that of Lord Dunmore. In South Carolina, Lord William Campbell, having, as they said, entered into a negotiation with the Indians, for coming in to the support of government in that province, and having also succeeded in exciting a number of those back settlers, whom we have heretofore seen distinguished in the Carolinas, under the title of Regulators, to espouse the same cause, the discovery of these measures, before they were sufficiently ripe for execution, occasioned such a ferment among the people, that he thought it necessary to retire from Charles-Town on board a ship of war in the river, from whence he returned no more to the seat of his government. In the mean time a Mr. Drayton, who was judge of the superior court, and one of the most leading men in the colony, marched with a strong armed force to the back settlements, where a treaty was concluded between him and the leaders of the Regulators, in which the differences between them were attributed to misinformation, a misunderstanding of each others

views and designs, and a tenderness of conscience on the side of the latter, which prevented their signing the associations, or pursuing any measures against government; but as they now engaged, neither by word nor act to impede or contravene such proceedings as should be adopted and pursued by the province in general, nor to give any information, aid, or assistance, to such British troops as should at any time arrive in it, so they were to be entirely free in their conduct otherwise, to enjoy a safe neutrality, and to suffer no molestation, for their not taking an active part in the present troubles.

The government of the province was lodged in a council of safety consisting of 13 persons, with the occasional assistance of a committee of ninety-nine. As they had intelligence that an armament was preparing in England, which was particularly intended against it, no means were left untried for its defence, in disciplining the forces, procuring arms and gunpowder, and particularly in fortifying and securing Charles-Town.

Similar measures were pursued in North-Carolina, (with the difference that Governor Martin was more active and vigorous in his proceedings) but attended with as little success. The Provincial Congress, Committees, and Governor, were in a continued state of the most violent warfare. Upon a number of charges, particularly of fomenting a civil war, and exciting an insurrection among the negroes, he was declared an enemy to America in general, and to that colony in particular, and all persons forbidden from holding any com-

communication with him. These declarations he answered with a proclamation of uncommon length, which the Provincial Congress resolved to be a false, scandalous, scurrilous, malicious, and seditious libel, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

As the Governor expected by means of the back settlers, as well as of the Scotch inhabitants and Highland emigrants, who were numerous in the province, to be able to raise a considerable force, he took pains to fortify and arm his palace at Newbern, that it might answer the double purpose of a garrison and magazine. Before this could be effected, the moving of some cannon excited such a commotion among the people, that he found it necessary to abandon the palace, and retire on board a sloop of war in Cape Fear river. The people, upon this occasion, discovered powder, shot, ball, and various military stores and implements, which had been buried in the palace garden and yard; this served to inflame them exceedingly, every man considering it as if it had been a plot against himself in particular.

In other respects, the province had followed the example of their neighbours in South-Carolina, by establishing a council and committees of safety, with other substitutes for a regular and permanent government. They also pursued the same methods of providing for defence, of raising; arming and supporting forces, and of training the militia, and shewed equal vigour and eagerness in all their proceedings. The Provincial Congress published an address to

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the inhabitants of the British empire, of the same nature with those we have formerly seen to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, containing the same professions of loyalty and affection, and declaring the same earnest desire of a reconciliation.

General Gage having returned in the beginning of October to England, the command in chief of the army at Boston devolved upon General Howe, who soon after issued a proclamation, by which, such of the inhabitants as attempted to quit the town without licence, were condemned to military execution, if detected and taken, and if they escaped, to be proceeded against as traitors, by the forfeiture of their effects. By another, such as obtained permission to quit the town, were restrained by severe penalties, from carrying more than a small specified sum of money with them. He also enjoined the signing and entering into an association, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their persons for the defence of the town, and such of them as he approved of, were to be armed, formed into companies, and instructed in military exercises and discipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money towards the common defence.

As the limited term, for which the soldiers in the army before Boston had enlisted, was nearly expired, a committee from the General Congress, consisting of several of its most respectable members, were sent thither, to take the necessary measures, in conjunction with Gen. Washington, for keeping it from disbanded. This, however, does not seem to have

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been a work of any great difficulty, the whole army having re-enlisted for a year certain to come. Of all the difficulties which the Americans met, in their attempts towards the establishment of a military force, nothing affected them so grievously, or was found so hard to be remedied, as the want of gunpowder. For though they used the utmost diligence in the collecting and preparing of nitre, and in all the other parts of the manufacture, the resource from their industry in that respect, must necessarily be slow, and with regard to any considerable effect, distant. Nor had they yet opened that commerce, nor entered into those measures with foreign states, which have since procured them a supply of military articles. Indeed the scarcity of powder was so great, that it is said the troops at Bunker's-Hill had not a single charge left at the end of that short engagement: and it is also said, that the weakness of the army before Boston in that respect, was at one time so great, that nothing but our ignorance of the circumstance, could have saved them from being dispersed and ruined. They, however, left nothing undone to supply this defect, and among other temporary expedients, had contrived to purchase, without notice or suspicion, all the powder upon the coast of Africa, and plundered the magazine in the island of Bermuda, of above 100 barrels, which was carried off (as it was pretended) without the knowledge of the inhabitants.

In the course of the depredation, threat, and hostility, which continually occurred on the sea-coasts, the town of Falmouth, in the

northern part of the province of Massachusetts Bay, was doomed to experience Oct. 18th. a share of those calamities, which were afterwards dispensed in a greater degree to Norfolk in Virginia. Some particular violence or misbehaviour, relative to the loading of a mast ship, drew the indignation of the Admiral upon this place, and occasioned an order for its destruction. The officer who commanded the ships upon this occasion, gave two hours previous notice to the inhabitants to provide for their safety, and this time was further enlarged till the next morning, under the cover of a negotiation for delivering up their artillery and small arms, at the price of saving the town. This, however, they at length refused to comply with; but had made use of the intermediate time in removing so many of their effects as they could procure carriages for, or as the darkness and confusion of the night would admit of.

About 9 o'clock in the morning, a cannonade was begun, and continued with little intermission through the day. Above 3000 shot, besides bombs and carcasses, were thrown into the town, and the sailors landed to complete the destruction, but were repulsed with the loss of a few men. The principal part of the town, (which lay next the water) consisting of about 130 dwelling houses, and 278 stores and warehouses, with a large new church, a new handsome court-house, the old town-house, with the public library, were reduced to ashes; about 100 of the worst houses, being favoured by the situation and distance, escaped destruction, though not without damage.

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Though the settlements in this quarter were new, being mostly established since the last war, this small town was amazingly thriving, being situated on a fine harbour, and having a very considerable trade, so that it was computed to contain about 600 families, though little more than one third of that number of dwelling-houses.

The destruction which fell upon Falmouth, probably accelerated in the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, the daring measure (under the pretence of protecting their coasts) of Nov. 13th. passing an act, for granting letters of marque and reprisal, and the establishment of courts of admiralty, for the trial and condemnation of British ships. In this law they declared an intention, of only defending the coasts and navigation of America, extending the power of capture only to such ships as should be employed in bringing supplies to the armies employed against them.

In the course of the summer, articles of confederation and perpetual union, between the several colonies which were already associated, with liberty of admission to those of Quebec, St. John's, Nova-Scotia, the two Floridas, and Bermudas, containing rules for their general government in peace and war, both with respect to foreigners and each other, were drawn up by the General Congress, and by them transmitted to the different colonies, for the inspection and consideration of their respective assemblies. If these articles met with their approbation, they were to empower their delegates in the ensuing general Congress, to ratify and confirm them; and from that

time, the union which they established was to continue firm, until, besides a redress of their grievances, reparation was made for the losses sustained by Boston, for the burning of Charles-Town, for the expences of the war, and until the British troops were withdrawn from America. When those events took place, the colonies were to return to their former connections and friendship with Great Britain; but on failure thereof, the confederation to be perpetual.

The people, however, were not yet sufficiently irritated, nor their affections and prejudices sufficiently broken, to accede to a confederacy, which, though conditionally framed and worded, yet led to a total separation from the mother country. For though they took up arms and opposed government, still, it was, in general, under the hope of obtaining thereby a redress of grievances; and that being the nearer and more agreeable object, they would not willingly look to any thing further, especially to one so dreadful as a total separation. It required a longer time in the contemplation of real or supposed injuries, and in speculations upon future, together with fresh and constant sources of irritation, to arrive at that habit of vexation and hatred, which was necessary to break ties of so long a standing, and to familiarize so new an idea.

A resolution was also passed by the Congress at the appearance of autumn, that as America was blessed with a most plentiful harvest, and should have a great superfluity to spare for other nations, so, if the late restraining laws were not repealed, within six months from the 20th of July, on which they commenced,

menced, the custom-houses should be every where shut up, and their ports from thenceforth be open to every state in Europe, (which would admit and protect their commerce) free of all duties, and for every kind of commodity, excepting, only, teas, and the merchandize of Great Britain, and her dependencies. And the more to encourage foreigners to engage in trade with them, they passed a resolution, that they would, to the utmost of their power, maintain and support such freedom of commerce for two years certain after its commencement, notwithstanding any reconciliation with Great Britain, and as much longer as the present obnoxious laws should continue.—They also, immediately, suspended the non-importation agreement, in favour of all ships that should bring gunpowder, nitre, sulphur, good muskets fitted with bayonets, or brass field pieces, such ships being to be loaded in return with the full value of their cargoes.

Dec. 6th. Towards the close of the year, the General

Congress published a declaration, in answer to the royal proclamation for suppressing rebellion and sedition, which was issued at St. James's on the 23d of August. In this piece they combated and denied the charges of forgetting their allegiance, of treason, and rebellion, and took particular notice of the dangerous tendency, and indiscriminate nature of a clause, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, the carrying on of any correspondence from England, with any persons in rebellion, or the aiding or abetting of such. But, not content with critical observations, they conclude with a declaration in the name of the people of the united colonies, That whatever punishment shall be inflicted upon any persons in the power of their enemies, for favouring, aiding, or abetting, the cause of American liberty, should be retaliated in the same kind and in the same degree, upon those in their power, who have favoured, aided, or abetted, or should favour, aid, or abet, the system of ministerial oppression.

CHAP. II.

State of affairs previous to the meeting of parliament. City public transactions. Letters from New York. Addresses from the guild of merchants in Dublin, to Lord Effingham, and to the protesting Peers. Resolutions of the sheriffs and commons of the city of Dublin. Riot of the sailors at Liverpool. Petition from the American Congress, presented by Mr. Penn. Addresses. State of parties. Ancient animosities revived. Petitions. Newfoundland. Negotiations for foreign troops. Great supplies of provisions sent for the support of the army in Boston. Vast expenses of that service. Reports circulated for some time before the opening of the session. Conspiracy. Mr. Sayre sent to the Tower.

ADMINISTRATION was there was scarcely a possibility of now so closely entwined in overthrowing the one, without involving the other in its fall; whilst the present American system, that that

that system was, itself, so firmly supported, that nothing less than some violent and extraordinary convulsion, seemed even capable of shaking it. Yet, notwithstanding this pledge of security, the ministers could not but feel great uneasiness, at the accounts that were daily received from the colonies during the recess of parliament.

For though opposition were not very strong in number, they were as quick in discovering faults and errors, as they were indefatigable in exposing them, and in tracing effects up through the labyrinth of their causes. In truth, affairs had run so counter in America, and every measure had produced an effect so directly contrary to what was proposed or expected, that it was not easy to set a good face upon the matter, either to the parliament, or to the nation.

It is true that many former ministerial incumbrances had been rubbed off by the calling of a new parliament; all engagements with the old, all promises and mistakes, being thereby at one dash obliterated. But a new and heavy score had already been run up, in the single session which had elapsed of the present parliament. The restraining bills, passed by this, were to have affixed a seal to all the acts of its predecessors. The general distress arising from a general punishment in the colonies, would, it was hoped, render the majority the avengers of government, and the punishers of the incorrigible. The conciliatory resolution, independent of every thing else, in its double capacity of converting and dividing, was supposed well adapted to accomplish all that was wanted. To these, however, was added an army, sufficient, as the sanguine

thought, to look America into subjection, without the trouble of a blow. And to crown the whole, a naval force, which would in itself be nearly equal to the purpose.

Each of these must become a subject of animadversion, and it would not be easy in some, to ward against the charges of misinformation, ignorance, misconception, or incapacity, which would assuredly attend them. In particular, the questions respecting the war must be exceedingly embarrassing. Since extremities were determined upon, why was not a sufficient force sent in time, to run down or prevent all opposition? Why has such a course of irritation and threat been carried on for several years, as to give the people warning of their danger, and time to throw themselves into their present strong state of defence? If it now appears that five times the number are scarcely adequate to the service, How could the minister have been so totally ignorant and misinformed, as to suppose that 10,000 men could subdue America without bloodshed?

These and many other questions would be much easier put than answered. To remedy the mischiefs of past tardiness, it was determined to carry on the war with a vigour that should astonish all Europe, and to employ such an army in the ensuing campaign, as never before had entered the new world. This, it was said, besides the grand object, would be the most effectual means of silencing clamour, and of preventing troublesome, and now useless, enquiries. When once the people were heartily engaged in a war, they would never wait to recollect; much less to animadvert

on, the original causes of dispute; but would in their usual manner, and from their natural disposition, carry it on with eagerness, and if gratified now and then with a brilliant stroke of success, care nothing about future burthens or consequences. Thus the public opinion would be secured; they had already shewn a decided superiority in parliament; and the efforts of the minority, struggling with the general opinion, and directed against the apparent national interest, would only tend to render them every day more feeble; and deprive them of that popularity, which is the soul of opposition.

The late engagements in America, had, in a certain degree, affected both the national and military pride of the people. Many of those, who had not approved of our late conduct with respect to the colonies, thought it now too late to look back, or to enquire into past causes, that government must be supported at any rate, that we must not hesitate at any expence or danger to preserve our dominions, and that whoever was right in the beginning, the American insolence deserved chastisement at present.

Many causes concurred to prevent the loss of the American commerce from being yet generally felt. The prodigious remittances in corn during our scarcity, which we must do the Americans the justice to say, they with great honesty made in discharge of their debts, with the much larger than usual sums which they were enabled to pay, from the advanced prices of oil, tobacco, and other commodities, all together occasioned a prodigious influx of money.

The sailing of the fleet from

Spain, the armament against Algiers, and the peace between the Russians and Turks, occasioned an unusual demand for goods and manufactures of various sorts, from Spain, the North of Europe, and Turkey, which keeping up a brisk circulation in trade, business, and money, all contributed to the same effect.

The war itself, the supplying of an army and navy with provisions and necessaries of every sort, at so prodigious a distance, gave employment and emolument to an infinite number of people, engaged a vast quantity of shipping in the transport service, which would have been otherwise idle, and caused such a bustle of business, and circulation of cash, as checked all observation of other deficiencies, and stifled all attention to future consequences. A golden harvest also, was not only opened to the view of contractors, but they had already enjoyed such a share of the fruits, as was sufficient to excite the most eager rage for its continuance and renewal. It is scarcely necessary to mention the numberless dealers and gamblers, in lotteries, stocks, and other money transactions, who profit by all wars. These contributed to keep up the spirits of the people, and to animate them to this civil contention.

On the other hand, the great bodies of American, African, and West-India merchants, with the West-Indian planters, had too long foreseen, and already too deeply experienced, the fatal effects of the present unhappy contest. They accordingly, with a majority of the inhabitants of the great trading cities of London and Bristol, still wished and struggled to

to have matters restored to their ancient state, and reprobated all the measures which led to the present crisis. No inconsiderable part of the people in other places, though grown less loud in their demands for peace, still, however, remained dissatisfied with the present measures. In Ireland, though those in office, and the principal nobility and gentry declared against America, by far the majority of the protestant inhabitants there, who are strenuous and declared whigs, strongly leaned to the cause of the colonies.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that an unusual apathy with respect to public affairs, seemed to prevail with the people, in general, of this country; of which a stronger proof needs not to be given, than that which will probably recur to every body's memory, that the accounts of many of the late military actions, as well as of political proceedings of no less importance, were received with as much indifference, and canvassed with as much coolness and unconcern, as if they had happened between two nations with whom we were scarcely connected. We must except from all these observations, the people of North-Britain, who, almost to a man, so far as they could be described or distinguished under any particular denomination, not only applauded, but proffered life and fortune in support of the present measures. The same approbation was also given, and assurances made, though with somewhat less earnestness and unanimity, by a great number of

towns in England. The recruiting service, however, which may be considered as a kind of political barometer with respect to the sentiments of the lowest orders in cases of that nature, went on very heavily for the land and sea service, both in England and Ireland, though no encouragement was wanting, nor means left untried, for the making of extraordinary levies.

In this state of June 24, 1775. things, at a meeting of the citizens of London in Common-hall for the election of their annual officers, the Lord-Mayor laid before them his Majesty's answer to their last remonstrance, together with the subsequent letter from the Lord Chamberlain*, giving notice, that the King would not receive, on the throne, any more of their petitions, except in their corporate capacity. Upon this information, they passed a number of resolutions, in one of which they declared, "That whoever advised his Majesty to declare he would not in future receive on the throne any address, remonstrance, and petition, from the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London, are enemies to the right of the subject to petition the throne, because such advice is calculated to intercept the complaints of the people to their Sovereign, to prevent a redress of grievances, and alienate the minds of Englishmen from the Hanoverian succession."

They then agreed upon another address, remonstrance, and petition, which at least equalled any

* See an account of both these transactions in the historical part of our last volume, p. 113.

of the former, in those sentiments, declarations, and charges, which were considered as most obnoxious. Among those expressions that were the least exceptionable, they desired his Majesty to consider, "what the situation of his people here must be, who have nothing now to expect from America, but Gazettes of blood, and mutual lites of their slaughtered fellow-subjects." In other respects, they passed the severest and harshest censures upon the Grand Council and Representative of the nation, as also upon ministers and secret advisers; and they conclude with a prayer for the dissolution of parliament, and a dismissal for ever of the present ministers and advisers.

A resolution was passed at the same time, that this address should not be presented, unless it was received sitting on the throne; and the Sheriffs having accordingly waited on the King to know when he would be pleased to receive it, they were informed that it would be accepted the next day at the levee, to which one of the Sheriffs replied, that the Livery in Common-Hall had resolved that their address should not be presented, unless it was received on the throne, the King immediately put an end to farther application by the following words: "I am ever ready to receive addresses and petitions; but I am the judge where."

In consequence of this July 4th. failure with respect to the petition, another Common-Hall was held in a few days, when the proceedings of the Sheriffs, and the King's answer, being reported to them, the latter was or-

dered to be entered in the city books; after which they resolved, That the King is bound to hear the petitions of his people, it being the undoubted right of the subject to be heard, and not a matter of grace and favour.—That the late answer was a direct denial of the right of that court to have their petitions heard.—That such denial renders the right of petitioning the throne, recognized and established by the Revolution, of no effect.—And that the adviser, directly or indirectly, of the refusal, was equally an enemy to the happiness and security of the King, and to the peace and liberties of the people.

They then ordered that their remonstrance, which was refused to be heard on the throne, should be printed in the public papers, and signed by the Town Clerk; that the Sheriffs, attended by the Remembrancer, should wait on the King, and deliver, in their name, into his hand, a fair copy of their resolutions, both on Midsummer-day, and the present, signed by the Town Clerk; and that they should be also printed in the public papers.—The resolutions were accordingly presented, and received without any answer.

The Common-Hall then passed an instruction to their representatives in parliament, directing that they should move immediately at the next meeting, for an humble address from the Commons to his Majesty, requesting to know who were the advisers of those fatal measures, which had planted popery and arbitrary power in America, and had plunged us into a most unnatural civil war, to the subversion of the fundamental principles

ciples of English liberty, the ruin of our most valuable commerce, and the destruction of his Majesty's subjects; also to know who were the advisers of the present measure of refusing petitions; and then to move for an impeachment of the authors and advisers of all those measures, that by bringing them to public justice, evil counsellors might be removed from before the King, his throne established, the rights of the people vindicated, and the whole empire restored to the enjoyment of peace, liberty, and safety.

Notwithstanding this heat of resentment in the Common-Hall, which, with the refusal on the other side, seemed to cut off all communication, in the way of petition, between the city and the throne, a very moderate and temperate application of that nature,

under the title of an humble Address and Petition, was, within a few days after, moved for, and carried by a majority, after considerable debate, in the body corporate, consisting in the court of Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. In this petition, they deplored the grievous distractions in America, lamented those measures whose destructive principles had driven their brethren there to acts of desperation, and strongly asserted their loyalty and affection, notwithstanding those acts; justifying their conduct upon that love of liberty which actuates all the members of the empire; they applied to the humanity of the Sovereign to heal the miseries of his people; hoped that the former conduct of the Americans, their free gifts and

ready service, in both of which they sprung far beyond, not only demand, but expectation, would procure a liberal and favourable construction of their present actions, and plead powerfully for granting them every reasonable opportunity of giving as freemen, what they seemed resolutely determined to refuse, under the injunction of laws made independent of their own consent. They concluded with the most pathetic supplications, that the present operations of force might be suspended; and that the Americans, untroubled by a restraint incompatible with a free government, might possess an opportunity of tendering such terms of accommodation, as they did not doubt, would approve them worthy of a distinguished rank among the firmest friends of this country.

This petition was received upon the throne, and his Majesty said in answer, That he was always ready to listen to the dutiful petitions of his subjects, and ever happy to comply with their reasonable requests; but while the constitutional authority of this kingdom was openly resisted by a part of his American subjects, he owed it to the rest of his people, of whose zeal and fidelity he had such constant proofs, to continue and enforce, those measures by which alone their rights and interests could be asserted and maintained.

Previous to these city transactions, a letter was received from the Committee of New-York, addressed to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, containing, together with a copy of their association, a recital of most
of

of those grievances and complaints, which we have so often been under a necessity of repeating. In this piece they rejected, and commented with severity upon, the terms included in the minister's conciliatory proposition; they declared the willingness of the colonies, in the ancient form of requisition, and upon suitable emergencies, to contribute to the support of the empire; but they must contribute of their voluntary gift as Englishmen; they testified their fidelity and inviolable loyalty, with their affection to this country; stated the great danger at present, of further irritation with respect to the colonies; declared the unanimity of their citizens in defending their rights at all risks; and trust in the most vigorous exertions of the city of London, towards restoring union, mutual confidence, and peace, to the whole empire.

The Earl of Effingham, whose military genius had led him when a youth into the army, and had since prompted him to ripen theory into experience wherever real service was to be found, by acting as a volunteer in the war between the Russians and Turks, had since his return, as a peer in parliament, uniformly opposed the whole system of measures pursued against the Americans, and finding, at length, that the regiment in which he served was intended for the American service, thought it inconsistent with his character, and unbecoming of his dignity, to enforce measures with his sword, which he had so utterly condemned in his legislative capacity. He accordingly wrote a letter of resigna-

tion to the Secretary at war, in which having declared the cheerfulness with which he would sacrifice life and fortune in support of the safety, honour, and dignity, of his Majesty's crown and person, he observed, that the same principles which had inspired him with these unalterable sentiments of duty and affection to the King, would not suffer him to be instrumental in depriving any part of his people of those liberties, which form the best security for their fidelity and obedience to his government. He expressed the deepest regret, and greatest mortification, at being obliged to quit a profession which had been that of his ancestors for many ages, to the study and practice of which from childhood his past life had been applied, and his future intentionally dedicated; and that as he waved the advantage which the custom of the service entitled him to, the right of selling what he had bought, he intreated, that he might be allowed to retain his rank in the army, that whenever the envy or ambition of foreign powers should require it, he might be enabled to serve his Majesty and his country in that way, in which of all others he thought himself best calculated to do it with effect.

This nobleman's resignation, or rather the cause from which it proceeded, gave great offence, and the request of retaining his rank in the army, we believe, was not complied with. Some officers had not shewn the satisfaction in going upon that service, which they would have done upon any other. A few, indeed, who could not conquer their repugnance to it had quitted.

quitted. But the majority thought, that where the superior authorities of King and parliament had decided, it was no part of their military duty to enquire into the justice or policy of the quarrel.

This conduct, however, rendered that nobleman extremely popular among those who held similar opinions in regard to the American measures, and who still composed a numerous body in England and Ireland. This soon appeared in the city, where among the resolutions passed in the Common-Hall, on Midsummer-Day, and which were afterwards presented to the King, public thanks were ordered to be given to "the Right Honourable the Earl of Effingham, for having, consistently with the principles of a true Englishman, refused to draw that sword, which has been employed to the honour of his country, against the lives and liberties of his fellow-subjects in America." And soon after, a similar address of thanks, but in still fuller terms, was presented to him from the Guild of Merchants in Dublin.

This last body, who in Dublin form a corporation, presented also an address of thanks to the several Peers, who, (as they say) "in support of our constitution, and in opposition to a weak and wicked administration, protested against the American Restraining Bills." This Address to the Protesting Lords, (to which was affixed the corporation seal) was sent to each separately, and a separate answer accordingly given, all of which appeared at that time in the public papers.

The Sheriffs and Commons of

the city of Dublin, had for some time endeavoured to obtain the concurrence of the Lord-Mayor and board of Aldermen, in a petition to the throne, against the measures pursued with respect to the colonies; but were answered by the latter, upon their first application, that the matter was of the *highest importance*, and therefore *inexpedient*. Upon a subsequent occasion, however, they seem to have concurred in the measure, as a committee of six Aldermen, with as many Commoners, and the Recorder, were appointed to draw up a petition and address; this task, after several weeks preparation or delay, being at length accomplished, the petition was arrested in its further progress, by a negative from the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen.

Upon this disappointment, Aug. 28. the Sheriffs and Commons prefaced the two following resolutions by a declaration, that "Anxious to preserve our reputations, from the odium that must remain to all posterity on the names of those, who in any wise promote the acts now carrying on in America, and feeling the most poignant grief, as well on account of the injured inhabitants of that continent, as on that of our brave countrymen, sent on the unnatural errand of killing their fellow-subjects, have resolved, That it is the duty of every good citizen to exert his utmost abilities to allay the unhappy disputes that at present disturb the British empire.— That whoever would refuse his consent to a dutiful petition to the King, tending to undeceive his Majesty, and from which it could be

be hoped that the effusion of one drop of subject blood might be prevented, is not a friend to the British Constitution."—Such was at present the state of political opinion among the merchants, and the principal protestant inhabitants of the city of Dublin.

The inability of purchasing, and providing for, Negroes, which the present disputes had occasioned in our West-India Islands, together with the loss of the American market for slaves, and the impediments caused by the proclamations of council against the exportation of arms and ammunition, had, all together, nearly extinguished our African trade. This loss was more particularly felt in the port of Liverpool, which had possessed a much greater part of that commerce than any other in the kingdom. As the Guinea ships now arrived, they were laid up, in an uncertainty of their future disposition, whilst their crews looked in vain for other employment. As other branches of commerce were also slackened in a great degree, and that the crews of the Greenland ships, upon their return in July and the beginning of August, were as usual discharged, the number of seamen out of employ in that town became very great, and according to some accounts amounted to about 3000.

In this situation, the seamen complained that an attempt was made by the merchants to lower their wages, in consequence of which a violent commotion was excited among them, in which they cut the rigging of some ships to pieces, assaulted some houses, and committed other violences. They, however, dispersed again, and all

became quiet; but the seizing a number of them, and sending them to prison, re-kindled the flame with greater violence, so that without any extraordinary bias upon the common course of things in such circumstances, it might well have ended in the destruction of that flourishing town. The sailors immediately assembled, procured not only fire-arms, but cannon, and were proceeding to the destruction of the prison, when its safety was purchased by the enlargement of their companions. But their rage was by this time too high, and they were too much inflamed by liquor, to be appeased by reasonable concessions. They not only proceeded to destroy the houses of obnoxious persons, but they at length marched in a body to demolish the Exchange. This danger was foreseen, or probably announced by themselves, a considerable time before the attempt, so that the Exchange was shut up, barricaded, and well garrisoned by the merchants and townsmen. They, however, made several confused attacks, which continued through the course of a night, and part of Aug. 29th. the ensuing morning; during which, through their drunkenness and disorder, they laid themselves so open to the fire of the defendants, (who were themselves safe under cover) that several of them were killed and wounded. The arrival of a detachment of light-horse, at length put an end to the disorder. It was then apprehended, that this would prove only a prelude to other disorders. But the affair was accidental; and sufficient employment for the seamen was soon found in the King's service.

About

About this time, Mr. Penn, late Governor, and one of the proprietors of Pennsylvania, arrived from thence, with a petition from the General Congress to the King, which he presented through the hands of Lord Dartmouth. During the short time that the fate of this petition hung in suspense, the most sanguine hopes were formed, by those who were earnest for peace, or friends to America, that it would have led to a happy reconciliation; more especially, as it had already transpired, that it contained professions of the greatest loyalty, and was couched in the most moderate and humble terms. But in proportion to the extent of these hopes, was the greatness of the disappointment of those who eagerly wished for so desirable an event, when they found that Mr. Penn was informed by the American minister, that no answer would be given to the petition. The Americans had also laid great stress upon the success of this final application, and are said to have relaxed their operations considerably upon that idea, until they heard the event.

The petition, which was subscribed by all the members of the Congress, teemed with expressions of duty, respect, and loyalty, to the King, and of affection to the parent state. They attributed all the differences and misfortunes which have hitherto taken place, to a pernicious system of government, adopted at the close of the late war, and to the evil designs and conduct of ministers since that time. They declare in one part, That they not only most ardently desire, that the former harmony

between the mother country and the colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis, as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries. And in another, That notwithstanding the sufferings of his Majesty's loyal colonists, during the course of the present controversy, their breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which they derive their origin, to request such a conciliation, as might in any manner *be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare.* That, these, related as they are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce them to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppressed their hearts with unspeakable grief, being once removed, his Majesty will find his faithful subjects on that continent, ready and willing, at all times, as they have ever been, with their *lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of his Majesty, and of their mother country.*

It may perhaps hereafter be a matter of doubt, when the war and its consequences are much better remembered, than the circumstances that preceded, or the causes that led to it, whether it was possible that such sentiments could really prevail with either of the parties, at the time that so unnatural, and so unhappy a contest took place between them. The particular drift and design of this petition, distinct from its great and general object of a restoration of harmony and peace, will be understood by their own words in the following

following passage—"With all humility submitting to your Majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient, for facilitating these important purposes, that your Majesty be pleased to direct some mode by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common-councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the mean time measures be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your Majesty's subjects, and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your Majesty's colonies be repealed."

Whatever the inward intentions of the parties were, the language was conciliatory, and the request not immoderate. Those who favoured the plan of pacifying by concession, loudly clamoured at the answer of Lord Dartmouth, as calculated to drive the colonies to the last extremities of independence and foreign connection; for this reception, they said, of so dutiful and decent an address, amounted to no less than a renunciation of their allegiance. On the other hand, the friends of the ministry took it in a different point of view. The petition, they allowed, had a decent appearance. But did they formally admit the rights of parliament? Were they not still in arms? and in that situation could their sincerity be relied on? They said, that they only wanted to gain time by a negotiation, until they had formed their government, and established their strength in such a manner, as would render all future efforts for their

reduction ineffectual. We had already gone far in the expenses of a war; we should not now stop short; but reap the benefits to government, which always arise from unsuccessful rebellion. And besides those great objects of punishing the obnoxious, and providing for our friends, to rivet, without leaving room for a future contest, that unconditional submission upon the Americans, which no treaty or negotiation could ever obtain. While on the contrary, if amicable terms were now entered into, all our expence and preparation would be thrown away; we must shrink from the proposals we had made to foreign Princes for hiring their troops, which would degrade us in their eyes, as our tameness in putting up with the insolence of our own people, would in those of all Europe; and all the bustle we had made would pass over, without having impressed the colonies with a sense of our dignity, or with the terror of our power. Besides, the nation was prepared by the language of war for the event, and it was not certain that vigorous measures, if it should be found necessary to resume them, would be so well received as they were in the present temper of the nation, whose favourable disposition was to be carefully cultivated, and employed in the critical moment.

As the time approached for the meeting of parliament, addresses were poured in from different quarters, some in violent, others in more temperate language, but all condemning the conduct of the Americans, approving of all the acts of government, and in general, recommending a perseverance in

in the same strong measures, until the colonies were reduced to a thorough obedience, and brought to a full sense both of their errors and duty. In several of these, very intemperate reflections were passed upon those gentlemen who had opposed administration in the present American measures, who were represented as factious and desperate men, and stigmatized as being not only encouragers, but in a great degree the authors of the American rebellion. This exceedingly inflamed the leaders of the minority against the procurers of those addresses; and only served to irritate the spirit of opposition against the ministers and measures which the addresses were intended to support.

As all the ancient distinctions between Whig and Tory, had of late been unhappily revived, they now appeared in full vigour; and as Manchester took the lead in addresses, it was said, with great acrimony, that they were the legitimate offspring only of Tory towns, though they sprung up accidentally from the Tory party in others; while all the odium of encouraging civil war, devastation, and bloodshed, with the atrocious design of misleading government, by giving it partial and false ideas of the disposition of the nation in general, was attempted to be thrown upon them. It was said, that distraction at home, and dishonour abroad, were the constant effect of the predominance of Tory councils. These reproaches were laughed at on the other side, who, strong in the sanction of authority, turned the tables upon the Whigs, and charged them not only with a causeless opposition, but with dis-

affection to government. The writers who more openly attacked the Whigs, as such, and by that name, declared, that they were the perpetual enemies to government. That if they appeared to support it for a time, it was only because they had rendered it subservient to their faction; but that whenever it was put upon an independent and respectable bottom, their eternal animosity against it could not be concealed. At this time the preachers, after a long intermission, entered into politics. Some of those distinguished by the name of Methodists, began to revive the doctrine of passive obedience, nearly as it had been asserted in the last century. By degrees this mode of preaching went higher. On the other hand, some clergymen, especially of the Dissenters, espoused the cause of liberty with great fervour.

Those who wished to be considered as Whigs, divided amongst themselves. They who stood with the court, reproached the opposition with having abandoned their principles. That true Whigs were the strongest supporters, not the mean betrayers, of the rights of parliament. That formerly Whigs opposed the crown when it set up *prerogative* in opposition to *parliament*; but modern corrupt and degenerated whiggism, maliciously and unconstitutionally opposed the crown, because it acted in concurrence with parliament, and in support of its inherent rights. That those whom the opposition called Tories (at a time when all toryism was lost in general loyalty, and love of law and liberty) were much more truly deserving the appellation of Whigs, than they who now prostituted

prostituted its name, and disgraced its principles, by abetting an insolent and slavish rebellion, against the sole guardian of freedom and order.

The other party retorted these charges with scorn. They said, that their adversaries the Court Whigs, were so fond of their new allies the Tories, that they had perfectly gleaned their opinions and language. They denied Toryism to exist, only because they had become Tories themselves. They asserted that Whigism did not consist in the support of the *power* of parliament, or of any other *power*; but of the *rights* of the people. That as long as parliament protected those rights, so long parliament was sacred. But if parliament should become an instrument in invading them, it was no better in any respect, and much worse in some, than any other instrument of arbitrary power. That the ancient Whigs, like the modern, contended for things, not names. That the Tories are likewise now, as well as formerly, true to their principles. They never quarrelled with a parliament of their own party; that is, a parliament subservient to the crown, arbitrary, intolerant, and an enemy to the freedom of mankind. That if parliaments destroy the liberty of the subject in America, they are overturning its principle every where. They said, that to be burthened by parliament is not law and liberty, as the Tories in the mask of Whigs have the effrontery to assert; but to have the public exigencies judged of, and its contributions assessed, by a parliament or some other assembly (the name is immaterial) of *its own choice*,—

this is law and liberty; and nothing else is so. Such are whig principles; because if they were different, the whig principles could not form a scheme of liberty; but would be just as slavish as any that were ever imputed to any of the abettors of the rankest despotism.

In this manner the controversies dividing and subdividing the nation, the public became somewhat less languid towards the meeting of parliament. Petitions met the addresses from various parts of the kingdom; and it was for some time doubtful which way the scale would incline. From the cities of London and Bristol very long representations were presented, dwelling chiefly on the inefficacy of all the late coercive and restrictive measures; the mischiefs which were inevitable to our own trade from the destruction of the American; the advantage which our rival neighbours would derive from our divisions. The danger and shame of employing foreign mercenaries to decide our domestic differences; and the improper manner of carrying on the war by burning of towns, savage invasions, and insurrections of negroes. They state in proof of the disposition of America to reconciliation, the large remittances she had made, the large debt she had voluntarily paid; and particularly the supply of corn from thence, after all export trade from England had ceased: by which means the miseries of actual famine in this country had been prevented. On the whole, they implore the termination of so unfortunate a dispute by pacific methods and by accommodation, rather than by arms.

The

HISTORY OF EUROPE. [49

The Newfoundland fishery in the present year, did not in any degree answer the expectations which were held out in the preceding session, of the ease with which the great American share of it was immediately transferrable to the people of Great Britain, and the signal advantages which they would from thence derive. For though there was probably some small increase of ships and men both from England and Ireland employed in the fishery, they were not in any manner equal to supplying the deficiency which the late law had occasioned, even supposing that no new obstacles were thrown in their way, and that all others matters had continued in their usual state. But the retaliation, which was practised by the Americans, of cutting off our fisheries from all provisions and supplies from the colonies, (a measure which, however simple and obvious, does not seem to have been apprehended till it was felt) threw the whole business upon the banks and coasts of Newfoundland into the greatest disorder and confusion, and brought distress upon all who were employed by sea or land. To prevent the still more dreadful consequences of famine, a number of ships, instead of being loaded with fish, were necessarily sent off light, to procure flour and provisions wherever they were to be found. Upon the whole, it was computed, that to the value of a full half million sterling was left in the bowels of the deep, and for ever lost to mankind, by the first operation of the Fishery Bill.

Those who were averse to the American measures, considered the calamities which fell on the British

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fishery as a sort of judgment from heaven, against those who made laws to deprive mankind of the benefits of nature. To the same cause they were ready to attribute a dreadful tempest, the fury, of which was chiefly discharged on the shores of Newfoundland. This awful wreck of nature, was as singular in its circumstances, as fatal in its effects. The sea is said to have risen thirty feet almost instantaneously. Above seven hundred boats with their people perished, and several ships with their crews. Nor was the mischief much less on the land, the waves overpassing all mounds, and sweeping every thing before them. The shores presented a shocking spectacle for some time after, and the fishing nets were hauled up loaded with human bodies.

These circumstances, together with the ill success of the last campaign, and the difficulty of recruiting at home, seemed for a while to cast some damp upon the spirit, which had been raised and kept alive with so much industry for carrying on the American war. But the court was not discouraged. Through all obstacles they proceeded directly to their object. They opened several negotiations on the continent of Europe, in order to supply the deficiency at home. The obtaining of such an aid, was upon this occasion a matter of difficulty. The vastness of the distance, and the adventuring to a new world, were terrifying, and rendered the prospect of return doubtful. Germany is now the only country in Europe which is an open market for that sort of traffic. But the sending of its people to such a distance, being

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liable

liable to be construed as contrary to the constitutions of the empire, might chance to be resented, not only by the head of that body, but perhaps by one of its members. And if the opinions, or likings, of men who were constrained to act merely as machines, were matters at all to be considered, the idea of such a voyage, to an inland people who scarcely knew the sea by report, must have been dreadful and odious in the highest degree.

In these difficulties, a negotiation is said to have been entered into with the court of Petersburg for 20,000 Russians. It is believed that this treaty was at one time in considerable forwardness. But the extreme distance of the service, the difficulty of recall, the little probability that many of them would ever return, and, above all, the critical state of public affairs throughout Europe, and particularly in the North, after the most sanguine hopes, prevented its success. A long negotiation was also carried on at the Hague, for the Scotch brigade, which has been for many years in the Dutch service, and always allowed to be recruited from Scotland. No doubt was entertained for a time of success in this treaty, and it caused great debates in the Assembly of the States-General, where the similarity between the present struggles of the Americans, and their own original efforts against oppression, were described by some of the states in warm colours, and the impropriety of a republic, which had herself purchased freedom at so dear a price, and by so long and arduous a struggle, interfering in any manner, in depriving others of their liberties,

was placed in the strongest point of view, until at length the proposal was rejected. In Holland, the English party is always exceedingly powerful. But on this occasion, those who were the most warmly affected to the interest of this nation, were said to have been against the measure of sending the troops. They declared loudly against a war which tended to drive America to the protection of France, as ruinous to the welfare both of England and of Holland; and thought it better by withholding the means of it, to compel the British ministry to pacific courses. The city of Rotterdam, and some other towns, were an exception to this general sentiment. In the former, the merchants of North-Britain have had a long establishment and great power, and the opinions prevalent in that part of the united kingdom, must have great weight in that commercial city. It is not a pleasing circumstance, though perhaps of no consequence, that in all the countries of Europe, in which public affairs are a subject either of writing or conversation, the general voice has been rather in favour of the Americans. Even Voltaire and Rousseau, who never agreed in any thing else, are said to hold the same opinion upon that subject.

Disappointed in Russia and in Holland, we were thrown back upon Germany, as our only resource for foreign troops. A successful negotiation was accordingly opened with the Princes of Hesse and Brunswick, and some smaller states, by which we at length contracted for large bodies of men, the particulars of which we shall see in their due place. In the mean



mean time, the King thought it necessary to send five battalions of his electoral troops, to replace the like number of English, in the important garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, thereby to increase the force in America with the addition of the latter.

Towards the latter part of the season, government went to a vast expence, in sending out provisions and necessaries of all sorts, for the supply and relief of the army in Boston. As the want of fresh provisions of every sort was one of their principal grievances, and had caused much sickness amongst them, the remedy of that evil was an object of principal consideration. For this purpose, much cattle of all kinds were contracted for and shipped for America. It is said, that no less than 5000 oxen, 14000 of the largest and fattest sheep, with a vast number of hogs, were purchased and sent out alive. Vegetables of all kinds were also bought up in incredible quantities, and new arts were employed in curing them. Ten thousand barrels of strong beer were supplied by two brewers.

Five thousand chaldron of coals were purchased in the river, and shipped off for Boston; even the article of faggots was sent from London. The seemingly trifling necessities of vegetables, casks, and vinegar, amount, in two distinct articles, where they are detached from the general comprehension of other provisions, to near 22000*l*. And though we had but a single regiment of light cavalry at Boston, the articles of hay, oats, and beans, amounted to nearly as much. The immense charge of supplying an army at such a dis-

tance, was now for the first time experimentally felt. Besides the expence of these articles we have mentioned, and the charge of flour, corn, and salted provisions, near half a million of money was expended in the purchase of coined Spanish and Portugal specie, and transmitted, for the extraordinary and contingent articles in various branches of military operations, which were confined nearly to a single town. The expence swelled in every thing. From the multitude of transports employed in the different parts of the service, the price of tonnage was raised one-fourth above its usual rate. As the contracts were very lucrative, the connections of those who had interest to obtain them extensive, and the number of persons who found employment or benefit by the different services infinite, it is not to be wondered at, that such a concurrence of circumstances, formed a numerous and zealous party in support of government; and that they should earnestly wish for the continuance of a war, by which they profited so much.

It did not seem an ill-founded expectation, that these liberal supplies, besides restoring health and spirits to our forces, would have silenced the general clamour that had been raised, and removed the too just complaints that had been made by the army, of the bad and unwholesome quality of the provisions with which they had been lately furnished. Things, however, turned out very untowardly in this respect. Whether it was that the orders were not issued in time, or that delays occurred in the execution, which could neither have been foreseen or prevented;

however it was, the transports were not ready to proceed on their voyage, until the year was so far advanced as to render it nearly impracticable. By this means they were detained upon our own coasts by contrary winds, or tossed about by tempests, until the greater part of their live cargoes of hogs and sheep, particularly the latter, perished, so that the channel was every where strewed with the floating carcases of these animals, as they were driven about by the winds and tides. A great part of the vegetables over fermented and perished.

Nor was the condition of the transports mended when they got clear of our own coasts. They were peculiarly unfortunate as to winds and weather in the mid seas, and as they approached to the place of their destination, the American periodical winds were set in, which blew full in their teeth, and drove them off from the coasts. Thus several of them were blown off to the West-Indian islands, where they arrived in great distress; others that got entangled with the American coasts, were either taken, or seized in those harbours and creeks where they put in for shelter. The few that arrived at Boston, had beat the seas from three to four months, and being nearly wrecks, their cargoes suffered accordingly. A very inconsiderable portion of the refreshment procured at so vast an expence, and that too in a miserable condition, arrived at the place of its destination.

As the compassion and humanity of this country are always awake to the wretched, and particularly to those who are sufferers in the

cause of the public, a subscription was opened towards the latter end of the year, for the relief of the soldiers at Boston, and of the widows and children of those that were slain. This scheme was most liberally supported, and several thousand pounds were subscribed in a little time. A great number, however, withheld their benevolence from this purpose upon principle, who could not have been suspected of doing it upon any other account. Those who considered the measures now pursuing, as unjust and oppressive to America, and ruinous to their country, thought they should participate in the guilt of those crimes, and render themselves answerable for the mischiefs which they foreboded, if they gave encouragement, much less granted rewards, to those who were the immediate actors in carrying them into execution. Many also thought, that such contributions were degrading to the service; but that it was still more derogatory to the honour of a great nation, to admit that any of its servants, much less those who were fighting its battles, should be considered as objects of public charity. Others thought it absurd to add to the vast mass of expences already incurred by the public, and which, if they had been well applied, were, as they said, more than sufficient to have provided the greatest comfort and abundance to the soldiery. Some ships which arrived from Boston, and exhibited the spectacle of maimed and wounded soldiers, with the wives and children of those that were slain, all of whom were in the most extreme degree of misery and wretchedness, did not fail

fail to quicken the humanity of such as were not actuated by the motives we have mentioned. This subscription was, however, considered as a kind of political touch-stone, and the degree of attachment to government, was supposed to be measured by the extent of the bounty.

By these and other means, the spirit in favour of the American war was kept up. To discountenance the strong opposition, which it was thought would be made, towards the opening of the session, the minds of men were filled with rumours of conspiracies and treasonable correspondence with the rebels in America. The most distinguished noblemen and gentlemen of the minority were directly pointed at. They were charged with having been the incendiaries, who by their dark and wicked practices had kindled up the war. This language sounded in many of the addresses. But the news-papers were industriously filled with it. There it was daily and confidently asserted, that a very great number of letters from the most considerable Peers and members of parliament had been intercepted, and were actually in the hands of government. These they asserted would be laid before the Grand Council of the nation, when the Tower would be speedily filled with persons of rank, and a full harvest of impeachments and punishments succeed. This was carried so far, that it was said a number of the members of both houses, who were described and understood, would not venture to attend their duty in parliament at the meeting.

Such reports, if not perfectly

well-founded, are cautiously to be encouraged or permitted, as certain inevitable consequences must necessarily follow, which may be productive of much mischief and danger. For when the minds of any people have been long brooding over such subjects, treasons, plots, and conspiracies, will haunt the sleeping and waking dreams of the weak, and exercise the profligate and wicked ingenuity of those, who make use of the public fear and credulity in framing accusations. They may serve even to suggest schemes, which otherwise might not be thought of, to men of an enthusiastic turn and daring character.

At the opening of the session, the report of a conspiracy of a most extraordinary nature, at first alarmed the public fears, though it afterwards became a subject of less serious discussion. It was announced in the Gazette, that a Mr. Sayre, an American born, and then a banker in London, was committed by the Secretary of State to the Tower, for high treason. At first, people connected this account with the former reports; and it was universally supposed, that the treason of Mr. Sayre, consisted in remitting money, and conveying intelligence from parties here to the insurgents in America. When the real story came to be known, it could be scarcely believed, that the offence with which he stood charged, was nothing of this sort. The crime for which he was committed, was a design of seizing the person of his Majesty, at noon-day, in his passage to the House of Peers; of conveying him a prisoner to the Tower, afterwards out of the kingdom, and over-

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turning

turning the whole form of government. The means, indeed, seemed very inadequate to the greatness of the end. An inconsiderable sum of money was to be disposed of in bribing a few Serjeants of the guards, who were also to lay out a part of it in bribing their men, and this handful, in the faces of the great majority of their fellows who were not bribed, were to effect the double and arduous work of seizing the King's person and the tower at the same time. Nothing seemed prepared for a purpose of this kind; nothing to overcome the military power which would assemble from all parts of the kingdom; to say nothing of the other obvious impediments.

It was said in justification of the commitment on such extraordinary matter, that though there was but one witness to this charge, his testimony was positive. That the folly of a wicked attempt, did not prove that no such attempt could be made. That as the information was officially laid before the Earl of Rochford, (who was then Secretary of State for the southern department) whatever degree of credit it obtained in his private opinion, he was obliged officially, as the King's person was at all mentioned, and any danger to it implied, to prevent the possibility of such an attempt. It must be admitted, that this justification, supposing the process unexceptionable, seems perfectly good in law; but whether it is equally so in point of policy and discretion, may be doubted. It might have been as advisable, to have examined into the nature of the transaction, and now far it might be

supported by further evidence, before so public and decided a step was taken.

In whatever manner the discretion of this proceeding may be thought of, it is certain, that Mr. Sayre was taken in Oct. 23d. his house, and his papers seized, when being examined before the Secretary of State, and confronted with his accuser, bail was refused for his appearance, and he was committed to close confinement in the Tower.

The report of this transaction flew like wild-fire throughout the kingdom, and for a while confirmed all the rumours that had been already spread of treasonable acts and designs; whilst anxiety for the safety of the King's person, and the indignation and horror excited by so atrocious a design, absorbed all other considerations with respect to public affairs.

In the mean time, the order with respect to Mr. Sayre's confinement, was so strictly complied with, that it was with difficulty, and by particular application, his wife was permitted to see him, while all his other friends were refused that liberty. His confinement, however, lasted only for five days, at the end of which time, an Habeas Corpus being granted for his appearance before the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the matter appeared in such a light to that noble Lord, that he not only readily admitted him to bail, but received his own security in the trifling sum of 500*l.* and that of two sureties in as much, for his appearance to answer for the charge. No prosecution was attempted, and the bail being

being discharged, he sued Lord Rochford for illegal imprisonment, for which a jury granted him a thousand pounds damages, liable, however, to the future determination on a question of law.

C H A P. IV.

Speech from the throne. Address. Motion for an amendment. Great debates. Amendment rejected, and the original address passed by a great majority. Debates renewed upon receiving the report. Motion for recommitment, withdrawn. Motion for a new amendment, substituted in its place. Amendment rejected, after long debates, and the original address passed. Motion for an amendment to the address in the House of Lords. Great debates. Original address passed. Protest.

SUCH was in general the state of public affairs in England and America, previous to and about the time of the meeting of parliament. In the Oct. 26th, 1775. speech from the throne, after accounting for this early meeting by the situation of America, heavy complaints were made of the misrepresentations of the leaders of sedition in the colonies, who having first infused into the minds of the people, a system of opinions repugnant to their true constitutional subordination, had at length commenced hostilities, and usurped the whole powers of government. His Majesty then entered into the difference of the views of those leaders, and of those of the crown and parliament, from whence the former derived their present advantages. The view of the latter was rather to undeceive, than punish. Therefore only small forces were sent, and propositions of a conciliatory nature accompanied the measures taken to enforce authority. The former, whilst they endeavoured to delude with specious professions, had in view nothing but the establishing of an independent empire. That the consequences of the suc-

cess of each plan were too obvious. The spirit of the British nation was too high, and its resources too numerous, to suffer her tamely to lose what had been acquired with so great toil, nursed with great tenderness, and protected at much expence of blood and treasure. That wisdom, and in the end clemency, required a full exertion of these resources. That the navy had been increased, and the land forces greatly augmented. Foreign succours (though no treaty was then concluded) were held out. The disposition of the Hanover troops in Mahon and Gibraltar was specified. In the end, an assurance of the royal mercy was given, as soon as the deluded multitude should become sensible of their error; and to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from the great distance of their situation, and to remove as soon as possible the calamities which they suffer, authority would be given to certain persons upon the spot, to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, in such manner, and to such persons, as they should think fit, and to receive the submission of any province or colony which should be disposed

disposed to return to its allegiance. It was also observed, that it might be proper to authorise such commissioners, to restore any province or colony, returning to its allegiance, to the free exercise of its trade and commerce, and to the same protection and security as if it had never revolted.

At the conclusion they were informed, that from assurances received, as well as from the general appearances of affairs in Europe, there was no apparent probability that the measures which they might adopt, would be interrupted by disputes with any foreign power.

The addresses in answer to this speech, which, as usual, were an adoption of the whole, with no other alteration in the terms, but what was necessary to the difference of situations of the makers, produced similar effects with those of the preceding session; long and earnest debates in both houses, and a protest in one. The resemblance was not less perfect in the superior force by which they were carried through.

The minority were little disposed to give way to these addresses in the form in which they were brought in. An amendment to the address in the House of Commons was moved for by Lord John Cavendish, proposing to leave out the whole, except the introductory paragraph, and to substitute in the place a declaration, "That they beheld, with the utmost concern, the disorders and discontents in the colonies, rather increased than diminished by the means that had been used to suppress and allay them; a circumstance alone sufficient to give them just reason to fear, that those means

were not originally well considered, or properly adapted to their ends. That, they were satisfied by experience, that the misfortune had, in a great measure, arisen from the want of full and perfect information of the true state and condition of the colonies being laid before parliament; by reason of which, measures injurious and inefficacious had been carried into execution, from whence no salutary end could have been reasonably expected; tending to tarnish the lustre of the British arms, to bring discredit on the wisdom of his Majesty's councils; and to nourish, without hope of end, a most unhappy civil war.

"That, deeply impressed with the melancholy state of public concerns, they would, on the fullest information they could obtain, and with the most mature deliberation they could employ, review the whole of the late proceedings, that they may be enabled to discover, as they will be most willing to apply, the most effectual means of restoring order to the distracted affairs of the British empire, confidence to his Majesty's government, obedience, by a prudent and temperate use of its powers, to the authority of parliament, and satisfaction and happiness to all his people. That, by these means, they trust to avoid any occasion of having recourse to the alarming and dangerous expedient, of calling in foreign forces to the support of his Majesty's authority within his own dominions, and the still more dreadful calamity, of shedding British blood by British arms."

This motion brought on a series of long and most interesting debates, which were conducted with the utmost eagerness, and unceasing

ing energy on both sides, and intermixed with much acrimony and bitterness. In this contest the speech was taken to pieces, and every part of it most severely scrutinized. The ministers were charged with having brought their sovereign into the most disgraceful and unhappy situation of any monarch now living. Their conduct had already wrested the sceptre of America out of his hands. One half of the empire was lost, and the other thrown into a state of anarchy and confusion. After having spread corruption like a deluge through the land, until all public virtue was lost, and the people were inebriated with vice and profligacy, they were then taught, in the paroxysms of their infatuation and madness, to cry out for havoc and war. History could not shew an instance, of such an empire ruined in such a manner. They had lost a greater extent of dominion in the first campaign of a ruinous civil war, which was intentionally produced by their own acts, than the most celebrated conquerors had ever acquired in so short a space of time.

The speech was said to be composed of a mixture of assumed and false facts, with some general undefined and undisputed axioms, which nobody would attempt to controvert. Of the former, that of charging the colonies with aiming at independence, was severely reprehended, as being totally unfounded, being directly contrary to the whole tenor of their conduct, to their most express declarations both by word and by writing, and to what every person of any intelligence knew of their general temper and disposition. But what

they never intended, we may drive them to. They will undoubtedly prefer independence to slavery. They will never continue their connection with this country, unless they can be connected with its privileges. The continuance of hostility, with the determined refusal of all security for these privileges, will infallibly bring on separation.

The charge of their making professions of duty, and proposals of reconciliation, only for the insidious purpose of amusing and deceiving, was equally reprobated. It was insisted, that, on the contrary, these had, from the beginning, told them honestly, openly, and bravely, without disguise or reserve, and declared to all the world, that they never would submit to be arbitrarily taxed by any body of men whatsoever, in which they were not represented. They did not whisper behind the door, nor mince the matter; they told fairly what they would do, and have done, if they were unhappily urged to the last extremity. And that though the ministers affected not to believe them, it was evident, from the armament which they sent out, that they did; for however incompetent that armament has been to the end, nobody could admit a doubt that it was intended to oppose men in arms, and to compel by force; the incompetence for its purposes proceeding merely from that blind ignorance, and total misconception of American affairs, which had operated upon the ministers in every part of their conduct.

This shameful accusation, they said, was only to cover that wretched conduct, and, if possible,

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to hide or excuse, the disgrace and failure that had attended all their measures. Was any other part of their policy more commendable, or more successful? Did the cruel and sanguinary laws of the preceding session, answer any of the purposes for which they were proposed? Had they in any degree fulfilled the triumphant predictions, had they kept in countenance the overbearing vaunts of the minister? They have now sunk into the same nothingness with the terrors of that armed force which was to have looked all America into submission. The Americans have faced the one, and they despise the injustice and iniquity of the others.

Yet the ministers cannot pretend that they have entered, or been led, blindfolded into these destructive measures. They have been repeatedly warned, session after session, of the danger in which they were involving themselves, and of the ruin into which they were plunging the nation; the consequences were so truly foretold, the predictions have been so exactly verified, that they seem now rather the effect of some extraordinary inspiration, than of reason founded upon observation, and applied to the nature and relation of things. These warnings they received from those gentlemen in opposition, whom they with and endeavour to stigmatize, as operated upon only by factious motives, as enemies to their country, and as framers of sedition both here and in America. These are the Cassandra's, who foretold the destruction which the ministers were bringing upon their country, and who, because they foresaw the

danger, are unworthily to be blackened with the imputation of having produced the evils which they foretold.

But the ministers, they said, had other sources of information, and which, in spite of reason and experience, they were still evidently determined to rely upon. These were the false, partial, illiberal representations, of artful, designing, and interested men, who had held public offices in America, and who wanted to increase their own influence, emoluments, and authority, as well as to find the means of gratifying their petty prejudices and resentments, by extending the powers of the crown to the prejudice of the people. Men who became at length so soured by the opposition they met with, and the consequent disappointment in all their schemes, that all their sentiments seem to have been dictated only by malice and revenge.

The disgrace and danger of calling in foreign troops to settle our domestic quarrels, of rendering them the arbiters in a contest with our own people, were strongly insisted upon by the opposition. They said, that this new dignity, of which we were become of late so wonderfully fond, was of a very peculiar nature. That while it was so irritable with respect to our own people, that the mention of an American right or privilege, operated upon it in the most violent degree, it crouched in the most suppliant manner in its commerce with foreigners. It was not difficult to bring examples from history, to shew the danger of calling in foreigners in such circumstances.

The country gentlemen were repeatedly

repeatedly called upon to support the amendment, and not to give their approbation to the dangerous and sanguinary measures proposed in the speech, until they had, at last, considered the subject, and had the necessary information laid before them. They were asked, if they would for ever continue to run blindfolded into every destructive measure that was proposed, without once hesitating or retreating upon the common ruin, in which they were involving themselves with the nation? Would they still follow, without examination or inquiry, those leaders who had already deceived and misled them in every thing, until they had brought us into our present most disastrous circumstances? Had they yet had time to consider the difficulties attending the support of an army of 70,000 men, on the other side of the Atlantic? Had they calculated how many thousand tons of shipping would be necessary for their conveyance, and for their support, or what the expence might amount to, of supplying them with fresh provisions from Smithfield market, and with vegetables, and all other necessaries, from London and its neighbourhood? These were matters of serious consideration. The land-tax must this session be risen to four shillings, and the most sanguine imagination can scarcely hope that it will ever again be lowered, even supposing the most fortunate change of circumstances. Thus are their estates already mortgaged to one fifth of the value of their clear income; and if this ruinous war is carried on to the extent that is held out, they might

expect at its end to find the mortgage doubled.

They were taught to consider, supposing (which was far from being admitted) that we should be successful, how they should be repaid the enormous expences which they must necessarily incur in prosecuting the conflict. They were asked, whether burnt towns, military executions, a total loss of trade, a change, or annihilation of property, with ruined and depopulated provinces, still smoking under all the calamities of a cruel civil war, would be able to repay fifty, sixty, or a still greater number of millions of money, which would probably be lost or expended in the contest. This first loss, great as it might be, was not, however, the worst part of the consequence. Those wide and ruined dominions, irritated as the remaining possessors ever must continue, with an immortal abhorrence of our name and nation, could only be kept in subjugation, by an immense standing army, and a very considerable naval force. They demanded whether any gentleman, the least informed in the history of mankind, could once imagine, that such an establishment would or could be supported by such a people. America, in its pristine state of vigour and felicity, when it gloried in the English constitution, was itself a living and unparalleled proof of its excellence, and pointed it out as an honour to human nature and society, must, even in that state, have sunk beneath the burthen. How will it be then when she is thus fallen and debilitated, and when she considers every man employed

ployed in that service by sea and land, as rivetting on her chains, as her sworn and implacable enemy?

The fleet and army of England, and as she has not men sufficient, hosts of foreign mercenaries must be hired, and compose her standing peace establishment. The consequences of so enormous an additional power thrown into the hands of the crown, are too obvious to require any comment, and too melancholy to be dwelt upon with pleasure. The English constitution will inevitably perish in the same grave, into which our pride and injustice had a little before precipitated the liberties of America.

If such are the consequences of the most perfect success which the ministers can wish for, by the complete reduction of the colonies, they asked, in what situation shall we be if we fail in the attempt? The most violent advocates for war, do not even pretend to any certainty of success. That question is acknowledged by all to be problematical; and are the consequences in that event to be totally overlooked? Should we unfortunately be foiled and disgraced in a ruinous contest with our own people, in a war attended with circumstances of expence, before unheard of in the history of mankind, and unsupported in the calculations of politicians; should our fleets and armies be wasted and ruined, our treasures exhausted, our expenditure and taxes increased, in an inverse proportion to our loss of power, dominion, and commerce, whilst a newly-acquired debt was overwhelming the old, and our ancient friends and fellow subjects were become our rivals and com-

petitors in every thing that was left, if the possibility of these unhappy events is admitted, is not the present a proper time to view them in their utmost extent, and to use every possible means to prevent their taking place? Is not the situation in which such circumstances would place us with respect to the rest of Europe, an object of consideration?

Surely no subjects were ever discussed in any assembly, which called more strongly for the fullest and clearest information, the most mature deliberation, and for higher wisdom in determining.

Upon the whole, it was contended by opposition, that either administration had been most grossly imposed upon themselves in every thing relative to the colonies, or had intentionally deceived and misled parliament, by the suppression of true information, and the advancement of false, in order thereby to lead the nation piecemeal, and by stated progresses, into a war, until they were so far involved, that there could not be a possibility of receding. From these premises they inferred, that whether our calamities proceeded from their ignorance and incapacity, or from a traiterous design of imposition, in either case, they were no longer fit to be trusted in any public affairs, much less with those, which they had already involved in such ruin, it being totally immaterial in this respect, what motives influenced their conduct, or from what causes their faults proceeded.

On the other side, the veracity of the speech in all its parts, was warmly contended for. In particular, the charge against the Americans

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nians of seeking independence, was most strenuously supported. In proof, it was asked, whether the Congress had not seized all the powers of government? Whether they had not raised armies, and taken measures for paying, cloathing, and subsisting them? Have they not issued bills to a great amount upon continental credit? Are they not forming a marine? Are they not waging war in all its forms against this country, at the very instant that they hypocritically pretend to owe a constitutional obedience to her? Are these acts of sovereignty and independence, or are they the only dutiful and loyal applications of subjects for obtaining a redress of grievances? It was insisted, that their words corresponded with their actions; that in the intercepted letters and papers, as well as the public writings and declarations of several of their leaders, they boast of the labour and success with which they are now modelling their government, and talk of their new empire as already established. Can any one after this pretend to question the tendency of their views?

It was asked, what even the language they held out for the deception of this country amounted to? The Congress have declared in general terms that they did not aim at independency. But if we examine their particular claims, and compare them with this general assertion, we shall find, that the dependence which they would acknowledge, will virtually amount to little more than a nominal obedience to whoever sits on the throne, and very nearly a renunciation of the jurisdiction of the British legislature.

As to conciliation, every hope of that sort was said to be now at any end. Parliament had already tried every experiment to reclaim the incorrigible disposition of the Americans, endeavouring, if possible, to avoid bringing matters to the utmost extremity. But what has she gained by this conduct? her lenity, her reluctance to punish, was construed into weakness and fear, and the time which she sacrificed to forbearance and moderation, was sedulously applied by the Americans to preparation and war. If the matter in dispute were merely a contention for a revenue, it might be prudent to suspend that claim till a more favourable season; parliament, though she could not give up the right of taxation, had already obviated the objections that were made to the exercise of it, by permitting the Americans to tax themselves; but what return have they made to this indulgence? they have given a new proof of their disobedience and contempt; for though they knew any reasonable sum would be accepted, they would not gratify this country so far as to contribute a single shilling towards the common exigences of the state.

In a word, it was insisted, that the question was no longer confined to any particular exercise of the authority of Great Britain, but extended to the very being of the sovereignty itself. That in this state, an accommodation was impracticable; and any advance towards it on our side, except in the line laid down in the speech, and accompanied with such a military force as would command obedience, would be pernicious as well as disgraceful. It was acknowledged,

ledged, that it were much to be wished, that affairs were now precisely in the same situation, that they had been in the year 1763; but matters had taken such a turn, and things were so totally changed since that time, that it was in vain now to look back; and as to a repeal of the great body of American laws which had been passed within that period, such a measure would be a virtual surrender of America to all useful or beneficial intents and purposes whatsoever.

As to any retrospect into the causes of these troubles, or the manner in which we had been brought into the present unhappy situation, it was not apprehended that such an inquiry could answer any useful purpose. The present object was to remedy, not to investigate the evil. It was believed that no minister since the time of the stamp act had been entirely free from blame upon the subject; that probably the fault did not so much lie in any particular measures, as in that variable and fluctuating conduct, which had so remarkably prevailed with respect to America; that the nature of our government, however, had rendered such a conduct in some degree unavoidable; but the great weight of blame was thrown upon those, who not satisfied with expressing their disapprobation of particular measures, had argued both within and without doors, against the authority of the supreme legislature itself; and who, from an excess of zeal in support of America, and an apprehension that the colonies might be ruled with too heavy a hand, seemed too much to forget the interest of the mother country.

As to the expediency of adopting the measures proposed in the speech, it was said, that it did not admit of a question. We were now in a situation, which did not afford a possibility of retreating, without shame, ruin, and disgrace. The contest was empire. We must either support and establish our sovereignty, or give up America for ever. The eyes of all Europe were upon them. The future fate of the British empire, and of ages yet unborn, would depend upon their firmness or indecision. A strong picture was drawn, of the consequences that would attend America's becoming an independent empire; of her interference with us, in our trade, and in our dearest interests, in every quarter of the globe. It was acknowledged, that the reduction of America would be attended with great and numerous difficulties. That it was a contest of the most serious nature; and however successful we might be, that the consequences must be severely felt by the nation. But however awful the situation, it was the first duty of a great national assembly, not to despair of the republic; and where the interests of a great people were at stake, difficulties must be encountered and overcome, not submitted to.

The difficulties were not, however, greater than we had often surmounted. Let us recollect the strength, the numerous resources, and above all, the high and invincible spirit of the British nation, which, when roused, knows no opposition, but rises in proportion to the magnitude of the difficulty and danger. Let us recollect the great, extensive, and successful

wars,

wars, which this country carried on before America was known; or that late period when we defended this very people from the attacks of the most powerful and warlike nation in Europe; when our armies gave law, and our fleets rode triumphant on every coast. Shall we then be told, that this people of yesterday, whose greatness is the work of our own hands, can resist the powerful efforts of this nation?

As to the danger apprehended from foreign powers, they said, that we were never more unembarrassed in that respect than at present; but that, however, it were ridiculous to suppose, that we were to court the approbation, and wait the consent of every state in Europe, before we durst venture to quell or to punish a commotion or rebellion among our own people. They concluded that war was at all times an evil; but in many instances, as in this, an inevitable one; that in such cases, regret or complaint could answer no purpose; we were plunged in, and must depend upon our native resources and bravery to carry us through as successfully as they had already so often done upon other occasions.

Amongst the matter brought forth by the replies to some of the foregoing positions, the conciliatory proposition of the preceding session, became of course a subject of discussion. The opposition contended, that taxation, as it had been originally, was still the object of contention; that it was not in any degree changed by what was falsely and ridiculously called the conciliatory proposition; the Americans denied the right and resisted the power of taxation, as

unconstitutional; an insidious proposal is held out, solely with regard to the temporary manner of exercising that right; a proposal which, far from giving it up, had been supported as the strongest and most effectual exercise of it, and which was evidently calculated, only to produce dissensions amongst the colonies, without satisfaction to that country, or relief to this. No change is made in the claim, or in the cause of dispute. They reject that also; and the question is still in its original state, without the least change in respect to its nature or essence. They therefore insisted, that it was not fact, that the Americans, when constitutionally called upon, had ever refused to contribute a just proportion to the defence of the empire.

The question of rebellion was also agitated; and it was asserted, that the taking up of arms in the defence of just rights, did not, according to the spirit of the British constitution, come within that comprehension. It was also asserted with great confidence, that notwithstanding the mischiefs the Americans had suffered, and the great losses they had sustained, they would still readily lay down their arms, and return with the greatest good-will and emulation to their duty, if candid and unequivocal measures were taken for re-instating them in their former rights. But that this must be done speedily, before the evils had taken too wide an extent, and the animosity and irritation arising from them, had gone beyond a certain pitch.

The boasted lenity of parliament was much rallied. It was asked, whether the Boston port bill, by which, without trial or condemnation,

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nation, a number of people were stripped of their commercial property, and even deprived of the benefit of their real estates, was an instance of it? Was it to be found in the fishery bill, by which large countries were cut off from the use of the elements, and deprived of the provision which nature had allotted for their sustenance? Or was taking away the charter, and all the rights of a people, without trial or forfeiture, the measure of lenity from which such applause was now sought? Was the indemnity held out to military power lenity? Was it lenity to free soldiers from a trial in the country, where the murders with which they should stand charged, when acting in support of civil and revenue officers, were committed, and forcing their accusers to come to England at the pleasure of a governor?

In the course of these long and warm debates, all the old questions on the right of taxation, on virtual representation, on the dignity of parliament, the supremacy of the legislature, and on the absolute necessity, that a supreme and uncontrollable power, must be somewhere lodged in all governments, were again canvassed; and the old ground, which had been so often traced, was so embellished, either by a freshness of colouring, or by changing the position, or situation of the objects, as to give it in several parts the appearance of novelty.

The gentleman who had seconded the motion for the address, and who had himself been a governor of one of the southern colonies, having hazarded something like a proposal, for encouraging the negroes in that part of Ame-

rica to rise against their masters, and for sending some regiments to support and encourage them, in carrying the design into execution, was most severely reprehended from the other side, and the scheme totally reprobated, as being too black, horrid, and wicked, to be heard of, much less adopted by any civilized people.

These long debates were put an end to, at about half an hour past four o'clock in the morning, by a division upon the latter motion: when the amendment was rejected by a majority of 278, against 108. The original question being then put, the motion for the address was carried without a division.

Though the fatiguing business they had gone through, and the lateness of their breaking up, would have well excused the recess of a day, the forms of the house in this instance prevented it, as they were obliged, that afternoon, to receive the report upon the address, from the committee. This circumstance afforded an opportunity for renewing all the preceding debates, and for bringing up such subjects, as had either been passed over, or but slightly touched upon before.

To explain this matter it will be necessary to observe, that the part of the speech which mentioned as a favour the sending of Hanooverian troops to Gibraltar and Minorca, as well as the corresponding part of the address, which acknowledged and returned thanks for it in that sense, had, besides the party in declared opposition, given disgust to several of those gentlemen, who call themselves *independent*; a distinction, which is well known, to include a numerous
and

he had adapted his measures last session to the then state of affairs, not imagining that all America would have armed in the cause. Administration, he said, proceeded upon the information they had received; if other gentlemen were in possession of better, why did they not communicate it? Observed, that if we suffered by the war, America would suffer much more. A great force should be sent out, accompanied with offers of mercy, upon a proper submission. It could not be supposed, that America, without money, without trade, without resources, would continue to prefer a ruinous war with Great Britain, to the blessings of peace, and a happy dependence upon her. He professed, that there were no intentions to oppress America; but on the contrary, to establish the most mild, just, and equitable government there.

The question upon the address, was scarcely less warmly agitated in the house of lords than in that of the commons. As soon as it had been moved for and seconded, the Marquis of Rockingham, after taking a retrospective view of the conduct of different administrations for some years with respect to America, and tracing a long series of what he considered as weak, contradictory, and oppressive measures, through the various stages of their unhappy consequences, unto their final termination in the present upshot of calamity, then proceeded to examine different parts of the speech, which he condemned in the most pointed terms, contending that the measures which

were recommended from the throne, and which it was proposed they should now give a sanction to by an address, bore the most portentous aspect to the British empire, and were big with the most ruinous and fatal consequences. His lordship concluded his speech by moving for an amendment to the address, similar to that which we have represented in the other house.

The present debate was rendered particularly remarkable, by the sudden and unexpected defection of * a noble duke, who had been for some years at the head of administration, had resigned of his own accord, at a critical period; but who had gone with government ever since, and was at this time in high office. The line which he immediately took, was still more alarming to administration than the act of defection. Besides a decisive condemnation of all their acts for some time past with respect to America, as well as of the measures now held out by the speech, he declared that he had been deceived and misled upon that subject; that by the withholding of information, and the misrepresentation of facts, he had been induced to lend his countenance to measures which he never approved; among those, was that in particular of coercing America by force of arms; an idea the most distant from his mind and opinion; but which he was blindly led to give a support to from his total ignorance of the true state and disposition of the colonies, and the firm persuasion held out that matters would never come to an extremity of that

* Duke of Grafton.

nature, that an *appearance of coercion* was all that was requisite to establish a reconciliation, and that the stronger government appeared, and the better it was supported, the sooner all disputes would be adjusted.

He declared, that nothing less than a total repeal of all the American laws which had been passed since the year 1763, could now restore peace and happiness, or prevent the most destructive and fatal consequences; consequences which could not even be thought of, without feeling the utmost degree of grief and horror; that nothing could have brought him but in the present ill state of his health, but the fullest conviction of his being right, a knowledge of the critical situation of his country, and a sense of what he owed to his duty and to his conscience; that these operated so strongly upon him, that no state of indisposition, if he were even obliged to come in a litter, should prevent his attending to express his utmost disapprobation of the measures which were now pursuing, as well as of those which he understood from the lords in office, it was intended still to pursue. He concluded by a declaration, that if his nearest relations, or dearest friends, were to be affected by this question, or that the loss of fortune, and of every other thing which he most esteemed, was to be the certain consequence of his present conduct, yet the strong conviction and compulsion, operating at once upon his mind and conscience, would not permit him to hesitate upon the part which he should take.

Such an explicit condemnation of their past conduct and present

views, and coming from such an authority, seemed at first view as alarming to administration as it was to the house. Nobody could yet tell, nor even guess, where the defection might end. It was, however, productive of less effect than could have been expected, and consequently attended with none of the danger that was probably apprehended. A right reverend Prelate of great eloquence and ability, who in the preceding session, had both spoken and voted for coercive measures, took the same part, and accounted for the change in his sentiments and conduct, upon the same principles that the noble duke had done—misinformation, deception, a total failure of all the promises, and disappointment in all the hopes, held out by administration; but above all, the ruinous consequences of the contest, and the now evident impracticability of coercion.

A noble lord in administration, and who continued firmly in its support, also acknowledged that he with his brethren in office had been greatly deceived, and thereby misled in their conduct, with respect to American affairs; from whence it proceeded; that the measures taken were by no means proportioned to the nature and extent of the services which they were expected to perform. All these acknowledgments from so many quarters of the want of real information, or charges of being misled by false, afforded a strong ground of argument to the opposition in support of the amendment to the address, which was calculated to gain time for a thorough investigation of these matters, to prevent their being plunged blindly

ly into all the horrors of a civil war, and from pledging themselves to support the sanguinary measures proposed in the speech, before they were capable of forming any judgment upon their necessity or expediency. This ground they accordingly disposed of to the best advantage, and maintained strongly; and though the noble lord we have last mentioned, attributed those mistakes to unforeseen events, and afterwards endeavoured to explain away the entire force of what he had said, the impression it had made, concurring with so many other testimonies, was not easily removed.

The arguments against the address, and consequently in support of the amendment, were necessarily upon the same ground in general with those in the other house. The great hazard of our failing in the attempt to reduce America by force, the little value it would be of if we succeeded, when conquered, and the total inability of Great-Britain to retain, for any length of time, such a species of dominion, together with the ruinous consequences that must attend on, what was called, so wild and absurd an attempt, were strongly urged, and played in different points of view; whilst the innumerable advantages we must immediately forego in such a contest, were contrasted with the substantial benefits we should continue to reap from a state of tranquillity, reciprocal good temper, and mutual confidence. A few who held the highest notions of the supremacy of the legislature, yet condemned in the strongest terms, as an act of absolute insanity, every idea of a war, or of attempting to

reduce the Americans to obedience by mere coercion. A young nobleman, who within a few days after obtained a considerable place at court, and who had been remarkable in the preceding session for his violence against the Americans, now distinguished himself by his condemnation in the most pointed terms of the ministry, charging them with having failed in their promises and information, of being misled themselves, or purposely misleading others, and therefore not to be trusted or supported with safety; he had not, however, changed his sentiments with respect to America, but considered matters as totally changed there, through their want of timely vigour and the season for coercion being now passed. Upon that account therefore, and a total want of dependence on the future conduct of such men, he was for closing with the noble Duke's proposal, of repealing all the laws since the year 1763, as the only means now left for restoring the public tranquillity.

It was not easy for the lords in administration to ward off all the attacks which were made upon them from such different quarters. The failure and disappointment in many instances in America, were attributed to a number of events, which no sagacity could have foreseen, nor prudence prevented. Such was the defection of New York, which had been overawed, and compelled into measures by the Connecticut insurgents, which the people there would never otherwise have adopted. Such was the general union of the colonies, particularly of the southern with the northern; a fact of so extraordinary

nary a nature, as must stagger the faith of posterity, and which seems subversive of every principle founded upon reason and experience, and of every inference derived from a knowledge of mankind. It was acknowledged, that administration had been mistaken and deceived in many particulars; but such must ever be the case, when the source of information lies at so great a distance; they communicated with men, and as such they were liable to err; if they had been to regulate their conduct by mere matters of fact, mistakes would have been scarcely excusable; but from the nature of this business, they were obliged to proceed upon a kind of information, which related more to opinion than to facts, being the temper and disposition of the several colonies; all they could do in this case was to apply to those who had the best opportunity of being thoroughly informed on the subject; whatever success might attend this method, it was not in the power of humanity to have done better.

It was, however, still to be hoped, that when a sufficient force was sent out to emancipate the friends of government, the well-disposed, and the peaceable, and this force accompanied with terms of grace to those who had violated the laws, that the colonies would soon return to their duty, without waiting to experience those calamities, or urging the mother country to those measures of devastation and ruin, which had been so strongly depicted, and so pathetically lamented, on the other side. But however that might be, we were

now in a situation which admitted but of one choice of measures. We must either reduce the colonies to submission, or for ever relinquish all power and dominion over them, and all advantage from North America.

A noble lord at the head of a very great department, upon which the power and security of this country principally depend, acknowledged, that a species of deception had been necessarily practised in the preceding session, particularly in respect to the navy, by concealing the extent of the real force which would be necessary for the American service, from an apprehension, that such a demand would have excited a great opposition, and thereby have impeded, if not totally frustrated, the prosecution of those measures which government intended with regard to America. This systematic species of deception, was severely animadverted upon by the lords in opposition, who represented it as a most contemptuous treatment of that house, as misleading parliament and the nation, and trepanning them into a war; and was, they said, an imposition of such a nature as nobody could have ventured upon, much less avowed, without the most absolute certainty of impunity for any conduct.

In this debate a noble duke*, who has long been distinguished by his firmness and perseverance in opposition, after some very severe observations upon the conduct of administration, as well as strictures upon the speech and the address, took notice, that the public papers had held out threats against some

* Duke of Richmond.

of

and powerful body in that house. The gentlemen under that appellation, who had long been distinguished in the late reigns for the steadiness of their opposition to court measures, have for several years past taken the contrary side, and been as remarkable, from an uniform support of administration, in almost all cases. In American affairs particularly, they have always been among the foremost, in proposing or supporting the most coercive measures.

It is so well known, as scarcely to require mention, that an aversion to continental connections, with something bordering upon an antipathy, to the employing of foreign troops in any case whatsoever, had formerly been one of the most distinguished tenets, in the political creed of the party which we have described; and whatever revolutions other parts of their doctrine may since have undergone, this article seems to have been preserved tolerably pure and inviolate. Upon this occasion, however, it shewed its efficacy; for some of these gentlemen were so dissatisfied, that though they warmly approved of all the other parts of the address, they upon that account only, went away without giving their votes. Others who continued in the house would not, however, give their votes, until they had received what they understood to be an assurance, that full satisfaction would be afterwards given upon that subject.

In this, however, they found themselves totally disappointed, no disposition at all of the sort appearing in the minister. Whether they considered themselves as deceived or not, with respect to the implied

condition on which many of them had supported the address in the preceding debate, it is probable, that they thought themselves much slighted in not having a greater deference paid to their opinion and principles, and it is not to be doubted, that the measure itself appeared to them as exceedingly illegal and dangerous. By this means, when the report came to be received, the minister found, to his surprise, the address unexpectedly attacked and opposed from all quarters; those who excepted only to that particular part, being thrown into one common mass of opposition, with those who equally condemned it in all its principles.

It was insisted upon in the most peremptory terms, that the measure was illegal and unconstitutional in the highest degree; that it was directly repugnant to, and subversive of, the principles of the bill of rights; that it would establish a precedent of a most alarming and dangerous tendency, as it recognized a right in the crown to introduce foreigners into the British dominions, and to raise armies without the consent of parliament; that it was still rendered the more alarming, and required the more immediate reprobation, from its being wanton and unnecessary in point of policy, and from its being so strenuously defended by the ministers, both of which afforded too much room for apprehension, that its ostensible purposes covered others of a very different nature.

On the side of administration, the exceptionable clause in the address was defended, as being only a compliment; as returning thanks

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only for the good intentions from which it originated, without including any approbation of the measure itself; that decency absolutely required the first, though they should hereafter condemn the other. The measure itself was vindicated on the plea of necessity, on the ill consequences that might have proceeded from delay; on the ground of precedent, particularly that of the Dutch troops in the year 1745; its being thoroughly legal and constitutional, was also strongly contended for; and the crown lawyers endeavoured to restrain the construction of the bill of rights, by shewing that its operation extended no farther than this island.

In the mean time, the minister was repeatedly called upon from different parts of the house, and by many of his old and warm friends, as well as by the real opposition, to give an assurance, that if the address was permitted to pass in its present form, he would, on some future day to be appointed, bring the legality of the measure under the consideration of the house. The minister was, however, at that time absolutely inflexible on that point. He perhaps considered this peevishness in his own party, as deserving rather of reprehension than indulgence. No direct answer could be obtained from him; and at length, when it could be no longer shifted off, he said with an apparent indifference, that the military estimates would soon be laid before the house, which he supposed would afford a fitter opportunity for the discussion of the subject than the present.

However it was, many of the country gentlemen, who usually fell in with the court, did not consider this steadiness as well timed. A motion was made by one of them, and seconded by another, for re-committing the address. The debates which now arose became so general, as by degrees to take in the whole round of American business. Nothing was left untouched. In the course of them it was repeatedly thrown out both by friends and adversaries, that the Hanoverian business was not a measure of the minister's own; and hints were given that it had been dictated by the same overruling influence, which had often before been charged in other matters, with obliging him to act contrary to his disposition and opinion. Upon this imputation of secret influence, he avowed the measure, and acknowledged he was one of those who advised it; declared that he thought it perfectly justifiable, and was satisfied that it was defensible on every principle both of law and of the constitution.

It being found that the general motion for re-commitment, had a good deal divided the country gentlemen, many of whom had already voted for the address, and were still, as well as those who had not, zealous supporters of its general principles, the gentleman who made, was prevailed upon to withdraw his motion, and another was framed which was confined to the particular ground of objection, that the obnoxious passage should be expunged, and the following words inserted in its place, "we will immediately take into consideration the measure of introduc-

ing foreign troops into any part of the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, without the previous consent of parliament." This motion again united the country gentlemen, with those who were averse to the address at large.

The minister at length feeling the affair more serious than he could have apprehended, and dreading to come to a division until the country gentlemen were recalled to their standard, with great address, converted to immediate use, a hint which was thrown out on purpose by one of the law officers. He all at once changed his ground, quitted the high and peremptory tone of authority, said, that though he had advised the measure as believing it right, and though he still continued to think so, yet as other gentlemen, for whom he had ever held the highest deference, seemed to be of another opinion, he had no objection that the question should be brought in a regular and parliamentary manner before the house, when he would cheerfully abide by their determination; and if it was their general sense, that the measure was illegal, or unconstitutional, he should rest the defence on the ground of necessity only, and then its advisers might receive the protection, as was always practised in such cases, of an act of indemnity.

This concession set every thing to rights. The country gentlemen being now satisfied, returned to their usual temper and disposition, and the opposition was again reduced to what was properly so called. In this state of things, the question being put about one o'clock in the morning, the amendment was re-

jected; and the address in its original state accordingly passed upon a division, by a majority of 176, to 72.

Among several peculiar circumstances which attended the debates of both these days, was the total defection of Gen. Conway from administration upon the first, who after expressing the utmost detestation of that official principle, that persons holding places must implicitly support government in all cases whatsoever, and however contrary to their opinion, he then condemned in the most decisive terms, the American war, which he declared to be cruel, unnecessary and unnatural; calling it in plain terms a butchery of his fellow subjects, and to which his conscience forbade him to give his assent. He reprobated every idea of conquering America, upon all the grounds of justice, expediency, and practicability. He declared in the most unreserved terms against the right of taxation; and wished to see the declaratory law repealed, though it had been passed under his own auspices when in administration, and though on abstract legal principles he thought it right, and at the time of passing it proper and necessary, rather than it should be employed to colour designs, the most opposite to the intentions publicly declared of those who supported it in parliament; and particularly opposite to the fullest declaration of his own at the time of his moving it.

He, as well as several other gentlemen, repeatedly called upon the minister, to give them some information of the state of affairs in America, that they might know with certainty upon what ground they

stood, and were likely hereafter to stand, before they passed a bloody address, which would be a standing record against them, and which notwithstanding the profusion of sophistical arguments that were now used to palm it upon them, by endeavouring to explain away its substance, and to represent it only as froth and compliment, would not only be found a curb upon, but must in a great degree influence their conduct throughout the session, notwithstanding any information they might hereafter obtain. Some of the country gentlemen likewise, said they had gone with the minister in the preceding session, upon a supposition that he had given them authentic information with regard to America; but now finding by the event that they had been totally deceived, it became absolutely necessary to have a full and clear state of affairs laid before them, prior to their entering into any business upon the subject.

This matter pressed very hard upon, and was extremely vexatious to administration. The accounts from America were at that time far from favourable. It was even doubtful whether we had any thing left there. The giving of any particular information, with the power which the minister now possessed in the house, was indeed easily flaved off. But too much was already publicly known from other sources, not to render it difficult to account for the failure of success in many instances, and to guard against the censure which of course attended it. One gentleman in administration acknowledged that there had been mismanagement somewhere; but whe-

ther by the parliament, in not granting a sufficient force; by the ministry, in an improper application of the force granted; or by the officers who commanded, in not carrying the designs which were formed into execution, he would not determine. He however seemed to lean upon the latter, by talking of a parliamentary enquiry. He also made an apology for administration upon the ground of the peculiar situation of the minister in this country, who, notwithstanding any sagacity or prescience he might be endued with, must wait for the opinion of the people, before he could attempt to carry any great design into execution; and that if government had demanded a force of 40 or 50,000 men in the preceding session, parliament, perhaps, might not have granted them.

Another gentleman in high power and office, though not properly a member of administration, acknowledged there were faults somewhere, but afterwards confined them, by saying he did not know whether they were in the sea, or the land department. Some of those who were particularly attached to the minister, charged him, notwithstanding, with want of vigour in the American business; but consoled him with the assurance that it was not yet too late, and recommended an immediate adoption of the most coercive measures. They also condemned severely the inactivity of the preceding campaign; but left the blame at large as to the objects.

The minister pledged himself to proceed with vigour and activity. Acknowledged that he had been deceived in events; but that
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the same line it was replied, that it was beneath the dignity, and contrary to the liberal construction and comprehensive views of that house, to enter into the quibbles and distinctions of Westminster-Hall; to weigh words and sentences, to define their distinct, legal, or grammatical import, was for others, not for them. They were to consider the spirit, the intention, the circumstances that led to, and the evils that were to be cured, by that solemn compact between the King and the people, the Bill of Rights. These they were to consider as legislators, as the hereditary guardians of that new magna charta, which includes within its pale all the liberties of the people of England, not as lawyers, who wanted to explain away its substance, or to find loopholes to creep through. That bill was a capitulation between the people and their newly elected sovereign; a compact to be for ever binding on their respective posterity and successors. It claimed no new rights, it required no favours; it declared old rights; what was already the law and the constitution; and particularly provided against those violations of them, which were then more immediately felt. Of these, the keeping of a standing army, without the consent of parliament, was the first in danger and magnitude, and had been recently experienced; this giant evil had already subverted the liberties of all the other states in Europe, and had nearly swallowed up our own. This destroyer of the rights of nations, was accordingly provided against, as far as compacts can bind man-

kind, and as wisdom can govern futurity.

The construction now attempted to be put upon the words "within the kingdom," it was said, might be carried to an extent, which the noble lords on the other side might not be willing to avow. If these terms did not include all the possessions belonging to this country, then armies of foreigners, to any amount, might be introduced into Jersey, Guernsey, Ireland, and even Scotland, which was not at that time within the kingdom. Can it be seriously contended, that this is in the intention or spirit of the Bill of Rights? Or that when the maintaining an army of natives within England and Wales, was deemed dangerous to the rights and liberties of the people, the surrounding and besieging them with hosts of foreigners, was an object neither of jealousy nor apprehension. The distinctions made between a time of peace or war, and the great latitude of power attributed to the crown in the latter instance, were equally controverted, and said neither to be warranted by the law, nor by any customary usage; that if the arguments used on that head were carried to their full extent, it would necessarily follow, that an insurrection, or war, in the remotest part of this widely-extended empire, would render it legal in the crown to introduce armies of foreigners, of any nation, and to any amount, even into this kingdom. The inference attempted to be drawn from the word *foreigners* not being expressed in the law, was, it was said, too puerile to deserve a serious consideration, if
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it had not been for the great stress which seemed to be laid upon it by some lords on the other side; but can it be thought or believed, that when it was deemed dangerous to entrust the sword in the hands of a standing army of natives, it should be considered as perfectly wise, legal, constitutional, and safe, to place it in those of foreigners?

It was absolutely denied that foreign troops had been brought into the kingdom at any time since the Revolution, without the previous consent of parliament, either by an address, or by some former treaty which it had ratified. Such was the case of the Hessians in the years 1745 and 1756, upon which so much weight had been laid; in the first instance, the measure had the sanction of an address from both houses to the throne; and in the second it was covered by an existing treaty, which had already received the approbation of parliament. As to the hiring of foreign troops, and afterwards prevailing on parliament to ratify the engagements, it did not at all come up to the point in question, though it could be shewn, that even this practice had, in other times, been an object of much animadversion and censure.

It was shewn, that former administrations had been so tender and cautious with respect to employing foreigners, and the vigilance and jealousy of parliament upon that subject was so well understood, that in the height of the turbulence, heat, and danger of the late war, when the fate of empires seemed at stake, and our annual levies for the army and navy, were not much fewer than twenty

thousand; yet in such a season of urgent necessity, when the propriety of the measure did not admit of a doubt, that great statesman the Earl of Chatham, would not venture upon raising a German regiment of 4000 men for the American service, under any colour of the royal prerogative, but waited to go through the formalities, and to receive the sanction of an act of parliament for that purpose. And such precautions were taken at that time to secure the rights of the people, and such an attention paid even to their opinions, that the number of foreign officers was limited to fifty, which was less than one third of the whole; the soldiers were also to be protestants, to become naturalized subjects, and to take the oath 1st George I. And so tenacious was the minister and parliament then with respect to the act of settlement, so careful of the smallest violation, that the law which enabled the crown to take those Germans into its service, provided that they should serve in America only, and that none of the foreign officers should bear any commission higher than that of Lieutenant-Colonel. So far were we then from putting the strong fortresses of this empire into the possession of foreigners, that a very deserving naturalized officer could never arrive at the command of a regiment of his own countrymen, which he had a principal share in raising and forming. And so widely different were the principles and modes of acting a few years back, from the doctrines which are held out at present.

They also observed, that so lately as the year 1768, when the crown thought an augmentation of the

the army in Ireland, from 12000 to 15000 men necessary, in order thereby to strengthen the foreign garrisons, without leaving that kingdom defenceless, however necessary the measure was, and though the Irish parliament, which was to provide the expence, seconded the King's views, yet he did not think himself authorised at the head of that body to make any addition to his forces, though of natural-born subjects, without the sanction of the British parliament, which was accordingly obtained by an act passed for that purpose.

As to what had been repeatedly said, of not shewing any distrust of the Prince upon the throne, it was replied, that no distrust was meant or entertained; compliments were not to be thought of in questions of great national concern; nor a precedent established as a matter of compliment, which might prove fatal in its consequences to the rights of a people. No Prince ever sat upon a throne that deserved a more unlimited confidence, than our great deliverer King William; yet, with all his virtues, and all the obligations we were under to him, parliament would not indulge him in that measure which went so near to his heart, of keeping a single regiment of Dutch guards here. They who refused him in that instance, notwithstanding all his great virtues and qualities, deserve the highest applause and honour for their firmness in so doing. If they had been ceremonious, a precedent would not now have been wanting; and the usage being once established, would, upon some future occasion, be applied to the most dangerous purposes.

Upon the whole, the opposition

insisted, that the measure was highly illegal and unconstitutional; that it was directly contrary both to the letter and spirit of the law; but that if it had militated with no positive law, it would still have been a total infraction, and fundamentally subversive, of the first principles of our government. A noble Earl went so far, as to pronounce it decisively, to be high treason against the constitution.

A great Lord at the head of the law, and Speaker of that house, gave up the point, as to Gibraltar and Minorca, not being supposed within the kingdom, in the intention and spirit of the law; he besides allowed that the law applied to foreigners; but justified the measure upon the same principle, for as America was also included in the description of within the kingdom, and a rebellion and war were now existing there, so the operation of the Bill of Rights must cease, until peace was restored.

A noble Lord, high in office, had moved the previous question early in the debate, upon a supposition that a bill of indemnity would be brought into the House of Commons by the minister, in order to remove the scruples, and quiet the apprehensions of the country gentlemen. The idea of an act of indemnity, was however totally reprobated by the other Lords in office, and the noble author endeavoured, as well as he could, to explain away the substance of what he had thrown out upon that subject. The previous question being at length put, it was carried by a majority of 75, including 22 proxies, to 32, including one proxy, who supported the motion.

In the mean time, the minister was

was continually pressed in the House of Commons by the country gentlemen, for the Indemnity Bill which he had promised to bring in, and which he did not now seem at all disposed to think of. Their perseverance, however, brought him to an explanation, that though he was perfectly satisfied of the legality of the measure, he had no objection to give those gentlemen satisfaction who held another opinion, and were apprehensive that it might be drawn into a precedent, by concurring with them in any measure, which might tend, as he expressed it facetiously, to the preservation of ministers heads upon their shoulders; but that he had consulted several upon the subject, who joined exactly with himself in opinion, that bills of indemnity were only intended to cover ministers from actions at law; but did not at all operate against criminal charges, nor in any degree bar an impeachment.

This opinion was by no means received, and it was on the contrary insisted, that bills of indemnity were acts of grace and favour extended by parliament to ministers, to protect them from punishment for those acts of illegality which they might be guilty of through necessity, expediency, or human infirmity, where the intention was clear, and the operating motive might be brought in justification, or mere error, in alleviation of the crime. The minister then proposed a resolution, by which the measure in question was applauded in nearly the terms of the address, and a still farther sanction given to it by declaring it as the opinion of the house, that

it necessarily required a greater degree of dispatch than was consistent with waiting for the assembling of parliament.

This proposal was so directly the reverse to the satisfaction which was demanded, that it was of course rejected; not without some disapprobation of the idea, that any resolution of one house of parliament, should be set up to encounter the established law of the land, founded upon, and growing out of, the constitution. The minister endeavoured to remove this objection by a conference with the Lords, which would render the resolution the joint act of both houses. None of these proposals affording any satisfaction, and none better being offered, one of the country gentlemen gave notice that he would move for leave to bring in an act of indemnity. The minister, however, thought proper afterwards to take the business out of his hands, and was himself the mover to bring in the proposed bill.

Though this was all that was wished by the country gentlemen, it by no means satisfied the opposition, properly so called, who knew that the bill would be so contrived, as to appear rather an indulgence offered by the ministers to tender and scrupulous consciences, and was in fact a compliment to many of their own friends, who would wish in some measure to balance present conduct with former professions, than as including any censure upon themselves, acknowledgment that an indemnity was necessary to their security, or effectual condemnation of the measure upon which it was founded.

Nov.

of the members of both houses, in order to stifle the freedom of debate; that he understood he was one of the persons singled out, and meant to be honoured upon this occasion. He now called upon his threateners and accusers; if any such were present, (he would not pretend to say there were) he defied them; he scorned their menaces, and invited them to make good their charges. He did not suppose, he said, that any noble lords in administration would encourage or use such base, futile, and scandalous means to intimidate the members in either house of parliament from doing their duty, even though they had supposed, that so shameful and unjustifiable a scheme could have produced the desired effect.

The noble lord who seconded the address, having spoken with great freedom of a desperate faction, and incendiaries at home, to whom he attributed the rebellion in America, and a similar language being held by some others, who charged all opposition to the measures of administration, to factious and ambitious motives, the matter was most spiritedly taken up by another noble duke; not less distinguished on the same side, than the former whom we have just mentioned. He solemnly declared, that while ever he sat in that house, he would not endure such language, nor suffer such unconstitutional attempts to check and destroy all freedom of debate, to pass without the severest reprehension which he was capable of bestowing. He called upon the lords who had made those accusations, if they had any grounds to justify them, to bring them for-

ward, or else to confess that they had no authority for what they said or insinuated. If they were silent, the house must conclude they had none, and as such could not permit them to interrupt that freedom and decorum of debate, for which they had at all times been so justly distinguished.

As the point of accusation was relinquished, as well by the silence upon this occasion, as by some specific disavowals in the course of the debates, a noble earl on the same side, said he might now congratulate the public, upon the ministry having pronounced the funeral oration of their addresses. He said, that from the language of those addresses, and the various threats which had been industriously circulated, he came to town with some apprehensions, not for himself; but lest the zeal of some friend, for the violated rights of his suffering fellow-subjects, should have led him into any unguarded expressions, and thereby have enabled some dark designing lawyer, to stab the public freedom through the indiscretion of an individual. He said he did not blame the addressers; who had thus unjustly aspersed the characters of those whose aim was, by steady, just, and temperate counsels, to save this deluded country from destruction. They had been deceived, and were deceived by those very ministers, who being now called upon, explicitly avow, without shame or remorse, that they have no evidence to support their accusation.

The manner of obtaining the addresses, also became a matter of discussion, from its being insisted upon by one side, that they were to be considered as the full voice
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and sense of the nation, which conveyed through them the fullest approbation of the present measures, and the most perfect confidence in administration. This called up a noble lord in opposition, who spoke from his own knowledge, of the surreptitious manner in which an address was obtained, and presented in the name of one of our principal trading and manufacturing cities; that it had been drawn up, and shamefully smuggled through by the mere agents, and known creatures of administration, without any previous notice to the citizens; that nine tenths of those who had signed it, did not know a single syllable of its contents; that with all the influence, and all the unfair means which were used, only 117 subscribers could be procured; but that when a counter address was proposed, which militated with every part of the former, and conveyed truth to the fact of the throne, it was carried fairly and openly through all the usual forms, and signed by considerably more than three times the number.

After long debates, the question upon the amendment being put about 11 o'clock at night, it was rejected upon a division by a majority of 40; the numbers being 69, to 29, the original motion for the address was then carried by a majority of 76 (including 16 proxies) to 33 who opposed the question. Two bishops were in the minority on this division.

The address was productive of a protest signed by nineteen lords, in which they combat the civil war, as unjust and impolitic in its principles, dangerous in its contingent, and fatal in its real con-

sequences. After condemning the injustice and imprudence of our conduct, in rejecting the American petitions and applications for a reconciliation, with the indecency and folly of affecting to disbelieve their loyalty, when they express it in the warmest professions, and expatiating upon the known and the probable evils of the contest, they describe the absurdity of refusing to give credit to the declarations of our fellow-subjects, and blindly confiding in the insidious professions of the natural enemies of this country, thereby, it is to be dreaded, preparing an easy prey for those who prudently sit quiet, beholding British forces, which, if united, might carry terror into the heart of their dominions, destroying each other. Thus, every event, whichever way it turns, is a victory to them. Our very hospitals furnish them with daily triumphs; the greater, as they are certain, without any risque to them of men or money.

They censured the calling in of foreign forces to decide domestic quarrels, as disgraceful and dangerous; and reprobated in the strongest terms the late measure of employing the Hanoverians, at the mere pleasure of the ministers, by which they appear to be considered as a part of the British military establishment, to take a rotation of garrison duties through these dominions. They sum up and conclude the protest by declaring, "we cannot therefore consent to an address, which may deceive his majesty, and the public, into a belief of the confidence of this house in the present ministers, who have deceived parliament, disgraced the nation, lost the

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the colonies, and involved us in a civil war against our clearest interests; and upon the most unjust, fiabile grounds, wantonly spilling the blood of thousands of our fellow-subjects.

C H A P. V.

Duke of Manchester's motion relative to the Hanoverian troops. Debates. Previous question carried by a great majority. Similar motion by Sir James Lowther in the House of Commons. Debates. Previous question put and carried. Debates on the Militia Bill. Army estimates. Motion for retards rejected. 28,000 seamen voted. Motion for an address on American affairs rejected. 55,000 men voted for the land service.

THE measure of sending the Hanoverian troops to occupy our Mediterranean garrisons, was not an object of less censure or jealousy in the House of Lords, than we have already seen it in that of the Commons. Soon after Nov. 1st. the delivery of the Duke of Manchester moved for a resolution, "That bringing into any part of the dominions of Great Britain, the electoral troops of his Majesty, or any other foreign troops, without the previous consent of parliament, is dangerous and unconstitutional." The noble mover added an explanation, that by the term unconstitutional, he meant that it was against law.

In the introduction and support of this motion, the speech again underwent much severe censure, as teaching sentiments which included higher ideas of prerogative, than any other that had been delivered in that place since the Revolution; and, as containing flights of that council, neglect of parliament, and indifference of their approbation. The measure in question was said to have inflicted a most dangerous wound in the constitution, which, if not speedily

healed, would gangrene and extend, in such a manner as to mortify the whole. That however innocuous it might seem in its first operation, the example and precedent were of the most alarming nature, and might produce the most fatal consequences. That it was totally subversive of the great character and security of English liberties, the Bill of Rights. They were requested to consider the importance of the subject, and it was averred to be of as much consequence to the liberties of this country, as America had been to its wealth and power; that in this season of calamity, when half the empire was too probably lost for ever, they were bound by all the ties of interest, duty, and love to their country, to watch strictly over the liberties of the remainder, that something might still be left, worth preserving, worth contending for. That it would be too much, to be at once stripped of wealth, power, the securities afforded by our constitution, and all the peculiar characteristics which distinguished us from other nations.

Among other objections, it was contended, that the Hanoverians would

would not be under the controul of any military law in those garrisons; that the mutiny act did not reach them, being confined to those troops only, who were therein specified, or voted by parliament; that it would not be pretended, that they carried their own laws along with them; when there, they must to all intents and purposes be subject to those of England; thus all military subordination would be at an end the moment of their arrival; and an action at common law would lie against their officers, for any punishment which they inflicted. It was said, that the putting foreigners in possession of those great barriers of our commerce and maritime power, was also exceptionable in point of security. The trust was of too great a magnitude to be reposed in aliens, who had no interest in its preservation. Upon the whole it was concluded, and insisted upon, that the King had no right to maintain, in any part of the dominions of the British crown, any troops, other than are consented to by parliament, both as to number and to nation.

The Lords in administration, avowed and justified the measure. They denied its offending either against the letter or the spirit of the Bill of Rights. The clause which was supposed to affect this measure, must be taken with the conditions which were annexed to it, and could extend no farther; one of these related to the bringing troops "within the kingdom," and another specific, "in time of peace;" nothing can be more demonstrable evidence, than that the troops in question are not within the kingdom; and it is not to be

presumed, that any body will say we are at present in a state of peace and tranquillity. It would be absurd to suppose, that the words, "within the kingdom," included all its dependencies; but if such a latitude were even admitted, and received as a fiction of policy, still, the rebellion in America, the existence of which could not be disputed, would justify the measure, even upon the principles of that bill.

That the King had been at all times competent to raise or keep an army in time of war or rebellion, in any part of his dominions; that this competence was rather confirmed than lessened by the Bill of Rights; that the bill made no distinction between an army of natives and foreigners; that this was no novel doctrine, but had been repeatedly brought into practice since the Revolution, in times when the rights of the people were as fully understood, and their preservation as carefully attended to as at present; and that foreigners had not only been hired, but brought into the kingdom, without the previous consent of parliament. They, however, contended, that were all the strong ground given up, still the Bill of Rights being retrospective and declaratory, could bear no view to possessions which were not at that time in the crown. The expediency of the measure, and the necessity of its being timely adopted, were also insisted upon; and it was much argued that such a censure would shew a shameful distrust of the crown, at a time when it could not be justified with the smallest appearance of reason.

To these and other arguments in the

Nov. 3d. Upon these, or similar grounds, Sir James Lowther made a motion, That the introducing the Hanoverian troops into any part of the dominions belonging to the crown of Great Britain, without the consent of parliament first had and obtained, is contrary to law. The minister, to guard against the effects of this motion, and to detach the country gentlemen entirely from it, had his bill of indemnity framed with great dispatch, and brought in upon that very morning.

As this motion went directly home to the question of law, the charge in that respect was strongly supported, and besides the general illegalities which we have already seen attributed to the measure in question, whether with respect to the general law of the realm, or the Bill of Rights in particular, it was now affirmed to be directly contrary to that clause in the Act of Settlement, which specially enacts, That no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereto belonging, (although he be naturalized, or made a denizen,) except such as are born of English parents, shall be capable to enjoy any office, or place of trust, civil or military.

The application of a clause which left so little room for doubt or mistake, was not difficult. It was asked, whether the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca, were not military trusts of the highest nature? Whether the crown could legally commit these trusts to the officers of France or Spain? Was there any distinction in point of law, which rendered it more legal to commit the keys of the empire

to the custody of Hanoverians than Spaniards? The troops of Hanover are as distinct from the troops of this country, as those of Russia. The King of Great Britain is also as distinct from the Elector of Hanover in every political point of view, as he is from the remotest sovereign in Christendom.

Several passages in the Bill of Rights, and Annual Mutiny Act, were applied in further proof of the charge of illegality.

On the other side; the ground of legality, with respect to the laws which had passed in consequence of the Revolution, not being found tenable, was quitted, and new taken. One of the law officers, and some other gentlemen on the same side, advanced and insisted, that it was an indisputable prerogative inherent in the crown, to protect the public, which could not be done but by arms. That parliament had no means of controuling this prerogative, and preventing any mischievous consequences, but by withholding the supplies which were necessary for the support of armies. That this prerogative was coeval with the inherent right in the crown of making peace and war, which would not only be nugatory, but an absolute mockery without it; and that it was supported by uninterrupted usage, the constant exercise of the right, from the earliest period of our monarchy to the Revolution. That the Bill of Rights created no new law; it only asserted ancient usage, by way of declaration; consequently, instead of militating with this inherent prerogative, it confirms it, if that were wanting; as whatever then appeared to be the ancient usage,

must still continue to be the law. It damns and reprobates such armies, and in such circumstances, as could not be justified by such uniform unquestioned usage; but no others; and whilst it secures the constitution, it does not weaken the defence of the kingdom. What was the militia, before the new regulation? It was an army, the command of which was unquestionably and solely in the crown, and so declared to be by act of parliament.

That, if there could be any difference of opinion with respect to the prerogative, in the extent now laid down, still there could not be a colour of objection, with regard to the measure now attempted to be censured; for, however the general right of the crown might be disputed, the particular right of placing garrisons in the King's fortresses, whether within or without the realm, had never been questioned, even in times of the greatest popular licentiousness. In support of this position, instances were given of the garrison kept in Calais for above two hundred years, and of that at Tangier, during the greater part of the reign of Charles the Second, in neither of which, was parliament ever consulted, or did it ever pretend to interfere: at home, the instances were more numerous, and in the same predicament; for which the garrisons formerly maintained, in Newcastle, Berwick, Portsmouth, the Marches, and Cinque Ports, were brought in proof. All danger from such garrisons to the constitution is guarded by the clear line that is drawn. For the moment the troops quit the garrison towns, or are kept up in any other manner than bona fide

for that garrison use, they become illegal; and those who thus keep up or employ them, are answerable with their heads for the abuse.

These arguments, instead of satisfying the opposition, gave them new ground of complaint. They denied the legal force of any usage contrary to the established principles of the constitution. Otherwise all ancient arbitrary proceedings, for which there were but too many precedents, would become foundations for our laws. They said, that the ancient armies of the crown, were composed of those who served by virtue of their tenure, for a limited time, and for particular services; to which the King was intitled in common with the inferior Lords, in right of property and tenure. That from the abolition of the military tenures, the crown had no constitutional military force whatever, except what was granted by parliament. That an army was a thing totally different from the occasional call on the subject for his own defence against an actual invasion. The legal power of the crown, however, with regard to the militia, was by no means clear, until an act was formed for that purpose, though there was no doubt made as to the supreme command, whenever it was legally called forth and acted. That the ancient garrisons were by tenures and castle guard as other services were, and did no way resemble regular troops. They laughed at what they called the new distinction of garrisons, which might legally form a military chain about the extremities of the kingdom, and were to be held there by words. If any army could be kept there by prerogative, they would

would not alk leave of law to enlarge their quarters.

As to the precedent with respect to foreign garrisons, it was observed, that Calais was the last remnant of those vast possessions which our kings held of their own right in France; that they claimed the crown and the whole kingdom by lineal descent; and that, consequently, the English parliament had no more to do with the King's government of France, than they have now with his government of Hanover. As to Dunkirk and Tangier, Charles the Second, who kept garrisons in those places, maintained an army within the kingdom contrary to law. It was one of those great and dangerous infractions of the constitution, which the Revolution was intended to cure. He also sold Dunkirk to France. Will that now be drawn into precedent?

Notwithstanding the firmness with which the crown lawyers and ministers defended in debate a very qualified sense of the words in the declaration of rights, and of course a very high, and not very clearly defined prerogative in the crown, with regard to garrisons and armies, they did not however think proper to give it a further sanction and confirmation, by putting a direct negative upon the motion, which would have been tantamount to a resolution, and consequently establish the doctrine in debate, so far as that house was capable. Instead of this, the previous question was put, and the motion, accordingly, indirectly lost, by a majority of 203, to 81, by whom it was supported. Thus was this great question, of no small legal and constitutional im-

portance, left open and undecided, to be perhaps resumed at some future period.

A new militia bill having been brought in, in consequence of a passage which we have already seen in the speech from the throne, considerable debates arose upon the second reading of it, which happened on the day preceding the motion we have just mentioned. The principal objection made to this bill, was the prodigious additional power with which it armed the crown, the King being enabled by it to draw out the militia, in case of a rebellion in any part of the empire. This was said to be, in fact, empowering the crown to draw the militia out whenever it thought fit, as a pretence could never be wanting for the purpose, while there was a black Carib remaining in St. Vincent's, a runaway Negro in the mountains of Jamaica, or a Hindoo Rajah left on the coast of Coromandel.

The bill was said to be entirely subversive of every idea of a constitutional militia, which should be merely local, and calculated only for internal and domestic defence. That the present militia was formed under the express condition of not being called out, except in cases of invasion, rebellion, or an imminent danger of either, in the kingdom; but by this bill, it is in the power of a minister to embody the militia whenever he pleases; and as they are then immediately within the Mutiny Act, they are to all intents and purposes, whether they will or no, converted at once into a regular standing army.

It was urged with great severity,
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that this bill was rounding and completing that system which had for some years been uniformly pursued, of rendering the crown totally independent of the people, and placing them naked and defenceless in its power. In support of this assertion, besides the general instances, of the great increase of our military peace establishment both by sea and land, and the continually growing and dangerous influence obtained by multiplying places and pensions, were reckoned, the great weight thrown into the preponderating scale of the crown, by the Royal Marriage Bill; the inordinate power obtained by a violation of all the rights of the East India company; the violent attempt of extending the prerogative to the levying of money upon the subject by proclamation, in the case of the four and half per cent. in the West Indies, which, notwithstanding every possible obstacle thrown in the way of justice, has at length been condemned by our courts of law; with the further breaches in our old form of government, and the unusual powers granted by the Quebec Act, and the Boston Port Bill; and the design to overawe us into a submission to any measures, by the introduction of a foreign force. They said, that every measure adopted, and every incident which occurred in the present troubles, whether favourable or unfavourable to government, was converted to the furtherance of that design. And that administration was now evidently taking advantage from the situation of public affairs, to bring the people by the present bill under martial law, and to add that law to the prerogative.

They concluded, that no person who attentively considered the quick succession of these measures within so short a period, could have a doubt remaining concerning their design.

On the other side, all those dangers to the constitution which it was supposed might arise from the bill, and the evil purposes to which it might be applied, were represented as purely chimerical, and as impossible in the nature of things ever to be realized. What minister would run the risque of his head by calling out the militia of England, under the pretext of a riot in Bengal, or a disturbance in any other remote part of the King's dominions? Must he not face parliament to account for his conduct? Would the trifling causes which have been supposed, be accepted as a justification, for exciting such an alarm, and causing such expence and trouble to the nation? An impeachment must be the inevitable consequence, and the alternative of a mad-house, or a scaffold, the final result, in case of a conduct so replete with folly and danger. That possible abuses were no arguments against necessary powers; but that the abuses here predicted were scarcely within possibility.

A militia was the great constitutional defence of a free country. It had always been called for in opposition to a standing army, by the most celebrated patriots; by those who were the most jealous of the powers of the crown, and the most zealous sticklers for the rights of the people. As there was a necessity in a great national contest, of sending the regular forces abroad to support the rights of

of the crown, and of the people, some mode of home security and defence must be adopted in their absence. What other could have been found so proper, and so constitutional as the present? Would those who stigmatize the measure of sending a few battalions of Hanoverians (who though foreigners, are the King's subjects, and of course our natural friends) to strengthen the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, would they recommend the introduction of foreigners into England, or would they wish, that our ports, our docks, the capital, and the kingdom itself, should be open to the enterprize, and subject to the mercy, of any insidious enemy that might chuse to take an advantage of our defenceless situation? Could any thing be more pleasing to Englishmen, than that the defence of their country should rest upon themselves only? Or could his Majesty give a more striking instance of the unbounded confidence which he placed in their zeal, affection, and loyalty, than by reposing the protection of his crown, person, and kingdom, in the gentlemen of England?

This debate was by degrees drawn off from the main subject to that of the late addresses to the throne; a matter which had been continually agitated since the opening of the session, and which now produced more warm animadversion, and pointed altercation, than any other which occurred in its course. Besides the general censure which the opposition passed upon these pieces of ministerial craft and manufacture, (which they affected to call and consider them,) for the indecency and scurrility of

their language, the falsehood of their charges, and the dangerous tendency of their implications and threats, an address from the first battalion of Devonshire militia, in which they made a tender of their personal service against all *internal* enemies, afforded an opportunity of bringing the matter home to the present question, by shewing the danger of intrusting the sword to a militia upon the new construction, when a part even of the old, which seemed more immediately in the hands of the people, was so managed, as wantonly to propose its application to the most fatal purposes.

That those who were entrusted with arms by the constitution for purposes of national defence, were to use them only in the manner prescribed, and under the powers ordained by that authority. They were, as a militia, to hold no opinion as to time or place, fitness or necessity; they were to obey the orders which they received, not to say what those orders should be; they were to second and support the execution of the law, not to declare what was the law; much less to dictate in great political and legislative questions. These gentlemen, they said, come uncalled, with drawn swords in their hands, to make a tender of them; against whom are these swords to be employed? not against the natural enemies of this country, nor even against their unfortunate fellow-subjects in America; but against internal enemies; that is, against all those throughout the kingdom, who happen to differ with them in political opinion; and more immediately and particularly against those gentlemen,

who in fulfilling their duty to God and their country, have unremittingly strove in parliament, to prevent a most unnatural and ruinous civil war.

To these severe strictures it was replied, that the public addresses from London and Middlesex to the electors and freeholders of England, rendered it necessary for those who were well affected to government to make as public an avowal of their sentiments and principles, thereby to vindicate the character of the nation, and to prevent his Majesty, and the world at large, from being deceived, with respect to the general disposition of the people. That letters from a society in London, which called itself *constitutional*, had been circulated with great industry, recommending to the people to enter into associations in the different counties and towns, and citing as an example, and assigning as a motive, the success which had attended such a practice in bringing about the Revolution. That plain country gentlemen, who do not trouble themselves much with nice distinctions, and are not at all versed in subtleties, thought that nothing less could be intended by these proposals than another Revolution; and that in such circumstances, the officers of the first regiment of Devonshire militia, not only thought it justifiable, but highly necessary, to make a public profession of their loyalty and affection to the sovereign, attachment to government, and resolution to defend both. That it was a new doctrine, and peculiar to the present times, to consider loyalty, and an attachment to the constitution and government, as crimes, or

the profession of them, as deserving censure.

The question being at length put upon the second reading of the Militia Bill, it was carried upon a division by the vast majority of 259, to 50 only, who opposed the measure.

A debate arose about Nov. 1st, the same time, on laying the army estimates for the ensuing year before the house, the opposition pressing very closely for information, as to the number, condition, and situation of the troops now in America, whilst the ministers, as usual in this business, refused the satisfaction required. This occasioned a motion, That there be laid before the house an account of the last returns of the number of effective men, in the several regiments and corps in his Majesty's service, serving in North America, together with a state of the sick and wounded; distinguishing the several places where the said troops are stationed.

This motion was opposed as being unsupported by precedent; and that the calling for the returns of an army in time of war, by a resolution of the house, would establish one highly inconvenient and dangerous. That the return of an army, includes the most accurate and authentic account of every particular relative to it. Could it be proper or safe to publish such a state, to furnish such information, while the enemy was in the field? while he was in a state to convert such intelligence to the highest advantage? No ministers could pretend to carry on the public business, if any gentleman had a right to demand and obtain such information. If mi-
nisters

officers act badly, they should be turned out of their places; and not to ruin the public service, and destroy all confidence in them while in office, by calling for improper accounts.

On the other side it was asserted, that a precedent was so far from being wanting, that it was to be found just at hand, and no longer ago than the affair of the Caribs at St. Vincent's. That information was now indispensably necessary, as it was acknowledged that the officers of the crown had hitherto been deceived themselves, and deceived parliament, for want of it. That the pretence of danger, from the enemy's becoming master of our secrets, was too ridiculous to deserve a serious answer. Could any body be weak enough to imagine, that the returns of three months standing from America, and received from this by Washington three months hence, could afford him any information relative to the army at Boston? He has them every day under his eye. But it is not from the enemy, they said, but from parliament, that the true state of the troops is to be withheld.

How can we pretend to judge of the propriety or sufficiency of the estimates for future service, of the number of new forces which we should vote for, without knowing the state of those which we have already? But, said they, was the fair truth to be laid before the house, the demands of ministers would be found inconsistent with the facts they produced. This was the case last session; they kept back all information, and imposed on the house, in order to get the cry

of the people before the extent of the evil was known. The question being then put, was rejected upon a division by a majority of 170, to 63, who supported the motion.

A motion was then made from the Admiralty in the Committee of Supply, that 28,000 seamen, including 6,665 marines, should be voted for the service of the ensuing year. This was accompanied with a general outline of the services to which the navy should be applied; particularly, that the fleet on the North-American station should amount to seventy-eight sail. One of the first and most distinguished of our naval commanders opposed this motion, as the force, he said, was much too great for a peace establishment, and totally inadequate to a war. He shewed, that the number of ships designed for the American service, would demand so great a proportion of the complement of seamen proposed, that our coasts at home must be left naked, and defenceless, in a season of such imminent peril and danger, or that our West-India islands, and all other distant services, must be wholly abandoned. He also arraigned, in the most unequivocal terms, the present government and conduct of our naval affairs, which he represented to be such as not only merited much reprehension, but an immediate change of system, to prevent the most dangerous consequences.

Administration defended itself upon the circumstances of the time which required a great fleet in America; while the state of affairs in Europe did not call for the same exertion at home. The professions of the neighbouring courts were pacific and friendly; and

what

what was of more weight than professions, their armaments were not unusual or considerable. It was not fitting to alarm them by unnecessary preparations, which would justify them in arming on their side; and thus, by an injudicious shew of apprehension, we might be brought into real danger, and certain expence. That the guardships were so many, so well appointed, and on a short notice could be so well manned, as to be much superior to what any other power could bring against us. This would keep us in a respectable situation, without overstraining our national resources.

7th. A few days after, a gentleman in opposition made a motion for an address to his Majesty, that the commissioners appointed to act in America, for the purposes held out in the speech, should be authorized to receive proposals for conciliation, from any general convention, congress or other collective body, that should be found to convey the sentiments of one or more of the continental colonies, suspending all enquiry into the legal or illegal forms under which such colony or colonies may be disposed to treat; "as the most effectual means to prevent the effusion of blood, and to reconcile the honour and permanent interest of Great Britain with the requisitions of his Majesty's American subjects."

The gentleman introduced his motion with a speech, in which he shewed from a number of authorities both in the ancient and modern part of our history, that it was not only customary with the crown to treat with conventions of the people, which were assembled

without any of the legal forms; but that such assemblies, in the name and under the authority of the people, had several times disposed of the crown itself, a right which our Kings fully acknowledged, by most thankfully receiving it at their hands.

From these and various other precedents he argued and inferred, that it was no diminution of dignity in the crown or parliament to treat with the American convention, under whatever forms or denominations they were held. And in further support of his position, brought the remarkable instance of the most powerful and arbitrary monarch in Europe, Lewis the XIVth, who did not disdain to enter into and conclude a treaty negotiated by two Marshals of France, with a contemptible handful of rebellious Cevennois, and their leader, the son of a baker, whose name is perpetuated to posterity, by being subscribed to the same instrument which bears the signature of the haughty Lewis.

The motion was seconded, but produced little or no debate. It was said, in general, that peace was much to be wished for; but that the entering into any treaty with the Congress, would be an acknowledgment of its being a legal assembly, which must, of course, determine the whole question of dispute in favour of America. For if that meeting was legal, our whole conduct must have been a course of injustice. That it was more consonant with the dignity of parliament to find some other method; that by waiting a little, such an opportunity might offer; and that, at worst, it would be time enough to apply to this as the

the last resort. The question being put, it passed in the negative without a division.

On the following day, the 8th. minister in the war department laid the estimates of the land-service for the ensuing year before the Committee of Supply. These estimates exceeded two millions, including the staff, the difference between the English and Irish establishment in the pay of the latter, the pay of the five Hanoverian battalions, near 100,000*l.* levy-money, and the extraordinary unprovided expences of the ordnance in the preceding year, which, notwithstanding the limited sphere of service, amounted to 223,655*l.* His Lordship shewed, that the whole force appointed for the land-service, abroad and at home, would amount to about 55,000 men, of which upwards of 25,000 would be employed in America. He acknowledged, that though this was the general arrangement, he was sorry to say it was only on paper, for that scarcely any of the corps were completed to their full complement. He said, that no means had been untried to remedy this defect. That the bounty had been raised, and the standard lowered; attempts had been made to enlist Irish Roman Catholics, and to incorporate foreigners singly into the British regiments; but all failed of the expected effect, and the recruiting service still went on very slowly. He endeavoured to obviate the popular observation which had been so often repeated, and he knew would be now renewed, that the difficulty, or rather impracticability of procuring men, proceeded from the abhorrence, with which the people in general

regarded the present odious civil war. He mentioned several causes for this slackness, but rested chiefly on the flourishing state of our manufactures, (notwithstanding the predictions of opposition) which, whilst it brought a temporary distress on the service, was a proof of the real strength of the kingdom, and its ability fully to support this or any war.

He also threw out, without pretending, however, to any absolute authority, that every idea of taxing America, was now entirely given up; and that the only remaining consideration was to secure the constitutional dependency of that country. That this could only be effected by such a conduct, as shewed the most determined resolution of maintaining our constitutional rights, and that for this purpose it was intended to send out such an armament, as would be sufficient to enforce them, if America should still persist in her disobedience. That this armament would be attended with commissioners, who should be furnished with powers to accommodate matters; and that a great military officer, who stood high in the esteem both of his sovereign and the nation, was intended to be the first commissioner.

Some of the country gentlemen, as well as the opposition in general, were much dissatisfied at not being able to obtain any information from the minister relative to his intended operations, whether with respect to the measures for bringing about an accommodation, or for the prosecution of the war. The former said, they voted with him for the militia and the augmentation of the navy, in a firm persuasion,

perfection, and understanding it as a matter of course, that before the remaining supplies were granted, he would have laid his plan before the house. That if they had not thought so, they would not have given their support to measures, which it seemed now they were not to be acquainted with. That it looked as if it were meant that they should vote the estimates first, and hear the reasons afterwards; or in other words, that the house should begin with a division, and end with a debate. They said, that in looking for information, they did not mean a few scraps of garbled and mutilated papers; but that verbal and official information, which they thought it the ministers duty to impart to parliament. That it was particularly necessary they should receive information as to the persons who were to be appointed as Commissioners in America, and the nature and extent of their commission, that parliament might be enabled to judge, whether they were men fit to be entrusted with so important a negotiation, and whether the terms they carried out, were consistent with the dignity of Great-Britain to offer, and the interest of the Americans to receive.

One of the country gentlemen was so earnest in this desire of information, and so piqued at finding no disposition in the minister to give the satisfaction which he required, that he attempted to break up the committee without its coming to any resolution, by moving, "that the chairman should quit the chair," which was seconded by another gentleman under the same description.

Though the minister did not

think it prudent, or was not prepared to give any direct or explicit answer, he, however, thought it necessary to do something to keep that party in temper. He said, that the commission to be sent, would be in conformity to the intimation given from the throne; that the gentlemen need not make themselves uneasy, under the apprehension that any treaty of concession would be agreed to without the consent of parliament; but that it would be necessary to know upon what grounds the Americans would treat, before the powers sufficient to ratify what the Commissioners might think expedient, were derived from parliament. When the terms that America was willing to submit to, were in a state proper to be laid before the house, that, in his opinion, would be the proper time to take the sense of parliament on previous communications, and leave it to judge of the alternative, whether the offers of America could be accepted with honour, or whether we ought to reduce them to a state of obedience, however difficult or hazardous the undertaking.

In the further prosecution of the subject, the opposition insisted, that the estimates were under-rated in such a degree, as to afford no clue whereby to form any judgment of the extent of the expences. That the proposed force of 25,000 men, was totally inadequate to the purposes of absolute coercion. This was supported by the opinion of a great general officer, who had long been in administration, and who declared it in the most unreserved terms; the other military gentlemen present were called upon to declare their dissent, if they thought

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thought otherwise; but they all continued silent. The mixt system of war and conciliation was represented as highly improper. The measure adopted, whether of peace or war, should be clear, simple, and decided, not involved in doubt, perplexity, and darkness. If war was resolved, and it was determined to compel America to submission, let the means of coercion be such, as will, to a moral certainty, insure success. The force employed must be able to command terms, or it does nothing. If on the contrary, peace is really wished for, and terms of conciliation are to be proposed, your propositions ought to be so clear as to be obvious to every common understanding, and so simple as to baffle the powers of chicanery.

On the other side it was said, that the force proposed, when its operations were directed to specific services, and supported by a formidable fleet, would be fully sufficient for the purpose, and such as all America could not withstand; nor was it probable, that they would enter into so arduous a contest, when terms were held out to them at the very instant, which would fully preserve their rights. The idea of simple war, or simple concession, was strongly controverted. It was said that a conquest over our own subjects, was neither sought nor desired. That it was our interest, as it was our wish, to reclaim, not to destroy or enslave. That in the present state of things in America, this desirable object could only be obtained by such an armament as would command respect, strike an awe into the factious, and enforce a sub-

mission to the conciliatory terms which we proposed, if coercion became absolutely necessary. And that either to withdraw the force we already had there, or to leave it exposed to the insults and danger of a greater on the side of the rebels, would not only be in the highest degree disgraceful to ourselves, but would, in its consequences, be equally ruinous to both countries.

A gentleman in office, but who has for several years been considered as possessing much more real than ostensible power, departed totally from these temperate ideas of conduct which the minister professed, and on which he valued himself. He was of opinion, that all attempts of conciliation would be fruitless: observed, that at any rate, a number of terms were to be made, and securities given, before conciliation could be obtained. That terms of force were the measures chalked out by his Majesty in the speech; attended, however, with conditions of conciliation, and gracious offers of forgiveness and protection. On this foundation, the present vote on the estimates was proposed; but if premature explanations were desired; if the gentlemen, who had pledged themselves to support those measures, had altered their minds, or had withdrawn their confidence from the King's servants, he saw no possible way to remedy matters but by a change of administration. He, however, animadverted severely on the cowardice of declining the contest, almost in the very outset, after their having gone such lengths in bringing matters to that crisis.

This being considered as the language

language of authority, was also understood, both by the country gentlemen and opposition, as fully tantamount to a declaration for war. The latter did not let it pass without observation and stricture. They said, it was treating parliament with every possible degree of disrespect. Measures are concerted in the cabinet; the King is made by the ministers to express the general intentions which they had there determined upon; the House of Commons is desired to support those measures, by voting an enormous war establishment; and when questions are asked, and explanations are desired, even by

the very friends of administration, the gentlemen who call for a plan are very laconically referred to the King's speech. The speech holds out generals, and refers you to particulars; when these particulars are called for, the speech is quoted, as the true standard of information.

After long debates, the question being put upon the first of the resolutions in the estimate, was carried upon a division by the usual majority, the numbers being 227, to 73, who opposed the resolution. The other resolutions were agreed to of course.

CHAP. VI.

Resignation of the Duke of Grafton. Lord George Germaine appointed to the American department, in the room of the Earl of Dartmouth, who receives the privy seal. Lord Weymouth appointed Secretary of State for the southern department, in the room of the Earl of Rochford, who retires. Other promotions and changes. Petition from the American Congress laid before the Lords. Duke of Richmond's motions. Mr. Penn's examination. Motion relative to the petition. Great debates. Motion rejected. Four shillings in the pound land tax voted. Debates on the Militia Bill Amendment proposed and rejected. Several motions proposed by the Duke of Grafton, and rejected. Mr. Burke's Conciliatory Bill. Great debates. Motion for bringing in the bill rejected. American Prohibitory Bill brought into the House of Commons by the minister. Motion for an amendment. Great debates. Motion rejected. Debates upon the second reading, and in the committee. Various motions made, and amendments proposed. The bill passed in the House of Commons. Mr. Fox's motion for information relative to the state of the forces in North America. Militia Bill passed. Indemnity Bill passed. Motion for an address, in conformity to the instructions from the city of London to its representatives. Mr. Hartley's conciliatory propositions. Indemnity Bill rejected by the Lords. Great opposition to the Prohibitory Bill. Protest. Duke of Manchester's motion for deferring the commitment till after the holidays. Marquis of Rockingham's motion for an amendment. Bill passed the Lords.

IT was not difficult to foresee that the late unexpected conduct of the Duke of Grafton would

occasion, at least, one removal among the great offices of State. It was, however, accompanied with some

some which were not publicly thought of. Whether the unhappy state of American affairs had disgusted the Earl of Dartmouth with the office of conducting them, or that government imagined a more austere and inflexible character, with their natural concomitant a determinate conduct, were necessary to restore peace and order, however it was, that nobleman now quitted the American secretaryship, Nov. 10th. and received the privy seal, which had been held by the Duke of Grafton.

The arduous task of conducting the American department was reposed in Lord George Sackville Germaine. The principal attachment of that noble Lord had been to Mr. Grenville. After Mr. Grenville's death, indeed, he continued for some time firm on his former ground; and did not join in that defection from the minority which immediately followed that event. But he began at length to slacken in opposition. He fell in with administration in the proceedings against the East-India Company in 1773; and took a full and decided part in all the coercive measures which had been pursued against the Americans, during the present troubles. His connections with Mr. Grenville probably made him support with more zeal and steadiness the highest claims of parliamentary authority; and as he was generally esteemed a man of business, and an able debater, he was sought for at a time, when the extraordinary powers in the same line, upon the other side, seemed, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers, not a little to distress administration. It will

not be conceived, that this appointment strengthened the hope or increased the satisfaction of those who held the opinion, that conciliatory measures could only bring the present troubles to a speedy and happy conclusion.

At the same time, the Earl of Rochford having retired from public business, was succeeded as Secretary of State for the Southern department by Lord Weymouth, who had continued out of employment since his resignation on the affair of Falkland Island. And a few days after, Lord Lyttelton, who had been distinguished at the opening of the session by the severity of his strictures upon administration, was called to the Privy Council, and appointed Chief Justice in Eyre beyond Trent. Lord Pelham was also appointed to the great wardrobe, and Lord Ashburnham, Keeper of the Stole.

The affair of the petition from the Congress, which Mr. Penna had lately presented to his Majesty, had frequently been brought up in both houses by the opposition, both as affording a ground of conciliation, and a subject of reproach to the ministers, for their total neglect of that and all other applications of the same nature. A copy of the petition being, however, laid before the Lords among other papers on the 7th of November, a noble Duke in opposition observed, that he saw Mr. Penn below the bar, and he moved, that he might be examined, in order to establish the authenticity of the petition, before they entered into any debates upon its contents, thereby to obviate the doubts which might otherwise probably arise upon that head, and be the means

means of interrupting their proceedings.

As the Lords in administration were well aware, that the views of the noble mover and his friends, went farther than the authenticity of the petition, and extended to the laying before the house all the information with respect to America, which they could draw from a person so thoroughly master of the subject as Mr. Penn, and not being at all disposed that such matters should now be brought forward, they used every means to prevent or defeat the examination. They objected to the motion on the subject of order; on its informality; on its want of precedent; being contrary to their established mode of proceeding; that the bringing in of extraneous matter by surprise, and breaking in upon their most serious and important deliberations, by suddenly calling their attention off to the examination of witnesses, and to new subjects of discussion, would be destructive of that order and gravity which had always distinguished their proceedings.

They also contended, that this measure would establish a most pernicious precedent, as it would necessarily follow, that every petition, from whatever quarter of the globe, must be accompanied by the evidence to establish its authenticity. They observed, that improper questions might be asked, and such answers drawn from Mr. Penn, as might tend to prejudice him with respect to his private fortune and affairs in America; that his evidence might have the same effect with respect to others, who were also friends to government in America, and who by a public expo-

sure of their private conduct in its favour, would be liable to personal danger, and ruin to their fortunes. They also insisted, that as the evidence, let it turn out as it may, would be only *ex parte*, the house could not found any resolution upon it; nor could it be presumed, that the single testimony of an individual, however respectable the character may be, could at all influence their conduct or opinion, in questions of such great national and political import. To prevent, however, every pretence for the enquiry, they offered to admit the authenticity of the petition without any proof.

On the other side, they said, that the objections as to order were so trifling, as to be unworthy of their time and attention; that the proposed examination was, however, fully supportable upon that ground, as well as in point of precedent. They offered to tie themselves down as to the questions to be put, and that the Lords, who opposed the measure, should object to any which they did not approve. And they lamented, in the most pathetic terms, the disposition which they saw in the house, to shut out every species of information relative to America, to continue to the last in darkness, and to rush headlong themselves, and plunge the nation along with them, into inevitable ruin and destruction. That this was the more surprizing, and the more lamentable, as the fatal consequences which had already proceeded from a similar conduct, were so sensibly felt at this very instant, as to convulse the empire through all its parts.

The motion being rejected upon
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a division, by a majority of 56 to 22, the noble mover, who is distinguished for his perseverance, made another, That Mr. Penn should be examined at the bar on the next day. Though the examination of a witness in this form, unconnected with any other matter, could not be refused, yet so disagreeable was every enquiry of this nature, that a further debate arose upon it; but it was at length reluctantly agreed to, that he should be examined on the 10th.

Several curious particulars relative to much controverted subjects, came out upon the examination of this gentleman. He was personally acquainted with almost all the members of the Congress, had been Governor of the colony, and resided in the city, in which they assembled and held their deliberations, and had every opportunity, from office, family connection, locality of property, and an extensive acquaintance, to obtain the fullest information of the state of affairs in America, as well as of the temper and disposition of the people. It was also evident, that his discernment was equal to the forming a just estimate of things; and there could scarcely be a suspicion of partiality, in favour of any measure which could tend to American independency, as the great fortune of his family, if not wholly lost, must be much impaired by such an event, and their great powers and prerogatives certainly subverted.

Among the remarkable parts of his testimony, (which we must recollect, consisted only of answers to such specific questions as were proposed) was an absolute negative

to the supposition or charge, that any designs of independency had been formed by the Congress. He declared, that the members composing that body had been fairly elected; that they were men of character, capable of conveying the sense of America; and that they had actually conveyed the sense of their constituents. That the different provinces would be governed by their decisions in all events. That the war was levied and carried on by the colonists, merely in defence of what they thought their liberties. That the spirit of resistance was general, and they believed themselves able to defend their liberties against the arms of Great Britain.

That the colony of Pennsylvania contained about 60,000 men able to carry arms. That of these, 20,000 had voluntarily enrolled themselves to serve without pay, and were armed and embodied before the Governor's departure. Being questioned as to the nature of that volunteer force, he said, that it included the men of best fortune and character in the province, and that it was generally composed of men who were possessed of property, either landed or otherwise. That an additional body of 4,500 minute men had since been raised in the province, who were to be paid when called out on service. That they had the means and materials of casting iron cannon in great plenty. That they cast brass cannon in Philadelphia. And that they made small arms in great abundance and perfection.

That the colonies had been dissatisfied with the reception of their former petitions; but that they had

had founded great hopes upon the success of that which he brought over; that it was stiled the *Olive Branch*; and that he had been congratulated by his friends upon his being the bearer of it. That it was greatly to be feared, that if conciliatory measures were not speedily pursued, they would form connections with foreign powers; and that if such connections were once formed, it would be found a matter of great difficulty to dissolve them. Being asked, "whether the people of the different provinces were now in a state of freedom?" he said, that they thought themselves so; whether "the most opulent inhabitants would not prefer freedom under this country to what they now enjoy?" he answered, that they would prefer it to any other state of freedom; and that notwithstanding their determination to support the measures of the Congress, they wished for a reconciliation with this country. He denied its being an object of the Congress to throw off the regulations of their trade; and acknowledged, that the most thinking men in Philadelphia were of opinion, that a refusal of the present petition would be a bar to all reconciliation.

The other parts of the evidence related to the Stamp Act, the repeal, and the declaratory law. This gentleman was in America at that period, and declared that the first had occasioned great discontent, uneasiness, and distress; that the repeal had given such abundant joy, that its anniversary was celebrated as a day of mirth and festivity. That the Americans were satisfied with their condition, notwithstanding the Decla-

ratory Act; and that if Great Britain had left things in the state they then were, the Americans would have remained content. The questions relative to the degree of subordination acknowledged by the colonies, having been multiplied and closely urged by a noble lord high in office, the witness declared, that he believed the colonies are inclined to acknowledge the imperial authority of Great Britain, but not in taxation.

It was observed with some severity of animadversion, as a singular circumstance in the present situation of affairs, what appeared upon this examination, that neither the Secretary of State who received the petition, nor any other minister or person in authority, had; since the arrival of the witness in England, proposed a single question to him, or desired the smallest information relative to the state of affairs in America, or to the disposition or temper of the people. This circumstance was used to give countenance to the charge so often repeated by the opposition, that a system had been chalked out for administration, which they were obliged blindly to pursue, and to act in it merely as machines, without being at liberty to form an opinion as to justice, eligibility, or consequence.

After the examination was finished, the Duke of Richmond, who had been its proposer, made a motion, That the petition from the Continental Congress to the King, was ground for a conciliation of the unhappy differences at present subsisting between Great Britain and America. The motion was well introduced, and ably supported

ported by the noble mover, and his friends. They stated the necessity of an immediate reconciliation in every point of view, whether with respect to ourselves, the colonies, or our situation in respect to foreign powers. That nothing but carnage, desolation, an augmentation of expence, with a decrease of revenue, a weakness and debility growing in proportion to the urgent necessity which would call for strength and exertion, with all the cruel and grievous calamities inseparable from civil discord, would be the fruits obtained by a pertinacious pursuit of the war.

They represented the unsurmountable difficulties which would occur, if an absolute conquest of America was intended; the natural strength of that continent, composed alternately of strong inclosures, thick forests, and deep swamps, and every where intersected with vast rivers. The immense difficulty and expence, if not utter impracticability, of supplying such an army as would be adequate to the purpose, with subsistence from England, and the little prospect, if the obstinacy or perseverance of the Americans continued, of providing it on the spot. The advantages which the latter would derive from their being at home, and from having their subsistence at hand; from their perfect knowledge of the country, whereby every strong ground, pass, and defile, would be to them a fortress, and every forest afford a secure retreat. That the overrunning of a province, the seizing, plundering, or destroying several of their towns, though ruinous to them, would afford no essential advantage to us, even confining the consideration merely

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to the immediate object of the war, in the attainment of general conquest. Our dominion would extend no farther than the immediate operation of our arms, and would cease with it. The instant we marched to subdue another province, that which we quitted would become at least as hostile as that which we entered.

To a strong picture of difficulties, dangers, and disgrace, they contrasted the numberless blessings of peace, and shewed the happy opportunity which the petition afforded of averting the numerous, and some of them fatal evils, which had been described. They said, that if this opportunity were now lost, it could never be regained. That providence seemed with a peculiar kindness to put it in their way to rescue their country from ruin, without warring directly with their passions or prejudices, as they might now descend, without disgrace, or without wounding their pride, from those high stilts of authority and dignity on which they were unhappily mounted, and which rendered them blind to its interest and security.

They observed, that as the idea of laying taxes on America, for the purpose of raising a revenue, had been, in their discourses at least, repeatedly given up by the ministers, the question of conciliation was much less complex, than when that doctrine had been maintained, both in principle, and in its most extensive consequences. That the great object now of discussion, was what Great Britain claimed, and what America was willing to accede to. The great remaining claim of the former, appears to be no more than what it ever was, a general supreme and controuling power

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power over the colonies, with respect to their external government, and the regulation of their trade and commerce. That these rights were established and secured by the great body of American laws passed before the year 1763, and by the act of navigation. That as the Americans were ready and willing to return to their former obedience, and to stand in the same subordinate relation to the legislature, which they had done previous to the year 1763, the only remaining object of contention, was the laws passed since that period.

In this state of things, they contended, that the petition offered the fairest ground of conciliation. They expressly declare, that they desire no concession derogatory to the honour of the mother country. The delegates of the people of America beseech his Majesty to recall his troops; which could only be considered as a prayer for a suspension of arms. All they desire as a preliminary, is the repeal of sundry acts; by which was to be understood, those that deprived them of their fisheries, trade, and charters. The repeal of the laws passed since 1763, was not now mentioned, nor would it at any time have been insisted on. A revision of those laws, with a repeal of the grievous and burdensome parts of them, would be right and necessary; and would be as consistent both with our interest and justice, as it would be conducive to the satisfaction and ease of the Americans. They, like all others in similar circumstances, carry their claims much farther in the heat and litigation of contest, under the immediate pressure of great grievances, and the apprehension of greater, than they would in a cooler

temper, and happier situation. Let us only shew a disposition to concede, and to redress their grievances, and concession will come faster from them than the warmest imagination can conceive. Meet them on the ground of conciliation, which they now propose, and you may afterwards prescribe your own terms.

On the other side, it was said, that it was impossible to recognize the petition on which the present motion was founded, without relinquishing in that act the sovereignty of the British parliament. That treating with an unlawful assembly, who at the very instant declared themselves to be in a state of open resistance and hostility, would be, to all intents and purposes, legalizing their proceedings, and acknowledging them the constitutional representatives of an independent sovereign state. If they were subjects, they could not assemble or deliberate, but in a mode, and for the purposes prescribed by the constitution. If they were not, it would be in the highest degree ridiculous to treat with them in a capacity which they disclaimed.

It was denied, that the ideas of laying on duties in America, for the purpose of raising a revenue, were totally laid aside; if the Americans, like dutiful and affectionate subjects, had met us in our kind proposition, of levying an equitable revenue on themselves in such manner as they liked best, there would be no occasion for realizing such ideas; some respectable persons, also, in administration as well as out, might question the immediate practice in point of expediency; but a thought of relinquishing the right was never
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entertained. But supposing, for a moment, that such a concession were made, it would not surely be inferred, that because Great Britain had given up the exercise of supreme dominion in one particular mode, she had also given it up in every other. The Americans deny the right of controul, in the most effectual manner, for they declare against the exercise of it, in every instance wherein it militates with their interests, or with their traiterous views and rebellious designs. They refuse obedience to the declaratory law, the act for quartering soldiers, the law for establishing vice admiralty courts, and, in a word, to every law which they do not like, and then tell us, with a most consummate effrontery, that they acknowledge our undoubted right of legislative controul, but will not permit us to exercise that right.

It was insisted by some Lords, who were more warm than the generality, that the petition was an insidious and traiterous attempt to impose upon the King and parliament; that while the authors held out smooth language and false professions for that purpose, they were at the very instant, in their appeals to the people of Great Britain and Ireland, abusing the parliament, denying its authority, and endeavouring to involve the whole empire in rebellion and bloodshed, by inviting their fellow-subjects in these kingdoms, to make one common cause with them in opposition to law and government. That no alternative remained with these worst of rebels, who not content with the enjoyment of their own crimes, wanted to render them general, but the most speedy and ef-

fectual measures for their subjugation and punishment. These also, which were only few, endeavoured to lessen the weight of the evidence which had been now laid before them, by charging it with partiality and prejudice.

The question being at length put, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, after very considerable debates, the motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 86, including 26 proxies, to 33, including 6 proxies.

About the same time, the minister in the House of Commons, after shewing, in the Committee of Supply, the necessity of reducing America to obedience, and remarking on the great expence that must necessarily attend that measure, took an opportunity of convincing the landed gentlemen, of the propriety and expediency of applying to them for their support upon so great and important a national occasion, at a time, he acknowledged, when the other resources of the state were incompetent to the purpose. He accordingly moved, that the land-tax for the year 1776, be four shillings in the pound.

This motion occasioned a variety of debates and conversations. Some of the opposition congratulated the country gentlemen upon the four shillings, as the happy and enviable first fruits of their darling coercive American measures; whilst they, at the same time, endeavoured to shew by calculations on the state of the funds and expenditure, that it would be a perpetual mortgage on their estates, which no change of circumstance, or even favourable turn of fortune, could ever wear off;

for that, let affairs now be ever so speedily accommodated, nothing less than a land-tax at that rate would be sufficient for our future peace establishment.

The principal leaders of opposition did not interfere much upon this occasion. Some gentlemen said, that as the services were voted, the army and navy must not be starved, and as the supplies must be raised in some manner, they would vote for this tax, as less prejudicial than any other that could be thought of. One of them, however, could not forbear commenting on this method of voting money, for services not known to the house, or on which, at least, they had no substantial controul, as it furnished ministers with opportunities of applying it to purposes which were in the last degree ruinous, and fatal to the constitution.

Some of the country gentlemen were out of sorts about the Indemnity Bill, an object which they seemed to consider, as the only one relative to the constitution that demanded attention. This bill had laid dormant since the first reading, without any notice whatever being taken of it, and they considered it so seriously, as partly to make its being brought forward, a condition of their agreeing to the land tax. Several others of them were, however, much dissatisfied, upon a subject of more substantial, if not constitutional import. Many gentlemen had supported government in all the coercive measures which it had pursued against America, with a view, and in a firm hope and persuasion, that the great revenue to be drawn from that part of the world, would in a propor-

tional degree have lessened their own burthens. Upon this principle, they would have advanced money, as in a law-suit, while the object in view was capable of repaying them with great interest, besides an advantageous and ample compensation for the risque; but they were not yet keen enough, as litigators too frequently are, to pursue the contest to ruin, (when they found the object unproductive) merely for the sake of the sport which it afforded. They accordingly finding, by the language held since the opening of the session by the ministers, that the idea of taxation was generally given up, either as an expedient, or as totally impracticable, now declared, that if the original object of dispute was abandoned, they could not think of expending any more money in a contest, which, besides being unproductive of benefit, was attended with evils that could only be palliated upon that principle; and that therefore they would oppose the noble Lord's motion for an increase of the land-tax.

The minister thought it expedient to satisfy both parties, of these, sometimes troublesome, but always useful friends. This was easily done with the first, by informing them, that their favourite bill was in perfect safety and good condition, and would be immediately brought forward. As to the second; he assured them, that the idea of taxation, and of levying a productive revenue from America, was never abandoned; and that when any thing of that sort dropped from the ministers, they intended no more, than that it was abandoned for the present; that is, that the dispute at present was of a much

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much higher nature than it had been originally, and that taxation was but a matter of secondary consideration, when the supremacy and legislative authority of this country was at stake. That he would have them therefore perfectly understand, that whatever general terms the ministers might at any time make use of, taxation neither is, nor ever was, out of their view. As a further proof of his sincerity upon this subject he declared, that there was no means by which the legislative authority and commercial controul of this country over the colonies could be insured, but by combining them with taxation.

This explanation gave full content, and after a mixed debate, which lasted till ten o'clock, the question being put upon an amendment which had been early moved, That the land-tax should be three shillings instead of four, it passed in the negative upon a division, by a majority of 182 to 47; the original motion then passed of course.

In two days after, the 15th. house being in a committee upon the Militia Bill, a motion was made for an amendment, by inserting words to the following purpose in the preamble, That the said power of assembling and embodying the militia, shall not extend beyond the continuance of the present rebellion. This motion brought on some warm and considerable debates. The opposition said, that if the ministers opposed this motion, it would convince them beyond a doubt, that the suspicious they had formed with respect to this bill were too well founded, which were, that it was brought in merely as a colourable

pretext to arm the crown with a power hitherto unknown to the constitution.

They argued, that the bill, from the very frame of it, was taken up on a temporary idea, and directed to temporary purposes, which would cease to be objects of policy, the instant that the civil war was terminated. That the avowed object and principle of the bill, was to afford a greater scope to our military operations in America, by making such a provision for internal defence and security, as might enable us to employ the standing regular forces upon that service. That however necessary it might be in cases of real and great emergency, to arm the crown, pro tempore, with extraordinary powers for certain purposes of safety, it was always, not only in the spirit, but practice of our government, to recall those powers, as soon as the purposes were answered, or the motives ceased, for which they were granted. And that it could not be pretended, that any fair or constitutional motive would remain after the conclusion of the present troubles, for continuing this power in the crown, as it was already enabled by the old law, to call out the militia in all other cases of real emergency. And they insisted, that the very point meant to be covertly carried by this bill, was what no king of England, even the most despotic, had ever been able to gain; that it was a power at all times retained, and till now, most jealously watched and guarded by the people; and that, on this was grounded the leading contest between Charles the First and his parliament, long before that assembly had been charged with any factious views,

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views or had entertained any idea of the troubles which afterwards took place.

On the other side, great encomiums were made on the popular and constitutional defence of a militia, and much wonder expressed, that a measure which tended so particularly to the security of the people, and the rendering standing armies unnecessary, should be opposed by those, who pretended a more than ordinary zeal in the care and protection of their liberties. That the apprehended dangers which it was supposed would arise from the powers granted by the bill, and upon which such powers of colouring had been bestowed to render them frightful and hideous, were purely visionary, and mere creatures of the imagination. That no ill use could be made of the power, without the concurrence of the people themselves; for though the prince might assemble the militia, they must be paid by parliament. That presuming parliament should become a party in betraying its own rights and those of the people, was supposing a case which could not exist, or if it did, which no human prudence or foresight could possibly guard against; for such a conspiracy of the executive and legislative powers of the state, supposed not an abuse, but an actual subversion and dissolution of government. That all reasoning on such an hypothesis was absurd; who could the people trust, if they could not trust themselves? if they were seized with such a madness as to make a surrender of their rights and liberties, no power under heaven could prevent them.

This answer seems perfectly sa-

tisfactory with regard to the general power of the crown over the militia; but it does not appear of equal force to remove the main objection, and which struck directly at the principle of the bill, viz. the rendering a law perpetual, which was framed only for an immediate and temporary purpose, without any apparent motive, or sufficient cause for so doing. This was by no means satisfactorily answered, it being only evasively said, that if the law was a good one, it should always stand, and if otherwise, should not pass at all. This would prove too much; as it would be a reason against all temporary bills.

The question being put on the amendment, it was rejected on a division in the committee, by a majority of 140 to 55. Another amendment was then proposed, "That the militia should not be called out of their respective counties, unless in case of actual invasion." This likewise passed in the negative. A clause was then proposed, to empower his Majesty to assemble the parliament in fourteen days, whenever the present act, in the event of a war or rebellion in any part of the dominions of the British crown, should be called into operation. This clause was agreed to without a division.

Several motions were made on the same day by the Duke of Grafton, which produced considerable debates in the other house. The first of these was to lay before the house, an account of the number of forces serving in America, previous to the commencement of hostilities, with their several stations and distributions, in order to lay a ground-

ground-work for such advice as that house, impelled by a sense of duty, might think fit to submit to his Majesty's consideration. The second, for a state of the army now in America, according to the latest returns. The third, for laying before them the plans that had been adopted for providing winter quarters for those troops; with an account of the number of forces in the provincial army, according to the best estimate that could be obtained. The fourth, that an estimate of the forces now in Great Britain and Ireland should be laid before them. And the fifth, that an estimate of the military force necessary to be sent against America, with an account of the number of artillery, should also be laid before the house.

In support of these motions, the same ground was taken, which had been repeatedly trodden in both houses since the opening of the session, upon the same subject. Some new observations were however added. It was said, that they had heard oblique censures thrown out upon the commanders both by sea and land. What were they to do, amidst such a chaos of charges, denials, blunders, mistakes, imputed negligence, and incapacity? Were they still to wander in darkness and uncertainty; to grope their way without a ray of light, or the smallest information for their direction? They professed, that they did not want cabinet, but parliamentary information; they did not want to know the detail, nor the different means intended to give their measures success; they do not desire to see estimates, with any view of comparing them with the returns; nor do they mean to

enter into any enquiry, with an intention of having the wrong information, by which ministers have confessed themselves deceived and misled, traced to its source. They only wanted to know that general state of things, and those facts, which by warning them of the difficulties they had to encounter, would point out the best means of obviating or surmounting them: and that, this could not be so well effected in any other manner, as by learning a true state of the force preparing against us, and comparing it with our own abilities and immediate resources. That there were precedents in favour of such motions; and the enemy was so situated as to come readily at the account of what was so anxiously concealed from parliament.

On the other side, the enquiries proposed, with those which they were supposed to lead to, were said to be unprecedented, highly improper and dangerous. That it was contrary to every rule of office, as well as every maxim of war and common sense, to furnish our enemies with such intelligence, as might be the means of either availing themselves of our weakness, or resisting our power. That the rebel leaders themselves could not wish for any thing more in their favour, than a disclosure of the plans of our military operations, and an exact state of our strength or weakness. That secrecy, whether with respect to deliberation or action, was the essence and life of war, upon which its success must for ever in a great degree depend. It was asserted, that the measures determined here, were much sooner known in the rebel camp, than in the King's army. And it was in-

sisted, that the precedent to be established by a compliance with these motions, of the legislative forcing itself, and breaking in upon the executive power, would be more dangerous even than the other consequences, as it must of course, if brought into practice, totally obstruct the measures of government, and render it impracticable to conduct the public affairs.

The debate, as usual, wandered from the main subject, and took in several branches of the American business. Much warmth appeared, and some severe personal animadversion took place, upon different occasions which occurred in the course of the debates. The question being at length put upon each of the motions separately, that only, for an estimate of the forces now in Great Britain and Ireland, was agreed to. The rest were rejected without a division.

The opposition were not so defeated by their multiplied defeats in both houses of Parliament, as to abandon all hopes of reconciliation; they daily endeavoured to shew it necessary in the attempt, and practicable in the execution.

On the day succeeding 16th. the Duke of Grafton's motions, Mr. Burke, notwithstanding the ill success of his conciliatory propositions in the preceding year, brought in a bill to answer the same purposes in the present.

The business was introduced by a petition upon the present American differences, from the considerable cloathing towns, and neighbourhood of Westbury, Warminster, and Trowbridge, in the county of Wilts. This petition was intended to counteract a late address which had been procured in the

same part of the country, and to prevent, as the petitioners say, the dreadful effects which might arise, from similar misrepresentations being conveyed to parliament. But what brought it directly home to Mr. Burke's object of conciliation, was the earnest manner in which they deprecated the horrors of a civil war, and conjured the house, by every thing solemn, sacred, or dear, to adopt such lenient measures, as might restore that affectionate intercourse between this country and the colonies, which, they said, could alone prevent those calamities that they most pathetically lamented or described. He therefore wished (after observing that the manufacturing part of the petitioners were all men who carried on business as principals upon their own account, and that, he was authorized to say, were possessed of more than half a million of English property), that the prayer of the petition should be considered as an exordium to the business which he was going to propose.

The motion was, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for composing the present troubles, and for quieting the minds of his Majesty's subjects in America." Its object was to procure conciliation and peace by concession; and that great charter from the crown to the people, passed in the 35th year of Edward the First, and known by the name of *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, was its avowed model.

The framer introduced his bill with a speech, which he supported for upwards of three hours with great ability, and which seemed to vie with the magnitude of the subject,

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ject, in the amazing compass of British and American matter which it included. He complained of the difficulties under which moderate men, who advised lenient and healing measures, lay, in times of civil commotion; that their moderation was imputed to a want of zeal, and their fears for the public safety to a want of spirit; but that on the present unhappy occasion, these were increased in an unusual degree, as every thing that was proposed on the side of lenity, was unfairly construed, and indiscreetly represented, as intended to give a countenance to rebellion; and that such arts had been practised, and menaces thrown out, as would, if they had not been opposed with a great share of firmness by the friends to the peace of their country, have put an end to all freedom of debate, and indeed to all public deliberation whatever.

He observed that there were three plans afloat for putting an end to the present troubles. The first, simple war, in order to a perfect conquest. The second, a mixture of war and treaty. And the third, peace grounded on concession. In the investigation of these he observed, that the first branched into two parts; the one direct by conquest, the other indirect by distress. He then examined the means which had been laid before them, for carrying on the ensuing campaign upon the former principle, and found many reasons to shew that they were insufficient for the purpose. As for the predatory, or war by distress, he placed its nature and consequences in various points of view, and endeavoured to satisfy his hearers, that

it was calculated to produce the highest degree of irritation and animosity, but never had, nor never could induce any one people to become subjects to the government of another. That it was a kind of war adapted to distress an independent people; but not to coerce disobedient subjects.

He concluded the subject of conquest by observing, that as there appeared no probability of success in the detail of any of the arrangements that were proposed, neither was there any authority to give them a sanction; not one military or naval officer having given an opinion in their favour, and several of the first, in both departments, having decided directly against them. Thus, as no man of military experience would vouch for the sufficiency of the force, neither would any one in the commissariate answer for its subsistence from the moment that it left the sea-coast; so that its subsistence and its operation was confessedly incompatible.

He next examined the mixed system of war and treaty, and exposed with his usual acuteness and disquisition, its numberless defects, ruinous procrastination, and final inconclusiveness. He ridiculed the absurdity of sending out pardons to people who neither applied for, nor would accept of them; as if nothing but an amnesty were wanting to restore peace in America; and as if the great objects of dispute were totally lost and forgotten. He also condemned in the strongest terms the arbitrary powers which were to be vested in the commissioners of granting general or particular pardons, in such manner, and to such persons only, as they should

should think proper; without any established line for the government of their conduct on the one side, or known measure of obedience for the attainment of security on the other.

Having endeavoured to establish the inefficacy and ruinous consequences of both these systems, he proceeded to an explanation of his own, founded upon the idea of *concession previous to treaty*. He stated the necessity of concession; that its necessity being admitted, it should be immediately adopted, and appear a mere act of *their own free grace*. That this measure, besides preventing the destructive consequences attending the protraction incident to negotiation, would sustain their own dignity much better, and have infinitely more efficacy in conciliating the colonies, than any concession upon treaty. That the first ground of treaty must be confidence. That all confidence in government, on the side of the Americans, had been destroyed through the measures pursued for the last ten years. That this confidence could only be restored by the interposition of parliament; by its coming in as an aid and security for government, and laying out some firm ground as a foundation for conclusive and final peace.

He observed, that as taxation had been the origin of the present differences, an arrangement of that question, either by enforcement or concession, was a preliminary indispensably essential to peace. He entered largely into that subject; considered it under both heads, and said, that the impracticability of the former was now acknowledged by the ministers

themselves. He observed, that parliament was not the representative, but the sovereign of America. That sovereignty was not in its nature an idea of abstract unity; but was capable of great complexity and infinite modifications, according to the temper of those who are to be governed, and to the circumstances of things; which being infinitely diversified, government ought to be adapted to them, and to conform itself to their nature, instead of vainly endeavouring to force that to a contrary bias. That though taxation was inherent in the supreme power of society, taken as an aggregate, it did not follow that it must reside in any particular power in that society. Thus, in the society of England, the King is the sovereign; but the power of the purse is not in his hands; yet this does not derogate from his authority in those things, in which the constitution has attributed power to him.

Having pressed the necessity of giving up the point of taxation to the utmost, he, however, expressed his regret, at our being obliged to surrender any (even that most odious and scarcely ever to be exercised) part of legislative authority; but this he said was the natural and inevitable consequence of injudicious exertions of power. That people who quarrel unreasonably among themselves, and will not reconcile their differences in due season, must submit to the consequences incident to the situation in which they have involved themselves. That there was no dishonour in any kind of amicable adjustment of domestic quarrels; that he would rather yield an hundred points, when they were

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were Englishmen that gave and received, than a single point to a foreign nation; and we were in such circumstances as would oblige us to yield either to one or the other.

He then stated the reasons which induced him to make the statute de tallagio, 35 Ed. 1. the pattern for his bill. For this purpose he shewed the similarity of the ancient disputes that arose between the kings and the people of England on the subject of taxation, to those now subsisting between the parliament and the natives of America; that the claim of sovereignty was the same in both instances, and the evils which were effectually removed by the statute de tallagio, corresponded exactly with those which the present bill was intended to remedy. That they had happily a precedent of the first authority to afford a clue for their conduct. For however the question of right was, our kings were formerly in the practice of levying taxes upon the people by their own authority; that they justified this practice upon the very same principles, and with the same arguments, which are now used to support the right of parliament in taxing the Americans. They contended that the crown, being charged with the public defence, must be furnished also with the means of providing for it. That it would be absurd to commit a trust into the hands of one person, and to leave the power of executing it to depend upon the will of another. They therefore maintained the king's indefeasible right to tax the people, and that it was a power so essential to sovereignty, as to be inseparable from the crown. But notwithstanding the force of these

arguments, and the allurements of the claim, one of the greatest and wisest of our monarchs, by an express and positive act, cut off from the sovereign power this right of taxing.

That statute, he observed, has been the foundation of the unity and happiness of England from that time; that it was absolutely *silent about the right*, and confined itself to giving satisfaction in future; that it laid down no general principles which might tend to affect the royal prerogative in other particulars; and that in all human probability, the preservation of the other branches of the prerogative, was owing to the clear and absolute surrender of that. He shewed that statute consisted of three principal parts; viz. a renunciation of taxing, a repeal of all laws which had been made upon a contrary principle,—and a general pardon. He then shewed the conformity of his own bill to the spirit of that act, supposing Great Britain to stand in the place of the sovereign, and America in that of the subject; and that though the circumstances were not in every respect parallel, they were sufficiently so to justify his following an example, that gave satisfaction and security on the subject of *taxes*, and left all other rights and powers whatsoever, exactly upon the bottom on which they had stood before that arrangement had taken place.

From the account we have seen of the model, it will not be difficult to form some judgment of the construction of the copy. The great object of the bill was a renunciation of the exercise of taxation, without at all interfering in the question of right. It preserved the power

power of levying duties for the regulation of commerce, but the money so raised, was to be at the disposal of the several general assemblies. The crown was empowered, when necessary, to convene general meetings of deputies from the several colonies, and their acts were to be binding upon all. The duty act of the year 1767, with the late coercive and penal laws, were to be repealed. And a general amnesty was granted, upon the Americans laying down their arms within a given time. All future revenues were to be free aids from the subjects there, as well as here.

The principal objections made to the bill were, that it conceded too much for us, and not near enough to satisfy the Americans. That their claims reached, not only to the declaratory act, and to all the others passed since 1763, but included in their sweep all the revenue laws from the act of trade down to the present time. They complain of all laws laying duties for the express purpose of revenue, and the bill goes no further back than the year 1767; but to render the remedy real and efficient, it should be carried back to the year 1672. The Americans likewise complain of the Admiralty jurisdiction, which, though it has undergone some change in its form, is as old as the act of navigation; this bill, which means to redress their grievances, and recover their confidence, should give them satisfaction on that, and every other head of grievance or complaint, or it did nothing.

As the bill did not reach far enough to answer its purposes on the one hand, so they said it gave

up rights on the other, which had never been called in question till the present disputes began. For the vesting all duties which should be collected under any future laws for the regulation of commerce in the disposal of the assemblies, as if they had been levied immediately under their authority, was an acknowledgment, and establishing it is a principle, that parliament never had any right to the disposal of such revenues, and amounted in fact, to a virtual repeal of all the statutes from the act of trade downwards, in which any such specific appropriations had been made.

They also contended, that as a plan of accommodation had been already chalked out in the speech from the throne, it would be indecent and disrespectful to majesty, and withdrawing the confidence of parliament from those ministers who advised the measure, to adopt any other plan of conciliation, until that was either first disposed of, or that administration had declined the undertaking. A great part of the house were as usual of opinion, that nothing less than coercion, in its full extent, could answer any useful purpose, and said, that the greater disposition Great Britain shewed towards conciliation, the more obstinate, rebellious, and insolent, America would become.

The bill was ably supported, and the debates long and interesting. Most of the leaders and able speakers in opposition having taken a distinguished part in them. They were also powerfully opposed, and the most celebrated orators on both sides were said to have merited, on that day, a more than common share of applause. The previous question,

question, which had been early moved for, being at length put, was carried upon a division, at near four o'clock in the morning, by a majority of just two to one, the numbers being 210, to 105 who supported the motion. This was the highest proportion in numbers which the opposition had hitherto borne to the majority.

20th. In a few days after, the minister brought in the famous, Prohibitory Bill, totally interdicting all trade and intercourse with the thirteen united colonies. All property of Americans, whether of ships or goods, on the high seas, or in harbour, are declared forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his Majesty's ships of war; and several clauses of the bill were inserted to facilitate and to lessen the expence of the condemnation of prizes, and the recovery of prize money. This bill, besides its primary object, repealed the Boston Port, with the fishery, and restraining acts, their provisions in some instances being deemed insufficient in the present state of warfare, and their operation in others, being liable to interfere with that of the intended law. It also enabled the crown to appoint commissioners, who besides the power of simply granting pardons to individuals, were authorized to enquire into general and particular grievances, and empowered to determine, whether any part, or the whole of a colony, were returned to that state of obedience, which might entitle them to be received within the King's peace and protection, in which case, upon a declaration from the commissioners, the restrictions in

the present bill, were to cease in their favour.

The fire of opposition was rekindled by this bill, and it was encountered with great vigour in both houses. Is this, said they, the conciliatory proposition by which the house and the nation have been flattered? Are we to find peace in a cruel, indiscriminate, and perpetual declaration of war, against all the people in our own colonies? They said, that it was cutting off at the root all hopes of future accommodation; that it drove England and America to the fatal extremity, of absolute conquest on the one side, or absolute independency on the other. That it was as formal an act of abdication as could be penned, of our government over the colonies. That it would precipitate the Americans headlong into the arms of some foreign power; that it would compel them of necessity, to convert their merchant ships into privateers, whereby our West India islands would be totally ruined, and our foreign commerce in general suffer greater injury, than in any war in which we had ever been involved. That our present wise and happy councils were not satisfied with the loss of America; but they must throw Africa and the West Indies after it, and hazard the security of every remaining part of the empire, in whatever quarter of the globe it was situated.

The supposed absurdity, and contradictory nature of the bill were ridiculed. It begins, said they, with a declaration of war, and a confiscation of the effects of 13 colonies; and after 35 of the most violent, cruel, and impolitic clauses,

clauses, it concludes with some fallacious negatory provisions, rather talking about, than proposing the attainment of peace. Can it be seriously said or expected, that offers of pardon will satisfy men who acknowledge no crime, and who are conscious, not of *doing* but of *suffering* wrong? Or will the prospect of exemption from commercial seizures, without the redress of any grievance, disarm those who have deliberately refused all commerce until their grievances shall be redressed? It was also contended, that as the Americans would inevitably open their ports to foreigners in consequence of this bill, so it would of course involve the ministers in that evil, which, notwithstanding their domestic sanguinary disposition, they, of all others, dreaded the most; it would involve them in a foreign war, which they had so repeatedly sacrificed the national honour to avoid.

It was said in support of the bill, that the Americans were already in a state of warfare with us, and while that war continued, it must necessarily be carried on by sea and land, and conducted in every manner and respect, as it would have been against alien enemies. That the nature, situation, and distance of that continent, rendered the operations by sea indispensable, as those by land, without that auxiliary, if not insufficient, would at least prove dilatory, and the attainment of their object distant. That the stronger, more urgent, and immediate, the coercion was, the fewer would be the mischiefs, the less the expence, and the sooner would peace and order be restored. That an ill-judged

appearance of lenity, by staying, or rendering languid, the hand of coercion, would be cruelty in the extremest degree, and prove equally ruinous to England and America.

That whatever real or apparent hardships or severities were contained in the bill, they were unavoidable in the present state of things, and it was in the power of the Americans, either collectively or individually, to prevent their operation. That the commissioners went out with the sword in one hand, and terms of conciliation in the other. America had the choice. Every colony had it in its power to take the benefit of the latter. It had only to acknowledge the legislative supremacy of Great Britain, or if unwilling to accede to such a general declaration, to contribute of its own accord towards the support of government, and thereby, as one of the parts of the empire, entitle itself to the protection of the whole, and the work was done, no severity or hardship would be known by that colony.

As to the losses which our merchants and the West India islands might sustain, these, if real, could only be lamented among the many other evils incident to war. But these evils, they said, were purely imaginary, and only held out to distress government, and impede its operations, by alarming the minds of the people, and exciting a domestic ferment. Would any one venture to assert, that America, destitute of resources, without a ship of war in her possession, and all her ports and docks open to our fleets, could encounter the naval power of Great Britain, or that the latter was not sufficient to protect

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protect our islands and commerce from loss and insult? With respect to foreign powers, their dispositions were said to be friendly towards us; but were it otherwise, none of them who held possessions in America, could be so blind to their own interest and security, as to encourage or support the rebellion of colonies; much less to suffer the establishment of an independent state in the new world.

The bringing in of this bill was attended with an unusual circumstance. Mr. Fox moved an amendment, to leave out the whole title and body of the bill, excepting only the parts which related to the repeal of the Boston Port, the fishery, and the restraining acts. This motion occasioned very warm debates, and much animadversion, which continued till after midnight, when the question being put, the amendment was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 192 to 64 only.

The bill was not less debated on the 1st of December, when it was brought up for the second reading. In this stage, it was moved to commit it for the 5th, upon which several gentlemen requested the minister to postpone it for a few days, as the West India merchants and planters had advertised for a meeting of their body, upon that subject, on the 6th, thereby to give them an opportunity of laying any evidence or information they should think necessary before the house. This, though asked as a favour, was also represented as a matter of fairness and justice, where property was in any degree concerned, much more when so immense a share of it was at stake as in the present instance. The

request, however, not being complied with, it was moved to amend the former motion, by putting off the commitment of the bill to the 12th. This amendment was lost upon a division, of 207 to 55; and the main question being put, after some further debate, was carried.

On the 5th, it again caused much debate. Several gentlemen, who wished to vote for the conciliatory part, but not for any other, complained that in its present form, it was an heterogeneous irreconcilable mixture of war and conciliation; that this mixture of hostility and conciliation in the same bill, must be intended, either to confound the attention by the variety of the objects, and divert it from observing the incongruity of the various parts, or to preclude debate, by carrying on the subject-matter of two bills in one. Lord Folkestone therefore moved, that the bill might be divided into two separate ones, that each might be separately considered and debated.

On the other hand it was supported by arguing, that nothing was so natural as what had been called so contradictory; war or peace in the same proposition. That they were the proper alternative in all such contexts; war or resistance; peace or submission. What would the opposition have said if no powers of peace had been left? Though the motion was rejected by a majority of 76 to 34, the debates were continued in the committee, and carried on to the ensuing day, with great warmth and severity of observation. Another motion was made, that the chairman should leave the chair, in order to give time to the West India

India merchants to prepare and present, their petition, which was overruled by a majority of 126 to 34. Other motions were made, and received a negative without a division. Some amendments were however proposed and adopted. The clause for vesting the property of the seizures in the captors, was strongly combated. It was said that it would be a disgrace to the honour of the navy, which would be degraded by it into the rank of pirates; that it would taint the principles and corrupt the hearts of our brave seamen, who would thereby acquire habits of cruelty, of piracy, and of robbery, with respect to their fellow-subjects, which could never be worn off; that it would extinguish in their breasts, all patriotism, all national pride and glory, and all generous ardour against our natural enemies, and substitute in their place a base indiscriminate spirit of rapine, which would equally affect friends and foes.

The extraordinary discretionary powers granted to the commissioners were much condemned, and said to be of such a nature, as should not be intrusted to any set of men in a free government; that they were vested in the sovereign upon certain occasions, but his ministers were considered as responsible for the due exercise of them: so that this bill granted a despotic and uncontrollable power to the commissioners, which the crown itself did not possess. One gentleman observed, that as this bill answered all the purposes, which the most sanguine and violent of the Americans could wish, in order to oblige their people to coalesce as one man in shaking off

our government, its title should be altered and fitted to its purpose, and then it would be entitled, "A bill for carrying more effectually into execution the resolves of the Congress."

Upon receiving the report from the committee on the 8th, the petition from the West India merchants was read, and counsel heard in its support, after which it was moved, to postpone the further consideration of the report until the 23d of the following January. This was supported upon the thinness of the house, most of the country gentlemen having quitted town. It was said, to offend against every rule of decency, to be equally disgraceful to parliament, and injurious to the nation, to hurry on national business of the greatest magnitude and importance, at such a season, and in so shameful and unprecedented a manner.

To these and numberless other strictures it was replied, that early notice had been given of the intention of the bill; that a fortnight had elapsed between the motion for bringing it in and the second reading, which was the time for debating the principle of a bill; that as it pursued the ideas thrown out in the speech from the throne, in the most exact conformity, it could consequently contain nothing novel; and that no matter or circumstance could possibly arise during the recess of parliament, which could alter their sentiments with respect to America, except its submission, in which event the bill would cease to operate. The whole of the American business was this day as fully debated, and as eagerly discussed, as if this had been the first time of its

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its coming before them. The question being at length put, the motion for postponing the report was rejected.

A motion being then made by Mr. Burke, that Mr. Delancey, a gentleman of great consideration at New-York, and now obliged to come to England on account of his dissent from the proceedings of the Congress, should attend the house, it was rejected. Upon which, with a design to expose the neglect of all evidence, and refusal of information, which now prevailed, the following motion was made, "That it is necessary and proper to come to a resolution, that evidence relative to the state of America, the temper of the people there, and the probable operations of an act now depending, is unnecessary to this house; this house being already sufficiently acquainted with those matters."

On the 11th, previous to the third reading of the Prohibitory Bill, a motion was made by governor Johnston, that no evidence had been laid before the house of the delinquency of the province of Georgia, which was notwithstanding included in the same common punishment with the other colonies. This motion also tended to shew the absurdity of proceeding without information, and the injustice of condemning without proof. Though this motion passed in the negative, it occasioned a warm debate, in which the ministers were hard put to support the charge of delinquency.

As the minority now declared that they saw, that all attempts to withstand the force which was carrying the bill through were utterly futile, and that the country gen-

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tlemen had (as they said) shamefully deserted their duty, and abandoned the public business, most of them grew weary of so fruitless a contest, and the house was thinly attended on that side, at the time of passing the bill. An attempt was however made to lessen the rigour of forfeitures, with respect to the trade between our West India islands and the continent of America, the ships in which were liable to confiscation, before they could possibly know that they had incurred any penalty, or that any such law was in existence. Another was also made, to defer the last reading till after the holidays; but they both proved equally fruitless, and the bill was passed upon a division, by a majority of 112 to 16 only.

We must now recur to several transactions which passed during the progress of this bill. We have already seen that several fruitless attempts had been made by opposition, to obtain information as to the state of the forces in North America, as well as of the expenses hitherto incurred on the different parts of that service, so far as they could be made out. Notwithstanding the constant disappointment that attended these enquiries, Mr. Nov. 22d.

Fox moved, to lay before the house an account of the expenses of the staff, hospitals, extraordinaries, and all military contingencies whatsoever, of the army in America, from August 1773, to August 1775, inclusive. He said that he had drawn up the motion in those words, in order that it might comprehend and lay open an astonishing scene of ministerial delusion to the house. That it would bring

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the staff, which had been artfully held back, into the full glare of day; it would shew that the expence of ordnance in the year 1775, had exceeded that in any of the Duke of Marlborough's glorious campaigns; and it would give sufficient ground for prediction, that it would in the present year be considerably greater, than in any of the most victorious ones of the last war, when we were engaged in a contest, either directly or indirectly, with almost all the great powers in Europe, and retained a military force of 338,000 men in actual pay; it would shew how they were imposed upon in all other estimates as well as in that of the ordnance, in which the minister had the temerity to incur a debt of 240,000*l.* though every branch of the military service had been amply provided for by his own acknowledgment, and according to his own arrangement.

The ministers paid little attention to the reasons urged in support of this enquiry. They said, that some of the accounts were on the table, and they would all be regularly laid there, in their proper season; that they appertained to different heads of service or provision, and came properly under examination, when those several heads were to be considered; that it was unusual, irregular, and troublesome, to demand such accounts, when there was no question or business before the house to authorize such demands; and that however administration might be disposed to comply with such a requisition, it was not in their power to do it, as several of the accounts were not yet received.

This refusal, and the indifference with which it was accom-

panied, brought on some severe strictures. It was insisted, that the motion was strictly parliamentary; that it could convey no secret to the enemy; that no instance could be produced of the refusal of such information, except in cases where the want of the necessary materials rendered the compliance impossible; that this was obviated by the mover, who required no accounts nor information but what were in their custody or power. That their sitting any longer there was a mere farce, and could answer no purpose of their institution, if accounts of that nature could be refused. The question passed in the negative without a division.

On the same day the militia bill was read the third time, when a rider was proposed by Sir George Saville, and received, by which its duration was limited to seven years. The bill was then passed.

The third reading of the Indemnity Bill, brought 24th on a very warm and animated debate. A motion was made for leaving out of the preamble these words, "doubts having been entertained of the legality of the measure;" and to insert in their place the following amendment, "that the measure of sending the Hanoverian troops to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca was not warranted by law, and was against the spirit of the constitution." It was contended in support of the motion, that the bill in its present state carried an absurdity glaring on its very face; its body contained an indemnity for an offence, while the preamble declared that none had been committed; that it was an insult upon the house to propose the remittal of

of a punishment, and to make it acknowledge at the same time that none had been incurred; the mockery, they said, was too gross to be endured. That however dangerous the measure of introducing foreign troops was, the precedent to be established by the bill was infinitely more so, as it was obtaining the sanction of parliament for that violation of the laws, and dangerous infraction of the constitution. That the minister came before the house in a situation, no other had ever ventured; he first violated the laws of his country, and then had the effrontery to come to parliament, not to claim its indulgence, but to make it testify, that what he had done was perfectly right and unexceptionable.

It can scarcely pass observation, that the minister found himself frequently obliged to vary his ground in the course of this business. In its beginning, to prevent the defection of the court part of the country gentlemen, after an appearance of firmness which bordered upon obstinacy, he suddenly seemed to conform to their ideas, in agreeing to the bringing in of the Indemnity Bill. When the great point of the address was gained, he seemed totally to forget the matter, and did not wish to be reminded of it. Their importunity at length growing troublesome, and many great points still remaining to be obtained, he seemed to coincide in their opinion, and accordingly brought in the bill; but took care to construct it in such a manner, as that it should answer purposes extremely differing from those which they intended. Since that time, he had

continually varied his tone, from firmness to concession, and from concession to firmness, in proportion to the objects he had in view, and to the apparent complexion and present temper of the house. Having now nearly carried all the great points of the session through, and most of the country gentlemen being absent, he returned to his original doctrine, from which he would not recede in the smallest degree, and declared, that as far as his vote went, he would not suffer the alteration of a tittle in the bill;—he wanted no indemnity, and let those who were in love with the measure, take the bill as it was, or not at all. However innocent the motives were, it certainly afforded matter of uneasiness to the friends of government, and to those who were the most remote from party views and prejudices, to see the court so eager, at this critical time, to establish a precedent for the introduction of foreign troops without the consent of parliament, and so anxious to prevent any thing like a censure which might in future be a clog to such a measure.

The amendment was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 130 to 58; and the bill accordingly passed in its original state.

In pursuance of the instructions from the city of 27th. London to its representatives, Mr. Alderman Oliver made a motion for an address to his majesty, to impart to the house the original authors and advisers of several of the late measures (which were passed into laws, and were now specified) relative to America, before those measures were proposed in parliament. This

business was undertaken without the approbation of, or any concert with, opposition in general, who disliked it upon many accounts, particularly, as being ineffective in its nature, very unparliamentary in its form and spirit, as not being founded upon any fact, and as offering a justification to ministers, by taking away their responsibility, and supposing their obnoxious measures to be the acts of other, or of unknown, persons. The minister turned it into ridicule, with much wit and spirit; and the opposition, in order to get rid of it without a flat negative, called for the order of the day, and failing in that, they moved the previous question; but the ministers being determined that the motion should not pass without reprobation, prevented that escape by a majority of 156 to 16; and the main question being then put, the motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 163 to 10 only.

The discouragement arising from the disappointment which he experienced in the preceding session, was not sufficient to deter Dec. 7th. Mr. Hartley from a similar attempt in the present, with a view of bringing about a reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies. His plan of accommodation, which in its ground and principle was much the same with his former, was principally formed on the general language of administration and that of the Congress, which, he was of opinion, did not so much disagree as was commonly imagined; the former growing every day more apparently indifferent about taxation, and the latter ad-

mitting a general superintendency in parliament.

The object of his propositions were, first, an address to his majesty for a suspension of hostilities; a bill to enable the province of Massachusetts bay to elect an assembly and council, according to their late charter; a test bill, establishing a right of trial by jury, in all criminal cases, to all slaves in North America, for annulling all laws in any province repugnant thereto, and to be registered by the respective assemblies of all the colonies. Upon a compliance with this test of obedience, the operation of the two following bills was to commence, viz. a bill for a permanent reconciliation, by repealing all the laws since the year 1763, and thereby placing the colonies in the exact situation in which they stood at that time; and a general indemnity bill. The whole was concluded with a motion for an address to the throne, that when quiet was restored, it might be proper to send letters of requisition, as usual, to the several colonies, for such supplies as were necessary for government and defence. This proposition seems to have been carried on nearly as little in concert with the generality of the opposition as the former.

The ministers treated those conciliatory propositions with some degree of inattention and indifference. They said, in general, that the main subject of these motions had been already frequently and fully discussed; that until the plan proposed from the throne was tried, and its effects known, it was nugatory, and wasting the time of the house, to break in upon them with fresh proposals; that the

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sense of a great majority of the house had been frequently declared against the principles of these resolutions; that they held out no security, and were accompanied with no solemn sanction, that if they were acceded to on our part, they would be accepted by the Americans; that the claim of taxation virtually included the claim of sovereignty, it being impossible to relinquish the one without surrendering the other; and that the idea of obtaining a productive revenue from America had never been abandoned.

The debate was of course short, and the question being put upon the first resolution, it was rejected upon a division by a majority of 123 to 21; the other resolutions received a negative without a division.

The Indemnity Bill, after all the trouble it had given to the minister and to the country gentlemen in the House of Commons, was thrown out by the Lords. It was opposed in that house by the Marquis of Rockingham, who condemned it in very strong terms, upon the direct variance between the preamble and the enacting clauses; he said, that the holding out of an indemnity, while it asserted that the persons indemnified were guilty of no offence, would render it a disgrace to our laws and legislation; and that it besides, under that colour of indemnity, gave a sanction to a glaring violation both of the law and constitution, in placing foreign troops in our garrisons. As the Lords in administration agreed with the noble Marquis upon the point of impropriety or absurdity in its structure, and did not think an in-

demnity at all necessary, they readily coincided in rejecting the bill, so that it was thrown out without either defence or division.

The Prohibitory Bill met with great opposition in the House of Lords, almost every part of it undergoing a specific discussion. Upon the motion for its commitment after the second reading, the debates were long, able, and animated; and some very warm and pointed personal altercation and animadversion took place. The Lords in opposition combated the bill upon every ground of policy, justice, and expediency. On the former they observed, that by considering the Americans as a foreign nation, and declaring war on them in that character, this bill drew the line of separation, chalked out the way, and prepared their minds, for that independency which they were charged with affecting; that the English, on both sides of the ocean, were now to be taught, by act of parliament, to consider themselves as separate and distinct nations; as nations susceptible of general hostility, and proper parties for mutual declarations of war, and treaties of peace. That by the promiscuous and indiscriminate rapine of the property of friends and foes, authorized by the bill, it must complete what yet remained to be completed, of union in North America against the authority of parliament; and that the friends of government in that country, whose numbers and power have been so much boasted of by administration, will now plainly see, that parliament is much more inclined to distress, than able or willing to protect.

Its impolicy and injustice with respect to the West Indies, was represented, to be still more glaring. Here it inflicts a much more certain and severe punishment upon a people not even suspected of crime or offence, than it is capable of extending to the most refractory of the Americans. An Act of the British parliament is called in as a supplementary aid, and an extension of the authority of the Congress, in that measure, which, of all others adopted by that body, was the most reprehensible and unjustifiable on their side, and the most pernicious to us, the cutting off their usual supplies of provisions and necessaries from those unhappy islands. The measure of confiscating those vessels, which, to avoid all breach of the laws, and all illicit commerce, were laid up by the owners in their own docks and harbours, their waiting to be brought into use upon a return of peace and better times, was equally reprobated.

But of all the parts of this law, none was treated with so much severity in that house, or excited such apparent indignation, as that clause, by which all those who were taken on board the American vessels, were indiscriminately compelled, without distinction of persons, to serve as common sailors in our ships of war. This clause was marked with every possible stigma, and was described by the Lords in their protest, as "a refinement in tyranny," which, "in a sentence worse than death, obliges the unhappy men who shall be made captives in this predatory war to bear arms against their families, kindred, friends, and country; and after being plundered themselves,

to become accomplices in plundering their brethren." The injustice and cruelty of this clause, they said, was still heightened, by rendering the unhappy persons who were thus compelled, subject to the articles of war, and liable to be shot for desertion. They pathetically represented the miseries to which persons in this melancholy situation, particularly those of the better sort, would be subject, from the insolence and outrage of those with whom they were obliged to serve, who being themselves destitute of liberal principles and education, would still continue to consider and treat them as rebels; nor did they consider it as the smallest part of the calamity, that they would be frequently obliged to be lookers on, when the spoils of their honest industry, and the natural support of their sober families, was squandered in riot and debauchery, by those profligate comrades, with whom they were at the same time obliged to live, and to serve. Upon the whole, this situation was said to be the last degree of wretchedness and indignity, to which human nature could be subjected; and that a cruelty, unknown to the most savage nations, was thus to be practised by Englishmen on Englishmen. They insisted, that no man could be despoiled of his goods as a foreign enemy, and at the same time obliged to serve the state as a citizen, upon any principle of law or right, known among civilized nations. That such a compulsion upon prisoners as the present, is unknown in any case of war or rebellion; and the only examples of the sort that can be produced, must be found among pirates;—the out-laws

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laws and enemies of human society.

To these and many other charges against the nature and principles of the bill, the cruelty, the daring rebellion, and the ultimate treasonable views of the Americans, were brought in justification. They were not even content with rebellion simply, they had commenced an offensive war against us, and invaded our dominions with numerous armies. The principle of the bill was, to make a naval war upon America; and as in such cases it would be impossible to make distinctions in favour of the innocent, the bill was framed according to the general ideas of carrying on war against a foreign enemy, where it is always taken for granted, that every individual is concerned in and abetting every act of public hostility. That nothing could be more right or expedient, than the encouragement given to that most useful and deserving body of our people, the seamen, by vesting in them the effects which they should take from the enemy; that it would induce them to act with double vigour, and be at the same time a means of manning the navy; and that it had been practised in the two last wars, when its good effects were too well and too generally known to require any illustration. That this bill was indispensably necessary, as no existing law had foreseen, or provided for, the case of carrying on a sea war against rebels.

As to the cruelty and injustice so much complained of, in compelling the crews of the American vessels to serve in the navy, these charges were so far from being acknowledged, that this measure was

said to be an act of grace and favour to them; instead of confining them in a close prison during the continuance of the war, which must be the case if they were considered as alien enemies, or punishing them as traitors, if considered as rebels, they were immediately rated upon the King's book, and put upon the same footing with a great body of his most useful and faithful subjects; suffering no inconvenience but that which they were always liable to, of being pressed into his Majesty's service: as to the supposed violation of their principles, which was so much lamented, their pay and emoluments were said to be a full compensation for all scruples and delicacies of that nature.

The supposed mischiefs arising to our West-India islands were said to be greatly aggravated; but at any rate, as well as the losses which the well-disposed in North America might sustain, were to be considered as a part of those unavoidable evils which are incident to war. A great law Lord declared, in the further progress of the bill, that we were not now to consider the questions of original right or wrong, justice or injustice; we were engaged in a war, and we must use our utmost efforts to obtain the ends proposed by it; we must fight or be pursued; and the justice of the cause must give way to our present situation. To this he applied the laconic speech of a brave Scotch officer in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, who, pointing to the enemy, said to his men, "See you those, lad; kill them, or they will kill you."

After long debates, which were ably supported till near eleven at night,

night, the question for commitment being put, was carried upon a division, by a majority of 78, including 30 proxies, to 19, including seven proxies.

In this state of the bill, a protest of uncommon length, and still greater energy, was entered against it, in which several of its parts underwent the severest scrutiny, and the season of carrying a bill through, so unprecedented in its nature, and important in its consequences, at a time when, they say, most of the independent members of both houses were called away by their domestic affairs, and when few but those in the immediate pay of the court, and attending on their employments, remained in town, was particularly condemned.

In three days after, upon going into a committee on the bill, the Duke of Manchester moved for deferring the commitment till after the holidays. He founded his motion, besides the importance and novelty of the bill, upon the reports which were then arrived of our losses in Canada. The motion was supported by the Marquis of Rockingham, upon the farther ground, of the alarm which the bill had excited among the trading and commercial part of the nation. The motion passed in the negative without a division.

The noble Duke then offered to present a petition from the merchants of Bristol, stating the ruinous consequences of the bill, to themselves in particular, as well as to the mercantile interest in general. But as the order of the day had been already moved for, it was said, that the petition could

not now be received. Some clauses in favour of the British traders, and of the West India Islands, were, however, proposed by the Lords in administration, and received by the committee, which, it was supposed, would in some degree remedy the grievances stated in the petition.

On the third reading of the bill, an amendment, 20th. in favour of the merchants, to one of the clauses, was proposed by the Marquis of Rockingham, intending to prolong the commencement of the operation of the bill, from the 1st of January to the 1st of March, and thereby to preserve from confiscation the property of those merchants, who, under the faith of parliament in the two restrictive laws, had loaded vessels with lumber in North America for the West-India islands. This was opposed on two grounds; first, that it was contrary to established practice, to oppose any particular clause in a bill at the third reading, the objection must go to the whole, and not to any particular part; and secondly, that the delay required in the operation, would overthrow the principle of the bill, and render it totally inefficacious. The motion was lost without a division, and the bill passed of course.

The bill being returned on the next day to the Commons, the amendments were agreed to, after an ineffectual attempt to defer the consideration of them for six months. Thus was a recess at length obtained, after pushing forward a multiplicity of matter and business, scarcely ever known before Christmas.

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CHAP. VII.

Petition from the colony of Nova Scotia. Resolutions passed, but no bill brought in. Motion and debates relative to a message sent to the parliament of Ireland. Motion for an enquiry into the causes of the ill success in North America. Great debates. German treaties laid before the House of Commons, and produce long debates. Duke of Richmond's motion for an address relative to the German treaties. Great debates. Motion rejected. Proft. Considerable debates in the Committee of Supply. Motion for extraordinary expences carried by a great majority. Duke of Grafton's motion for an address relative to the Colonies. Debates. Motion rejected. Progress of the bill for a militia in Scotland. Bill at length rejected. Enquiry into licences granted to ships bound to North America. Speech from the throne.

THE rapidity with which a continued succession of business was carried through, and the earnestness with which matters of great concern were agitated before the recess of parliament, occasioned our passing over a petition from the assembly of Nova Scotia, which was presented to each house at the opening of the session. It was sent from that assembly in consequence of Lord North's conciliatory proposition; and was intended, by those who promoted it in that colony, as a pattern and precedent for the rest. It was a separate proposal, and in that light coincided with the general policy, which dictated the conciliatory proposition. It seemed to propose some revenue originating in the colonies, and to be enacted by parliament; and though the probable amount would be inconsiderable, yet the establishment of the doctrine being at that time of more consideration than the amount of the revenue immediately to be obtained, the petition was more favourably received by administration; and on the very first day of

the session, when the Speaker laid it before the House of Commons, a short day was appointed for taking it into consideration, though not without some animadversion on the part of opposition, who treated the whole as one of those mean contrivances, by which ministry, as they said, were in the practice of mocking the credulity and implicit confidence of parliament; and they predicted that it would come to the end which was to be expected from its futility, and the impracticable nature of the scheme which it was intended to execute.

The mode of granting a revenue proposed by this assembly, was the payment of some specific duty per cent. upon the importation of all foreign commodities, bay salt only excepted, by which means the amount of the revenue would at all times bear a due relation and proportion to the opulence and consumption of the province. It was intended, that the rate of this duty should in the first instance be fixed by parliament, and afterwards be perpetual and unchangeable, excepting only, that at certain stated times

times it was to undergo such regulation as would preserve the comparative value of money and commodities in its original state.

When the proposition came to be debated in the committee, the objections which had been only hinted the first day, were more largely and strongly enforced. Against those the ministers contended, that the faith of the house and nation obliged them to give effect to a plan laid before them in consequence of their own resolution, to which the offer was substantially agreeable. That the smallness of the revenue offered could be no objection; that if it was a poor provision, it came from a poor province; but it would grow with the circumstances of the country; and under this plan we should find an advantage from the prosperity of our colonies very different from our former experience, when we found only an increase of insolence, and not of support and supply, from their increase of strength. That the fidelity of parliament to its engagements, and the moderation of its demands, would engage the other colonies to submission, and would disabuse them with regard to the violent prejudices instilled into them by their factious leaders. That more favourable times and good management would improve this moderate beginning into a beneficial revenue.

On the other hand, the minority treated it with the greatest scorn. They said it was a thing not fit to be seriously debated. That if the ministers had bought the public faith to this absurd and ridiculous project, it was a great aggravation of their offence so to

trifle with the national honour. That the old revenue which they were to give up, every part of which (except the tea tax) had been quietly paid in all the colonies, was of more value than the new duties which were proposed to be granted; and this was the sort of relief to the public burthens sought by our war, and by the conciliatory proposition which was framed to end it. They said, that the principle of the tea tax continued to haunt them in every thing they did; for as that tax drew back a duty which ought to be paid here, in order to impose a smaller duty in America, this was exactly of the same nature, but of a much wider, and of a more mischievous extent, as it laid eight per cent. not on one article, but on all the certificate goods sent from England, from which, to facilitate the trade to the colonies, we had drawn back all the duties payable at home. These, and very many other objections, drew the debates into length in the committee; but the ministry, though evidently embarrassed, were resolved to carry resolutions conformable to the petition.

Many causes concurred to lessen the effect of this petition from Nova Scotia. That province had cost government immense sums of money, without its growth or value in any degree corresponding with the expence. It was still unequal to the support of its own civil government, the expence of which was annually granted by parliament; so that the offer of a revenue in such circumstances, however laudable the motives and intention, carried in some degree a ludicrous appearance. As it was
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also under the influence of a military power, its acts could not be supposed to carry any great weight as an example, with those colonies who abhorred such an appearance, and whose present troubles arose from a defence of their civil immunities and constitution.

The petition besides contained a long catalogue of grievances, the redress of which was as earnestly pressed, though in more supplicant language, as a similar redress had been by the other provinces, and seemed in some degree to be considered as conditional and necessary, towards the establishment of a permanent connexion, and for retaining the affection and obedience of the people. The assembly also pressed most earnestly, that when at any time future exigencies should require further supplies, the requisition should be made in the usual manner formerly practised, whereby they might have an opportunity of shewing their duty and attachment, their sense of the cause for which it was made, and by that means, and that only, of rendering the sovereign acquainted with the true sense of his people in that distant part of his dominions. So that upon the whole, excepting the profession of submission to the supreme legislature, which had only of late been a question any where, and the proposal of a duty, which seemed little more than a commercial regulation, this petition did not contain any thing essentially different from the former applications of other colonies.

Nov. 23d. Resolutions to the following purpose were however proposed by the minister, and passed in a committee, as foundations for an intended bill; viz.

That the proposal of a poundage duty, ad valorem, upon all commodities imported (bay salt excepted) not being the produce of the British dominions in Europe or America, to be disposed of by parliament, should be accepted, and the duty fixed at 8l. per cent. upon all such commodities. That as soon as the necessary acts for that purpose were passed by the assembly of Nova Scotia, and had received the royal approbation, all other taxes and duties in that province should cease and be discontinued, and no others laid on, while those acts continued in force, excepting only such duties as were found necessary for the regulation of commerce, the nett produce of which were to be carried to the account of the province. And to admit an importation into that province of wines, oranges, lemons, currants, and raisins, directly from the place of their growth and produce.

This relaxation of the Act of Navigation, though not very considerable, was intended to shew the favourable disposition of parliament towards this province, which had set so laudable an example of obedience; and seemed to hold out to the colonies in general an enlargement of commerce, as a compensation for their acceding to the conciliatory resolution. Indeed much attention was paid to this petition, as forming a model for future taxation, and proving, what had been denied, that the system of the conciliatory proposition was not impracticable. Serious hopes were entertained of its effect until it had passed the committee. But it seemed as if the pacific system, in which this

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was considered as a leading part, was about that time laid aside. Whatever the cause might have been, to the surprize of many, the whole matter was suffered to die away; no bill was brought in, and the petition was heard no more of after the holidays.

The first public matter of any consequence that was brought forward after the recess, related to a late measure of government in Ireland. To explain this matter, it will be necessary to take notice, that the Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom had, in the present session of parliament there, sent a written message to the House of Commons, containing a requisition in the King's name, of 4000 additional troops from that kingdom for the American service, and a promise under the same authority, that they should not continue a charge upon that establishment during their absence, with a proposal, that, for the security and protection of that kingdom, it was his Majesty's intention, if desired by them, to replace those forces with an equal number of foreign protestant troops; and a further promise, that the charge of those troops should be also defrayed without any expence to that country.

We shall just observe, that the Commons of Ireland granted the 4000 troops which were demanded; but that, notwithstanding the naked and defenceless state in which that kingdom was left exposed, and the irresistible force with which administration carried all other questions through that assembly, the measure of accepting the foreign troops was, however, deemed so dangerous, and was so gene-

rally odious, as, after great debates, and the most vigorous exertions in its support, to be rejected by a considerable majority. And that to remedy the weakness occasioned by the present, as well as former, great and continual drain of their standing forces, an attempt was made, by those who are called the patriotic party in that country, to embody the militia; a measure much more disagreeable to government, than even the rejection of the Hessian or Hanoverian forces, and which was accordingly counteracted with effect.

It is sufficiently obvious, that the engagement for the disposal of the public money, included in the foregoing message, without the consent or knowledge of the British House of Commons, was what rendered this subject a matter of discussion in that body. Feb. 15th, Mr. Thomas Townshend introduced it as a

breach of privilege, and stated his complaint in the following words: "That the Earl of Harcourt, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, did, on the 23d day of November last, in breach of the privilege, and in derogation of the honour and authority of this House, send a written message to the House of Commons of the parliament of Ireland, signed with his own hand, to the following effect:—"Having then recited the message, he moved, that a committee be appointed to enquire into the matter of the said complaint, and to report the same, as it shall appear to them, to the House.

This gentleman supported his motion with great ability, and was equally well seconded by his friends. They

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They maintained that the privileges of that house, though applied to themselves individually or collectively in a more confined sense, were the indubitable right of all the Commons of England, who had one general interest in them. That though each of these was an object of consideration, they all sunk to a very inferior degree of importance, when at all placed in opposition to, or compared with, that inestimable privilege, the power of granting money, of holding the purse of their constituents, and of guarding it from the hands of violence, art, or fraud. This was a trust of the first magnitude, which, in fact, included every other; for while that was preserved inviolate, the crown would remain under the constitutional controul of parliament; but whenever that was wrested by open force, defeated by indirect means, or done away by fraud, the liberties and privileges of the people would be for ever annihilated. They shewed the wise, commendable, and well-founded jealousy shewn by the Commons, when at any time even the other house had interfered in the smallest degree with that great privilege; but that when any attempts of the sort were made by the crown, or by its ministerial agents, they immediately caught the alarm; and however they were before divided, had, at all times, uniformly united, as if actuated by one soul, in resisting the smallest encroachment upon their power of granting or refusing their own money, and that of their constituents.

They said, that the message in question presented several faces, and contained matters of the most

suspicious and alarming nature. That if the conditions it held out had been accepted, the parliament of England would have been pledged to that of Ireland for the payment of 8000 men, only to have the use of 4000; so that Ireland was to be bribed into an acceptance of this insidious bargain, by retaining her usual establishment as to number, while she was to be eased of one third of the burthen. That such a proposition could only have originated from the worst designs, as the absurdity, they said, was too glaring to be charged to any degree of folly. But that the nature of the bargain was a matter of little consequence, when put in competition with that double violation of the constitution, that daring temerity, of engaging for the payment of great sums of money, and venturing to propose the introduction of foreign forces, without the consent of parliament.

Some gentlemen went so far as to say, that no doubt could be entertained of the designs from whence these propositions originated. One was an experiment on the Irish parliament, to try if it could be induced to consent to the reception of foreign troops, thereby to establish a precedent which might be afterwards applied to other purposes. The other also had its fixed object. It was a scheme, they said, however deep, formed on very simple principles, and went directly to vest in the crown the virtual power of taxing, as opportunity might serve, both Great Britain and Ireland. In Ireland, the minister was to be taught to ask some favour; then England was to be pledged. In England again, when such circumstances

cumstances occurred, as rendered the attempts impracticable, Ireland was to be taxed, to maintain the supremacy of the British legislature. In the mean time, it prepared the minds of the people, and habituated them to such notions, as would by degrees be the means of reducing the parliament of each to be the mere instrumental agents of the crown, without the least degree of will or independence whatever.

Administration seemed in an odd situation upon this attack. The matter was serious; the offer of introducing foreign troops without the previous consent of parliament, indeed to introduce them at all as a permanent part of our military establishment, could not be a matter of indifference to the constitution and safety of these kingdoms. On this occasion, no small marks of want of concert and system appeared, in the grounds upon which this measure was explained or defended in the debate. The minister disavowed those specific instructions, upon which it was supposed the message must have been founded; but acknowledged his general co-operation, in matters relative to the government of Ireland. Both he, and another Lord, lately come into administration, disclaimed all responsibility whatever, for the conduct of his Majesty's servants in that kingdom. They said in general, or separately, that the Viceroy might have mistaken, or exceeded his instructions; that he might not have conveyed his meaning in the clearest terms; but that there was no relation between the British ministry and the King's servants in that country, which rendered the former in any degree accountable for

these matters, and consequently they could not be affected by any censure grounded upon them. They, however, justified the first proposition in the message, as referring to the promise which the King had made to the parliament of Ireland, that 12000 of the forces on that establishment should always be left for the defence of the kingdom. In that sense, they said, the proposal was strictly defensible, and came clearly and legally within the constitutional exercise of the regal power. As to the second proposition, it was allowed, that the paying for 8000 men, when 4000 only were obtained, appeared to be extremely uneconomical; that however, if the men could not be obtained upon better terms, the measure was defensible on the ground of necessity; and if there were also sufficient reasons for thinking it better to employ natives than foreigners in North America, they would be a justification of the latter part of the same proposition.

Whilst the official ministers stood on this ground, a totally different mode of defence was adopted by several of those who are vulgarly known under the denomination of King's friends. Some of these maintained the high prerogative right of introducing foreign forces into any part of the dominions, whenever the exigencies of state rendered it expedient or necessary. They also insisted, that the message was worded in a manner perfectly agreeable to official usage; that the King had a right to bind himself by promise to his Irish parliament, and to make the present application for a release from that promise. That the measure was in exact conformity with, or more properly

properly a part of, those undoubted branches of the prerogative, by which the crown raised troops of its own will, and then applied to parliament for their payment, or entered into treaties, for the same purpose, with foreign princes, and pledged it for a due performance of the articles.

Some others on the same side, not satisfied with endeavouring by explanation to weaken what was said by the mover to be the obvious sense of the words, attempted boldly to prove, that the message meant the direct reverse. These contended, rather ludicrously enough, that the whole parliament of Ireland had not only totally misunderstood the meaning of the message, and misconceived the Lord Lieutenant's intentions, but that they had gone through a series of public business founded upon that deception and error, without the smallest light being offered by the nobleman in question, though the Speaker had, at the head of the House of Commons, made a public declaration of his and their blindness in his presence. It is very difficult to reconcile the grounds of these several arguments; and this last, of supposing that the Lord Lieutenant and the whole Irish legislature were mistaken in the subject of a message sent by the one, and received and answered by the other, was scarcely suitable to so important a matter.

Some of the gentlemen in opposition considered the business of somewhat a less dangerous nature, from the scheme's not being carried into execution. They held, that the spirit and magnanimity of Ireland, in rejecting the foreign troops, and in refusing to accept

the offer for lessening her own burthen by throwing a part of it upon Great Britain, had already obviated the mischievous tendency of that measure; so that the only object of censure now remaining, was the evil intention from which it originated. They also held, that the whole weight of the censure would fall upon the Lord Lieutenant, who was merely ministerial in the business, while those who were really culpable, would not only pass untouched, but very possibly, from some crooked motive of policy, might rejoice in the ill-placed effect. After very considerable debates, the question being put near twelve at night, the motion for a committee was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 224 to 106.

A motion was then made for laying the votes of the Irish Commons, of some specific dates, and relative to this business, before the house, which passed in the negative without a division. This was succeeded by the following motion: "That it is highly derogatory to the honour, and a violent breach of the privileges of this house, and a dangerous infringement of the constitution, for any person whatever to presume to pledge his Majesty's royal word to the House of Commons of the parliament of Ireland, "that any part of the troops upon the establishment of that kingdom shall, upon being sent out of that kingdom, become a charge upon Great Britain," without the consent of this house; or for any person to presume to offer to the House of Commons of the parliament of Ireland, without the consent of this house, "that such national troops be sent out of Ireland,

Ireland, shall be replaced by foreign troops, at the expence of Great Britain." The motion for this resolution was lost, by putting the previous question, without a division.

In a few days after Mr. 20th.

Fox made a motion, That it be referred to a committee to enquire into the causes of the ill success of his Majesty's arms in North America, as also into the causes of the defection of the people of the province of Quebec. This gentleman introduced and supported his motion with his usual great ability. He declined, he said, for the present, to enter into any recapitulation of the causes of the unhappy dispute with America. He should develop the system, from whence the measures now carrying on were supposed to originate. He should forbear to animadvert upon a system, that in its principles, complexion, and every constituent part, gave the fullest and most unequivocal proofs, that its ultimate design was the total destruction of the constitution of this free form of government. These were assertions that might be disputed. He wished to draw their attention to certain well-known, indisputable, uncontroversial facts. Upon the same principle he declined entering into any of the questions of right or claims on either side. He did not mean to controvert the expediency, practicability, nor a single ministerial ground, on which the present measures respecting America were taken up, pursued, or defended. He would even, for argument sake, allow for the present, that administration had acted perfectly right. But all these mat-

ters being admitted in their favour, and the ground cleared in all other respects, he would examine, from the time that coercive measures had been adopted, the means that had been used for giving them effect.

He intended to commence his proposed enquiry at the time, when the minister, in the month of February, 1774, proposed to the house certain resolutions, as a ground of complaint, which he followed with the Boston Port Bill. This he fixed as the era, when coercive measures were undeniably determined upon. He grounded his motion on the clear and positive assertion, and repeatedly acknowledged fact, that there had been mismanagement, misconduct, incapacity, or neglect, somewhere; and supported its propriety and necessity, upon the simple alternative, that these faults and their consequent evils, must be imputed either to our ministers at home, or to our military commanders abroad; either the former had planned measures which were impracticable, or, if practicable, had not afforded them the necessary support, or else the latter had failed in carrying them into execution, and were incapable of doing their duty; in either case, it was fit to know where the fault lay; or, if it was shared between them, it was absolutely necessary, before it was too late, and the nation fell a victim to misconduct and incapacity, that the house should be fully informed on the subject, and enabled to remedy the evil, by being rendered sensible, that the one were as unfit to deliberate and determine, as the other to perform or carry into execution.

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He hoped, that as he had made such concessions, in dropping all other subjects of dispute, in order to simplify the immediate question, and lay its objects nakedly, and abstracted from all other matter before them, as he had drawn a line between, and intended totally to separate measures from men, that no independent gentleman would refuse to concur in the enquiry. Indeed, he did not see upon what principle any gentleman in that character could oppose it; and insisted, that if the ministers were not conscious of being culpable in the highest degree, they would rejoice at such an opportunity of vindicating their conduct to the public, and of letting them see, that our present national disgraces and misfortunes, and the misapplication of that support which they had so liberally given, were not owing to their ignorance, incapacity, or want of integrity. Public justice demanded such an enquiry. The individuals on whom the obloquy rested, were entitled to be heard in their own defence. To withhold the information necessary to their justification, would be an insult to the nation, as well as an act of private injustice. None but the guilty could wish to evade it. None of our commanders by sea or land, could be sure of preserving their honour for a single moment, if they were to be buried under public disgrace, in order to hide, protect, or palliate, the ignorance, blunders, and incapacity of others.

He entered into a short but comprehensive detail of the measures which had hitherto been pursued in supporting the plan of coercion, in which he drew, in the most

glowing colours, and placed in the strongest lights, such representations of what, he styled, folly in the cabinet, ignorance in office, inability in framing, and misconduct in executing, with such a shameful and servile acquiescence in parliament, as, he said, had never before disgraced the councils of this, or perhaps, any other country. Upon the whole, he was exceedingly pointed and severe upon the ministers, and little less so, with respect to the body which he was addressing.

Administration seemed exceedingly embarrassed in this debate, and as little united as in the former. The weight of defence, or of evading the enquiry, fell principally upon the gentlemen in inferior and less responsible office; the minister himself not rising until the close of the debate. A noble Lord, under the description we have mentioned, moved the previous question early in the debate, which did not, however, lessen its extent, or shorten its duration. The topics used in the speech from the throne, furnished the principal arguments against the motion. The court party admitted that little had been done, great losses had been sustained, and errors apparently of no small magnitude committed. But the fault lay, where the punishment would finally fall, not in the ministers, but in the rebels. The Americans had taken an unworthy and base advantage of the clemency, and desire of conciliation, by which Great Britain was actuated; whilst we, unwilling to proceed to the rigorous terms of punishment, were proposing terms of mutual advantage, and endeavouring to establish a lasting

harmony, they were strengthening themselves in rebellion, and making every preparation for war. Thus was a season for effectual coercion unfortunately lost; but in a manner that will ever do honour to our national character, and convince all mankind of the lenity, forbearance, and temperate justice of our government; whilst it equally shews the incorrigible turpitude of our rebellious colonists.

Others said, that as affairs in America were totally changed, so was likewise, and with propriety, the conduct of government. Till the sword was drawn, conciliatory measures were pursued; as soon as that event took place, we adopted the most effectual means of coercion, which would be steadily persevered in till the end was accomplished. That it was unfair, to state objections against the conduct of administration in the early stages of this business, which were only applicable to a state of hostility and open rebellion; that what was wisdom in the former situation, would be treachery or madness in the latter. And that government was already taking the most effectual and decisive measures, to remedy those very evils which were the proposed objects of censure.

It was besides said, that if such an enquiry were at all necessary, this was not the proper season. It should be deferred till the end of the war, when there would be leisure and opportunity for such an investigation. Several of those who were the objects of enquiry, or whose testimony would be necessary, were not in the kingdom; they were now fulfilling their duty in America; strenuously endeavouring to remedy all evils, to re-

move all causes of complaint, and to atone for past errors, if any had been committed. It was also contended, that as a change of measures had been announced from the throne, it would be highly disrespectful and improper to enter into such an examination, until those measures were tried and the event known.

Several, however, on the same side, joined the minority in severely censuring the conduct hitherto pursued; but congratulated themselves on the present change of system, and the happy consequences which they expected from so vigorous a scheme of coercion. The previous question being at length put, at near three in the morning, the motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 240, to 104.

The treaties lately entered into between his Majesty, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Brunswick, and the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, for the hiring of different bodies of their troops for the American service, amounting in the whole to about 17000 men, having been laid before the house, and a Feb. 29th. motion being made by the minister, for referring them to the Committee of Supply, this matter became a subject of very considerable debate.

The measure in general of procuring foreign troops was supported, on the necessity of reducing America, and the total impracticability, which had already been fully experienced, of raising by any means, and in any degree, a sufficient number of levies within these kingdoms for that purpose. It was, however, further contended,

ed, that if such forces could have been raised at home, and even to the amount supposed necessary in point of number, it could not be expected, that raw and undisciplined troops, who had never seen any service, and who were not yet hardened to any change of food, climate, or habits of life, could answer the purpose so well, as tried experienced veterans, whose constitutional habits were already formed, as well as their military. To these were added, the great loss which the withdrawing so many hands from husbandry and manufactures would be to the nation. And it was also remembered, that the expence in that case would not end with the war; but that the nation would be saddled with the heavy and lasting incumbrance, of the half-pay establishment of near thirty battalions. So that in every point of view, whether considered with respect to general policy, or rational expediency, the present treaties would be found equally prudent and necessary.

It then only remained to be considered, whether these treaties were conducted with all the judgment, and managed with all the frugality, that the nature of the case would admit. With respect to this point, if the necessity was admitted, which it was presumed no body would attempt to controvert, it would of course be acknowledged, that the troops must be obtained at any price, and upon any terms, which did not exceed in extent or value the urgency of the demand. This, however, they said, was not the case, and the terms were so far from being proportioned to the necessity, that they were substantially the same with those of for-

mer treaties, by which we obtained troops for purposes of infinitely less national importance than the present. But, even supposing that the case had been otherwise, and that the present terms had not been so advantageous as those upon some former occasions, but bore some relation to the necessity; still, they insisted, that the measure would have been highly prudent and economical, and that, considering merely the point of expence, it would be found that the foreign troops were obtained much cheaper than home levies, supposing they could be procured as usual. They closed these arguments by observing, that this measure was no matter of surprize or novelty, as we had at all times been under a necessity of employing foreigners in our wars.

On the other side, this measure was reprobated in all its parts. The necessity absolutely denied. We forced on, said they, a civil war most wantonly, and this was one of the first of its alarming and ruinous consequences. Great Britain, they said, was now disgraced in the eyes of all Europe, to answer purposes apparently of her power and dominion, but in reality of her subjection and servitude. She was to be impoverished, and what was still perhaps worse, she was compelled to degrade herself, by applying in the most mortifying and humiliating manner to the petty Princes of Germany for succours against her own subjects, and submitting to indignities never before prescribed to a crowned head, presiding over so great and powerful a nation. In support of these positions, they took the treaties to pieces, and pointed out, as objec-

tionable, the following parts;— That the troops were to enter into pay before they began to march; a thing never known before. That levy-money was to be paid at the rate of near 7l. 10s. a man. That, not satisfied with this extortion, those princes were also to be subsidized. That they had the modesty to insist on a double subsidy. That the subsidy is in one instance to be continued for two years, and for one year in another, after the troops have returned to their respective countries. And that a body of 12000 foreigners are to be introduced into the British dominions, under no controul of either King or parliament; for the express words of the treaty are, “that this body of troops” (being the Hessians) “shall remain under the command of their General, to whom his most serene Highness has entrusted the command.”

The debates were long and warm, and were of course productive of a very late night. The bad terms upon which these forces were obtained was much laboured by the opposition, and they entered into various calculations to shew, that besides the extraordinary expences in the point of exportation, every thousand Germans, upon this system, would cost the nation more than 1500 of its own levies. A point merely speculative was also much agitated, the ministers endeavouring to render the present great expences more eligible, by representing that they would not be lasting, and that this German addition to the forces already voted, would be fully sufficient for the subjugation of the Americans, and the bringing of the war to a final and happy conclusion in the ensu-

ing campaign. It was, indeed, held out, that this great force would in all likelihood have little more to do, than to shew itself and return. A great body of the very best soldiery in Europe; inspired only with military maxims and ideas, too well disciplined to be disorderly and cruel, and too martial to be kept back by any false lenity, could not fail of bringing matters to a speedy conclusion. This measure would prove to be true œconomy as well as true policy. If a little more levy-money was paid than for British, the men we had were trained, not raw troops; and as for the continuance of the payment for some time after the war, this was but reasonable, as the Landgrave, and the other Princes, could not have their troops returned to them as soon as we might accept the submission of the rebels.

In answer to this it was confidently asserted on the side of opposition, that neither the present, nor any other force we were able to send out, would be equal to an absolute conquest of America, either in one, or in two campaigns, and that this was only the beginning, even without the interference of any foreign power, of the most ruinous and fatal war we were ever engaged in. The question upon the minister's motion being put after two o'clock, it was carried upon a division, by a majority of 242, to 88.

This matter was again much agitated March 4th. on receiving the report from the Committee of Enquiry; several objections were made to different parts of the treaties, and several explanations demanded relative to others,

others, which were either said to be obscure in themselves, or to leave some essential matter unprovided for. The first resolution of the committee being carried, the following motion was then made by Colonel Barrè, and agreed to, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to desire him to use his interest, that the German troops in British pay, now or hereafter, may be clothed with the manufactures of this country."

Nor was the affair of the 5th. German treaties less agitated in the house of Lords, where the Duke of Richmond moved for an address, of considerable length, to his Majesty, which, besides several pointed observations relative to the treaties in particular, took in a comprehensive view of the situation of American affairs in general, and the probable consequences of a perseverance in the present measures, all tending to give weight and efficacy to a request, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to countermand the march of the troops of Hesse, Hanau, and Brunswick; and likewise give directions for an immediate suspension of hostilities in America, in order to lay a foundation for a happy and permanent reconciliation between the divided parts of this distracted empire.

The noble mover took a most comprehensive view of the subject. He entered into an historical detail of the several treaties which had been concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse from the year 1702 to the present, and shewed, that in every succeeding treaty from the first they had risen in their de-

mands, and established every fresh extortion as a precedent not to be departed from in the future. That the present treaty, however, outstripped all others, not only in point of imposition, but of the unaccountable and unprecedented conditions which it included. As to the first, he shewed from various laborious and accurate calculations, that the use of 17,300 mercenaries for the present year, would not, taking in all contingencies, cost the nation less than one million and a half sterling; an expence, he maintained, not to be paralleled in the history of mankind, for the service of an equal number of men.

These matters, however serious in the present miserable state of our finances, and the enormous weight of public burthens we groan under, were not, he said, what pressed most forcibly on his mind. It was the tenor of the treaties, the ambiguous terms in which they were conceived, and the dangerous precedents they established or slid into, that principally called forth his attention, and gave rise to his fears. He observed, he said, with grief, and the best founded jealousy, that an over-ruling influence had for some years past pervaded our councils; that this influence had been exercised in effecting measures of a most dangerous and dark complexion; that it sometimes made its approaches by stealth, at other times rendered itself visible in open day, and proceeded to acts of violence. Hanoverians had been brought into the British dominions without the consent of parliament. An attempt had been made to place Ireland in the hands of foreigners. And if

any doubt remained of the tendency of those measures, it was removed by these treaties, which afforded the most ample matter for great and serious alarm.

He observed, that though the treaties expressed the contrary in words, they were not in reality founded upon any sound principle of alliance, or reciprocal support. They contained a mere mercenary Smithfield bargain, for the price of a certain number of hirelings, who were bought and sold like so many beasts for slaughter. There was no common interest which mutually bound the parties; and if there were, both our conduct, and that of those Princes, was the most singular ever known. They were to be subsidized. They were to have levy-money. They were to have a double subsidy. Their corps were to be kept up compleat. They were to be paid till the troops returned to their respective countries; and the subsidies were to be continued after the service.

Yet in this downright mercenary bargain of sale and purchase, we were bound, that if any of those Princes were attacked, or should wantonly begin, or provoke an attack, for the engagement was left general and unconditional, we should assist them with our utmost force. Thus, we were not only to pay double for the assistance of a few thousands of foreign mercenaries, but we were besides bound in the most solemn engagements to support the quarrels and interests of their masters; a kind of contract, which might, not improbably, involve us in a continental war.

He then reminded the Lords who had supported the late peace

of Paris, of the language which they, and all others on the same side, held towards the close of the late war. A noble Earl, who then presided at the head of public affairs, and a late Duke, who concluded that treaty, with all their friends and partizans, disclaimed in words and in writing, both within doors and without, all continental connections of whatever nature; and all employment of foreigners, whatever the service or necessity. They admitted themselves, that the enemy were at our feet, and the conquest of the Spanish settlements in a manner certain, yet they submitted to a peace certainly inadequate, on no other ground but our inability to raise taxes; they said, that the national debt was too enormous, to accept, even this advantage, at any price; that we were already ruined by success; and that even to prosecute certain conquest, would be the height of political phrenzy. He asked, what extraordinary change of circumstances had since taken place, that now renders a doubtful, and in any case ruinous civil war, a war equally incapable of fame and advantage, to be not only thought eligible, but to be prosecuted with a degree of eagerness, with an acrimony and malignity, unknown upon any other occasion? How comes the reprobated policy of employing foreign forces to be now revived? Will the paying off seven millions of the national debt in thirteen years peace, justify this change of system, when the extraordinary expences of the ensuing campaign will amount to a greater sum? Or will it hereafter be credited, that they are the same men who held those

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those doctrines, who reduced them into practice, who broke off all continental connections, and who surrendered the fruits of a most glorious and successful war, to obtain a transient and inadequate peace, who are the framers of all the present measures?

That clause in the 9th article of the Hessian treaty, which provides that the crown shall employ those troops as it thinks proper by land in Europe, was much commented on by the noble mover, and other lords on the same side, and represented as bearing a most dark and dangerous complexion. It was asked, what country in Europe, except these kingdoms, they could be employed in? what military operations were intended for them here? Were such measures proposed, as it was foreseen would render a foreign force necessary in this country? And was a civil war here also intended, to round the present system?

All the American questions were of course brought up in the further support of the motion, and all the old ground of the injustice, inexpediency, impracticability, the ruinous effects, and fatal tendency of the war, again gone over. It was also strongly urged, that as the Americans had hitherto abstained from applying for assistance to foreign powers, and had ventured to commit themselves singly in this arduous contest, rather than have recourse to so odious and dangerous a refuge, it was the height of political folly and madness in us, to induce them to depart from that temperate ground, by setting them an example of so fatal a tendency. For it cannot be doubted, if this dangerous mea-

sure is carried into execution, that they will immediately retaliate, and think themselves fully justified by the example, in forming alliances with foreign powers, and hiring foreign forces, (if they do not procure them upon terms more advantageous to themselves and ruinous to us,) to oppose those mercenaries whom we send for their destruction. Nor is it any more to be doubted, that other powers in Europe, of a very different cast and order from those of Hesse, Brunswick, and Hanau, will consider themselves, to be fully as well entitled to interfere in our domestic quarrels. And thus, whilst in the rage and madness of civil contention, the strength and flower of the nation is exhausted on the other side of the Atlantic, we shall lie open and defenceless to the attacks of our most formidable and vindictive enemies.

It was contended, that these, and numberless other evils which were stated, would be prevented or remedied, by a compliance with the motion; and that parliament would thereby have time and opportunity to propose such conditions, as the ultimatum of its demands, as it would be fitting for Great-Britain to offer, and for America, as a great constituent part of the empire, to accept.

The ministers defended the treaties upon the same ground in general, on which they had been supported in the house of commons. The principal stress was laid upon the strong plea of necessity, which covered the measure at large. As to particular objections, they contended, that upon the whole, the terms were more reasonable than could have been expected. That

the suddenness of the requisition, the known necessity from which it proceeded, together with the novelty, distance, length of sea voyage, and other disagreeable circumstances particularly attending this service, would have warranted much higher demands. That the treaties were framed in conformity to established usage and precedent. That the undertaking the defence of the German states from whom we hired troops, could not be supposed to operate towards bringing on a war in Germany; that the pompous high-sounding phrases of alliance, were mere sounds, a form of words which conveyed no meaning, and which consequently could not be supposed, or intended, to be binding. That the supposed articles of expence were over-rated in the calculations held out by the noble duke; but supposing it otherwise, and that they had even been still greater, the necessity which induced the measure, would of course have compelled our acquiescence in the terms. That if the war was finished in one campaign, an event which there was every reason to expect, or even in two, the terms would be found not only reasonable, but highly favourable on our side. It was, indeed, acknowledged, that if the war was prolonged to a more distant period, they must from their nature become disadvantageous; but this was so totally improbable, as not to merit consideration.

On the whole what were they to do? Were they to sit still, and to suffer an independent hostile empire to arise out of an unprovoked rebellion? Were they tamely to suffer the trade of the American colonies, the object of so much care, atten-

tion, and expence, of so many laws and so many wars, to be given away to foreigners, merely from a scruple of employing foreign forces, to preserve to ourselves the benefits so truly our own and so dearly purchased? If we have nothing to complain of because British blood is shed in a British quarrel, what can the Americans reasonably object to it? They in effect, by refusing to contribute to its support, deny themselves to be a part of the British empire, and therefore making themselves foreigners, they cannot complain that foreigners are employed against them. They said, that we had nothing to fear from their retaliating upon us. That the other powers who have colonies in America, know too well the danger and mischief of a rebellion on the present principles, to give it any sort of countenance. That princes indeed are governed more by policy than equity; but in this instance their policy is *our* security. But if they should be, contrary to all appearance and probability, willing to countenance this rebellion from a desire of partaking in an open trade, and lowering the importance of this country, the terrible consequences which would arise from such an event, leave no room for deliberation; but require that we should crush this infant rebellion, with every force of every kind, before foreigners can take advantage of it.

It was observable in this, and some late debates, that as melancholy pictures were drawn of the situation to which this country would be reduced by the loss of the colonies, in order therefrom to induce the most vigorous coercion, as had heretofore, in the earlier stages

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stages of this business, been exhibited by the opposition, for the very different purpose, of preventing those coercive measures, which they apprehended, or said, would lead to the present unhappy crisis.

The debates were long and interesting, and contained a great deal of curious, though much of it was extraneous matter. Among other subjects which lay out of the direct line of debate, the cruelty and impolicy with which the war was carried on in America, by ruining the country, and burning commercial and defenceless towns, was much insisted on by the opposition. The recent destruction of Norfolk in Virginia, which, they said, was principally inhabited by people violently attached to the king's government, with the new and particular circumstance of its being transacted under the governor's orders, was commented upon with the greatest severity, and reprobated in the strongest terms.

His royal highness the duke of Cumberland took an active part upon this occasion in support of the motion; declaring his entire disapprobation of the conduct of the ministers, and of the present American system. He also pathetically lamented, that "Brunswickers, who once, to their great honour, were employed in the defence of the liberties of the subject, should now be sent to subjugate his liberties, in another part of this vast empire." The motion was rejected by the usual majority, the numbers upon a division being 100, including 21 proxies, to 32, including 3 proxies, who supported the question. It was, however, attended with an unusual protest, which only reciting the terms of

the proposed address, concluded with the signatures of the respective protesting peers to a silent dissent.

The secretary at war gave notice about this time, that he would move, at a short specified day, for a supply, to the amount of 845,165*l.* towards defraying the extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other services incurred, between the 9th of March 1775, and 31st of January 1776. This vast demand for extraordinaries, incurred in so short a time, and in so confined and inefficacious a service, roused all the vigour, and awakened all the fire of opposition; which seemed upon this occasion to blaze out in such a manner, as for a time to dazzle and confound administration.

They examined the journals to shew, that neither the glorious campaign of 1704, which saved the German empire, and broke and ruined that military force which had been for half a century the scourge and terror of Europe, nor that of 1760, which gave us the vast continent of North America, had in any degree equalled in expence, the shameful campaign of Boston in 1775. They endeavoured to prove by various calculations, that the maintenance of 8,000 wretched, disgraced, and half-starved forces in Boston, had not cost the nation much less, in a period short of a year, than an hundred pounds each man. They called upon the ministers to answer, and examined the state of national finance to enquire, in what manner we were capable of supporting, in the present and future campaigns, 50,000 men in America at a proportional expence, exclusive of the naval,

naval, ordnance, and other charges, of our standing expences, and of the hazard of a foreign war.

All the powers of eloquence were displayed, in describing in the most glowing colours, the successes and glories of queen Anne's, and of the last war. The names of Godolphin and Pitt were echoed; whilst all the force of wit and ridicule was exhausted, in contrasting the situation and circumstances of those seasons, with the present. Blenheim and Schellinburgh, were opposed to Lexington and Bunker's Hill; and to compleat the group, the river Mystic was for once placed in the same view with the Danube.

The ministers seemed for a considerable time nearly overwhelmed by the torrent. But finding its violence rather to increase than lessen, they at length rested for support upon the strong sanction of parliament. They said, that they had acted in this business from the beginning, not only with the concurrence, but the approbation of parliament; that they had not sought it, nor taken it up wantonly; they had found it; it was a legacy left by their predecessors, and of which they found parliament in possession. That whenever that body should think it necessary to alter its conduct or opinions; to abandon, or to mollify the present measures, they would readily give up their own opinions, and acquiesce in either; but whilst they found themselves in possession of the full confidence and approbation of a great majority of that house, they never would desert the trust reposed in them, but would continue to fulfil their duty at all events. And that there were only two sim-

ple questions arising on this matter, whether the money had been properly applied? and whether the measures that induced the expensiture were necessary? that the first would in due time be authenticated by the proper vouchers, and parliament had already repeatedly given its sanction to the second. That as to the inglorious appearance of the campaign, they said that it had the same origin with all the rest of our misfortunes, too good an opinion of the Americans. That it was never believed, that they could be wicked enough to unite with the Massachusetts Bay in rebellion, nor consequently able to shut up his majesty's forces in Boston, and prevent the supply which the abundance of that country yielded. That now our eyes are opened; and the measures taken in consequence, must open the way to abundance; and it was then to be hoped, that it would not be necessary to send all their provisions from Europe. At present indeed it was unhappily necessary; and whatever the expence might be, they could not justify themselves in starving either the army or the cause. That the vigour and generosity of this session would give rescue and economy to the next.

On the second day's debate, when the motion was regularly made, after a very warm discussion, the question was carried on a division by a majority of 180, to 57. It was, however, scarcely less debated on the following day, upon receiving the report from the committee.

That vast and invincible majority, which had hitherto overruled every proposal of the same nature, was not sufficient to deter the duke of

of Grafton from still trying, whether an attempt towards a reconciliation with the colonies might not be received in some new form, or in some manner rendered palatable. He accordingly moved for an address, that in order to prevent the further effusion of blood, and to manifest how desirous the king and parliament are to restore peace to all the dominions of the crown, and how earnestly they wish to redress any real grievances of his majesty's subjects, a proclamation might be issued, declaring that if the colonies, within a reasonable time before, or after the arrival of the troops destined for America, shall present a petition to the commander in chief, or to the commissioners to be appointed under the late act; setting forth in such petition, which is to be transmitted to his majesty, what they consider to be their just rights and real grievances; that in such case, his majesty will consent to a suspension of arms; and that he has authority from his parliament to assure them, that their petition shall be received, considered, and answered.

The great object of this motion seems to have been to remedy the defects of the late prohibitory, or capture act; which, as the opposition had all along contended, held out a delusive shew of peace, without furnishing any means, or containing any powers, by which that object could possibly be attained. Besides the general arguments which the subject afforded, the noble mover specified two particular circumstances, which rendered a compliance with the motion, or the adoption of some equivalent substitute, at this time, absolutely necessary. The first of these was

the new doctrine of *unconditional submission* on the side of America, which had been held out in the other house by the noble lord at the head of the American department;—The second was the intelligence, which the noble duke had himself received, that two French gentlemen had some time before gone to North America, where they had held a conference with General Washington at his camp, and were by him referred to the Continental Congress, to which they immediately repaired. To prevent or remedy the ill effects which a knowledge of the former, and the consequent opinion that it was the established political doctrine of Great Britain, must necessarily produce upon the Americans, and the extremities to which it would naturally drive them, he inferred the necessity of some specific declaration from parliament, the laying of some ground open for accommodation, and throwing so much light upon it, as would enable them in some degree to judge, what conditions we were willing to grant, or what concession to accept; and would at least relieve them from the horrors, and disarm them of the rage, which the bare idea of unconditional submission must necessarily excite. The latter circumstance, not only shewed the immediate danger of the interference of foreigners in our civil contention; but what was still more alarming, gave too much reason to apprehend, that the interference was already commenced, and that from a most dangerous, and naturally hostile quarter.

This day will perhaps hereafter be considered as one of the most important in the English History.

It deeply fixed a new colour upon our public affairs. It was decisive, on this side of the Atlantic, with respect to America; and may possibly hereafter be compared with, and considered as preliminary to that, on which, unhappily, in a few months after, the independence of that continent was declared on the other. Administration now, and their numerous friends, totally changed their stile and language upon that subject. All modifications were laid aside; all former opinions and declarations done away; conciliation, they said, was little less than impracticable; and that if any thing could be added to the difficulties of such a scheme, it would be by concession. The tone of the house of lords was much higher than that of the house of commons had ever been, although the language was grown much more firm and determined there also than it had been at the beginning of the session. No alternative now seemed to be left between absolute conquest and unconditional submission.

The debates were long and various, and notwithstanding the beaten ground which was travelled over, would at another season have been interesting. Most of the considerable speakers on both sides took a large share in them. Much altercation and contradiction took place, between several lords who were of the cabinet in the years 1767, and 1769, relative to the American measures which were at those times adopted. Much pointed and direct animadversion took place between two great law lords, one of whom has long been out of office. The question being put

after 11 o'clock at night, the motion was rejected by a majority of 91, including 20 proxies, to 31, including three proxies.

A bill for the establishment of a militia Dec. 8th. in Scotland, had been brought in before the holidays by lord Mountstewart; but from the very remarkable neglect of attendance which prevailed, and the desire of having a matter which included a clashing of interests between both parts of the kingdom discussed in full houses, it hung over during the greater part of the session. Besides the apparent weight and sanction of administration, this bill was eagerly patronized by the gentlemen of North Britain; but notwithstanding these powerful supports, it met with a strong, and at length effectual opposition. Many of the country gentlemen were extremely jealous of this novel attempt. In this contest, it was ably controverted in all its stages; and though the views of the opposition avowedly extended from the beginning to the rejection of the whole, yet frequent amendments were proposed, and new clauses continually offered; so that it afforded a very considerable fund of debate; the divisions run very close, and the utmost candour and fairness was practised on both sides.

It was in general supported upon the utility of a militia as a national defence. That as England found it at present necessary to strengthen and render more effectual that mode of defence, the causes which operate here must hold equally good with respect to the other part of the united kingdom. That the constant loyalty, and

and invariable attachment to government, which the Scotch have shewn for many years past, had entirely removed those objections which might have formerly operated in opposing such a measure. And that the retaining such an invidious distinction, served only to keep alive ancient jealousies, and to nourish odious prejudices and malignities.

On the other side, it was objected to, on the general ground of expence, there being no necessity nor occasion for a militia in Scotland. That it was increasing the dangerous and unconstitutional power of the crown, which was already greater, than had ever hitherto been deemed consistent with public liberty. That a militia was local, and immediately paid by the land-owners for their protection and defence. That Scotland only paid one-fortieth to the land-tax, the very specific tax, out of which all the expences of a militia were to be drawn, and yet she would hold one fifth in the proportion of numbers to be embodied in both kingdoms. That the disproportion in point of representation, was equally to be considered, though not so great, being on her side one eleventh to the whole. That it was highly unreasonable in the people of that country, and carried the most glaring absurdity in the very face of the proposition, to apply to parliament for a Scotch militia, when five-sixths of the expence to be incurred by that establishment, must be paid by English land-owners. If she is in love with a militia, and wants to be put on a footing with England in respect to constitutional defence, let her take the

instituition with all its consequences of pay as well as of establishment; let the expence be raised by a cess upon the lands there, which can well afford it, from their being at present so much under-rated to the land-tax. However exceptionable the measure is in other respects, in point of expence, this will be substantial justice. But surely, the English must expect to become objects of the contempt or pity of all mankind, if they submitted to be the dupes to so absurd and monstrous a proposition as the present.

To these objections it was replied, that Scotland was taxed according to her ability as well as England. That though the land-tax was under-rated, other taxes were not so. That a great, if not the greater part of the rents of Scotland were, spent in England. That the people of that country consumed vast quantities of English manufactures; besides East India goods, and other foreign commodities, purchased here, by which means they were virtually taxed, and bore a great share of our expences. That the arguments now brought only proved, that Scotland was not so fully represented in the British parliament as she ought to be, nor so opulent as England; two matters which had nothing to do with the present question. And that it could not have been expected, that a proposal for general and national defence, should have been considered in the narrow view of provincial jealousy.

Both parties having mustered their forces March 20th. as well as the present state of attendance would admit, upon the day

day appointed for receiving the report from the committee after the second reading, the bill was thrown out upon a division, by a majority of 112 to 95. The minister found himself in an unusual situation upon this occasion, having divided in the minority.

It may be necessary to take some notice of an affair which about this time made a great noise in the city, occasioned much discontent amongst the merchants, and was at length, though without effect, brought into both houses of parliament. A clause in the late prohibitory act, which enabled the admiralty to grant licences to vessels for conveying stores and provisions to the forces upon the American service, had been made use of to countenance a trade in individuals who were favoured, by which, it was said, that a monopoly was formed, and the American trade was transferred from the ancient merchants, and known traders, to a few obscure persons of no account or condition; and an illicit commerce established under the sanction of that bill, which was utterly subversive of one of its principal apparent objects.

It appears that these licences were very loosely composed, and very carelessly granted; that the commissioners of the customs did not chuse to interfere much in the business; that though the licences were recalled and some alterations made in them, this measure produced little effect; and that even, when the noise grew loud, and something like a parliamentary enquiry was announced or begun, though some of the goods were unshipped, yet in general the scheme succeeded; the ships which had cleared out for Boston, only

altering the destination of their voyage, and taking a new clearance for Halifax and Canada, with liberty to go to any other port in America. It appeared in evidence before the house of commons, that by these and other means, a greater quantity of all manner of goods calculated for the North American market, had been shipped within a few weeks, than was done in any of the usual seasons of exportation.

A great clamour was raised in the city. It was said that it was exceedingly grievous to the great body of American merchants, who had already suffered so severely in consequence of these troubles, and who in obedience to the late act of parliament, were at this very time sinking under the incumbrance of a vast quantity of goods, which they had purchased for that, and for which they could find no other market, to see the trade, which for a number of years they had conducted with the greatest reputation and fairness, smuggled out of their hands, by a set of nominal merchants and unknown adventurers. The injury was rendered still the more grievous, by being committed under the colour of law, and under the licence of authority.

The first public notice that was taken of this business was in the house of lords, where the earl of Effingham, a little before the recess at Easter, made a motion which was agreed to, that lists of those ships, and of their cargoes, as well as the licences which were granted by the admiralty, should be laid before the house.

We suppose, that the holidays, together with the duchess of Kingston's trial, prevented the matter from

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from being more immediately pursued in that house. However that was, it was taken up in the house of commons by the lord May 2d. mayor, who moved for a committee to enquire into the whole transaction. Administration seemed very sore and very angry upon this occasion; and, as the opposition said, used every possible means to baffle or defeat the enquiry. They said it proceeded from ill temper and malignity, and was only intended to embarrass and distress government; and foretold truly, that it would come to nothing. Some said that the matters complained of were too trifling for notice, and were only intended for the ease, benefit, and comfort of the troops; others went so far as to insist, that the act was not violated, and that provisions and stores included every thing that could administer to the wants or luxuries of man or woman. The minister, however, at length acknowledged, that the powers given in the act had been misunderstood, and the licences abused; but that as these matters were already rectified, and a stop put to the mischief, their losing time at this late season in such an enquiry could answer no purpose. He afterwards practised a manœuvre, which he knew would effectually check its progress, by agreeing in part with the motion, but changing the mode of enquiry, from an open or select committee up stairs, to a committee of the whole house within doors.

In this committee, several witnesses were examined, and among other matter that appeared, it came out, that one of those nominal merchants, and a prin-

cipal actor in this business, who had freighted five large ships with the most valuable commodities, was so totally unqualified for such an undertaking, that he hawked about a letter in the city from a very considerable officer belonging to the treasury, in order to obtain goods upon that credit. It was said by the opposition, that some of the principal witnesses were sent purposefully out of the way; that the papers which the house demanded, and which were absolutely necessary for the purposes of the enquiry, were designedly held back at some of the public offices; they were therefore desirous to postpone it for a few days, until the proper information could be obtained, and accordingly moved the question of adjournment at three several times, but were constantly overpowered by a majority. At length, after being kept up till five o'clock in the morning, the minister dissolved the committee (without its coming to any resolution whatever) by the previous question, "That the chairman do now leave the chair," which was carried by a majority of 105 to 31.

On the 13th the earl of Effingham revived the matter in the House of Lords, by moving that the necessary papers should be laid before the house, in order to prosecute the enquiry in the ensuing session. This brought on very warm debates, and some farther extraordinary matter, than what had appeared in the other house, was laid before the lords. The niceness of situation at length prevailed, and the ministers consented to the motion.

The business being all carried through, and a vote of credit obtained

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tained for a million to answer any intermediate service, an end was at length put to the session. The speech from the throne contained nothing very striking. The usual satisfaction in their conduct was expressed. Information was given, that no alteration had taken place in the state of foreign affairs, and that the assurances received of the disposition of the several European powers, promised a continuance of the general tranquillity. A regret was expressed for the extraordinary supplies which it had been necessary to demand; and thanks given to the commons for the readiness and dispatch with which they were granted; as well as an acknowledgment, that they had shewn an equal regard to the exigencies of the service, and the ease of the people, in the manner of raising them. A proper frugality was promised. It was observ-

ed, that they were engaged in a great national cause, the prosecution of which must be attended with many difficulties, and much expence; but when they consider that the essential rights and interests of the whole empire are deeply concerned in the issue of it, and can have no safety or security but in that constitutional subordination for which they are contending, it affords a conviction that they will not think any price too high for such objects. A hope was still entertained, that his rebellious subjects would be awakened to a sense of their errors, and by a voluntary return to their duty, justify the restoration of harmony; but if a due submission should not be obtained from such motives and dispositions on their part, it was trusted, that it should be effectuated by a full exertion of the great force with which they had entrusted his majesty.

CHAP. V.

Distresses of the army at Boston during the winter. New batteries opened, and the town bombarded. Embarkation. Gen. Howe departs with the army to Halifax. Siege of Quebec raised. Rebels repulsed at Three Rivers. Montreal, Chambly, and St. John's retaken; all Canada recovered. Regulars and Emigrants totally defeated and dispersed in North Carolina. Hopkins strips the Bahama Islands of stores and artillery. Lord Dunmore abandons the coast of Virginia; Fugitives dispersed. Sir Peter Parker's Squadron, with Lord Cornwallis and troops, arrive at Cape Fear, where they meet Gen. Clinton; proceed to Charlestown. Attack on Sullivan's Island. Circular letters from the Congress for the establishment of new governments in the colonies. Declaration of Independency. Lord and Gen. Howe appointed Commissioners for restoring Peace in the Colonies. Gen. Howe, with the army, land at Staten Island. Circular Letter, sent by Lord Howe to the Continent, and published by the Congress. Letter to Gen. Washington, refused. Conference between Adjutant Gen. Patterson, and Gen. Washington. Plots at New York and Albany. Army landed at Long Island. Americans defeated with great loss. Retire silently from their Camp, and quit the Island. Gen. Sullivan sent upon parole with a message from Lord Howe to the Congress. Fruitless conference between his Lordship and a Committee of the Congress. Descent on York Island; City of New York taken; set on fire, and a great part burnt. Army pass through the dangerous navigation called Hell Gate; land at Frog's Neck; Skirmish at the White Plains. Forts Washington and Mifflin taken, and the whole of York Island reduced. Jersey overrun. Rhode Island reduced.

THE delays and misfortunes which the transports and victuallers from England and Ireland had experienced, reduced our forces at Boston to great distress. To their distress was added the mortification of seeing several vessels, which were laden with the necessaries and comforts of life, taken in the very entrance of the harbour; whilst different circumstances of tide, wind, or situation, disabled the ships of war from preventing the mischief. The loss of most of the coal ships was particularly felt, as fuel could not be procured, and the climate rendered

that article indispensable. The wretched inhabitants were in a state still more deplorable. Detained against their will, cut off from all intercourse with their friends, exposed to all the consequences of that contempt and aversion with which a great part of them were regarded by the soldiery, and at the same time in want of almost every necessary of life. Calamitous however as that situation was, it served as a sort of refuge to those, who were either zealous in favour of the king's government, or so dissatisfied with the new state of things, that they could no longer

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live with comfort, some of them hardly with safety, in their own homes.

It was even feared that the military stores would fail, and salt provisions at length grew scarce. The troops at Bunker's Hill underwent great hardships, being obliged to lie in tents all the winter, under the driving snows, and exposed to the almost intolerably cutting winds of the climate in that season, which, with the strict and constant duty occasioned by the strength and vicinity of the enemy, rendered that service exceedingly severe both to the private men and officers. Various attempts were made to remedy, or to lessen, some of the wants which now prevailed in the army. That of firing, which was the most immediately and intolerably pressing, was in some measure relieved by the destruction of houses.

The attempts made to procure provisions were not attended with any great success. Some vessels, which were sent to Barbadoes, obtained, through the assistance of the governor, and before the matter was fully known, a quantity so moderate, that it would not at other times have been more taken notice of than any common occurrence in trade; but being now cut off from their usual resources, and having, as they said, a famine staring them in the face, with 30,000 Blacks, and 20,000 Whites to feed, and no sufficient stock in hand, nor no certain supply in prospect, the measure was deemed so dangerous, that it occasioned a direct address from the Assembly to the king, including, along with the detail of their own melancholy

situation, strong complaints against the conduct of the governor.

A detachment of marines, with an armed ship and some transports, were sent to Savanna in Georgia, with a view, as it would seem by the event, of obtaining cargoes of rice and other provisions, whether by force or otherwise. The militia, however, took to their arms, and would not permit the marines to land, nor the ships to hold any correspondence with the shore. In the course of the debate which arose upon this occasion, some officers belonging to the colony were seized and detained on board the ships, and their release being refused with a high hand, and other circumstances of aggravation occurring on both sides, some batteries were speedily erected by the militia on the banks of the river, and an engagement with cannon and small arms took place, in which some blood was spilt, and seven loaded vessels belonging to the colony, which the commanders of the king's armed vessels, seemingly by collusion with the captains or owners, had got possession of, and whose cargoes would effectually have answered their purpose, were designedly burnt in the conflict.

In this state of things on our side, the provincials before Boston, were well covered, and well supplied in their lines. They expected with the most earnest solicitude the setting in of the frost, which usually takes place there about Christmas, and generally covers the harbour, and all the adjoining rivers and creeks, with a surface of solid ice. They founded great hopes upon this, as upon a most powerful auxiliary, by whose aid

said they not only extended their views to the recovery of the town, but to the seizure or destruction of the fleet, as well as of the land forces.

In these they were disappointed. The winter was uncommonly mild, and the frosts had none of the effects they expected. The expectation, however, probably influenced their operations, and occasioned their continuing more quiet than they otherwise would have done. The arrival of a copy of the king's speech, with an account of the fate of the petition from the continental congress, is said to have excited the greatest degree of rage and indignation amongst them; as a proof of which, the former was publicly burnt in the camp; and they are said upon this occasion to have changed their colours, from a plain red ground, which they had hitherto used, to a flag with thirteen stripes, as a symbol of the number and union of the colonies.

In the mean time, the arrival by degrees of several of those scattered vessels which had sailed from these kingdoms with provisions and necessaries, alleviated in a considerable degree the distresses of the forces at Boston; and though the winter was not severe enough to answer all the purposes of their enemies, the climate prevailed so far, as to render both parties fond of their quarters; to check the spirit of enterprize, and to prevent the effusion of blood; so that for two or three months, an unexampled quiet prevailed on both sides.

During this state of things, the American cruizers and privateers, though yet poor and contemptible, being for the greater part no better

than whale boats, grew daily more numerous and successful against the transports and storeships; and, among a multitude of other prizes, had the fortune of taking one, which gave a new colour to their military operations. This was an ordnance ship from Woolwich, which had unfortunately separated from her convoy, and being herself of no force, was taken without defence by a small privateer. This vessel contained, besides a large mortar upon a new construction, several pieces of fine brass cannon, a large quantity of small arms and ammunition, with all manner of tools, utensils, and machines, necessary for camps and artillery, in the greatest abundance. The loss of this ship was much resented in England, and occasioned some very severe animadversion upon the admiralty, both within doors and without, for hazarding a cargo of such value and importance in a defenceless vessel.

The tranquillity at Boston was, in the beginning of March, unexpectedly broken in upon by some sudden and unexpected movements on the side of the rebels. It is said, that as soon as the Congress had received intelligence of the prohibitory act, and of the hiring of foreign troops, they immediately dispatched instructions to Gen. Washington totally to change the mode of carrying on the war, and to bring affairs at Boston to the speediest decision that was possible, in order that the army might be disengaged, and at liberty to oppose the new dangers with which they were threatened.

However this was, a battery was opened near the water side, at a place called Phipp's Farm, on the

night of the 2d of March, from whence a severe cannonade and bombardment was carried on against the town, and repeated on the ensuing nights. Whilst the attention of the army was occupied by the firing of houses and other mischiefs incident to this new attack, they beheld, with inexpressible surprize, on the morning of the 5th, some considerable works appear on the other side of the town, upon the heights of Dorchester Point, which had been erected in the preceding night, and from whence a 24 pound, and a bomb battery, were soon after opened. Some of our officers have acknowledged, that the expedition with which these works were thrown up, with their sudden and unexpected appearance, recalled to their minds those wonderful stories of enchantment and invisible agency, which are so frequent in the Eastern romances.

The situation of the army was now very critical. The new works, along with those others which it was evident would now be speedily constructed on some of the neighbouring hills, would command the town, a considerable part of the harbour, of the beach, from whence an embarkation must take place in the event of a retreat, and render the communication between the troops in the works at Boston Neck, and the main body, difficult and dangerous.

In these circumstances no alternative remained, but to abandon the town, or dislodge the enemy and destroy the new works. Gen. Howe, with his usual spirit and resolution, adopted the latter, and took the necessary measures for the embarkation on that very evening

of five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers, upon a service, which the whole army must of course have been ultimately engaged in. This design was frustrated by the intervention of a dreadful storm at night, which rendered the embarkation impracticable, and thereby probably prevented the loss of a great number of brave men, if not of the whole army.

It is not, however, to be wondered at, that, with a high sense of the British military honour, as well as of his own, the general should hazard much, rather than submit to the indignity of abandoning the town. He commanded a force, which he knew had been considered and represented here as sufficient to look down all opposition in America; and which, in reality, with respect to the number of regiments, if not of men, the excellency of the troops, the character of the officers, and the powerful artillery which they possessed, would have been deemed respectable in any country, and dangerous by any enemy. With such troops, to give up that town which had been the original cause of the war, and the constant object of contention since its commencement, to a raw and despised militia, seemed, exclusive of all other ill consequences, a disgrace not to be borne. But these brave men had, by a variety of events, and perhaps it will be thought, through original error and misconduct in the arrangement of the war, been reduced to such circumstances, and hedged in in such a manner, that no means were left for an exertion of their force and courage, that were not subject to the

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the greatest danger, without affording a prospect of success.

Fortune prevented this perilous trial in the first instance. On the day that succeeded the tempest, the design was reassumed; but upon a nearer inspection it was discovered, that a new work had been thrown up, which was stronger than any of the former, and that the whole were now so completely fortified, that all hope of forcing them was at an end. It became clear also, that Boston was not a situation very happily chosen for the improvement of any advantage which might be obtained towards the reduction of the colonies.

Nothing now remained but to abandon the town, and to convey the troops, artillery, and stores, on board the ships. Nor was this last resort free from difficulty and danger. The enemy, however, continued quiet in their works, and made not the smallest attempt to obstruct the embarkation, or even to molest the rear. It is said, and though it was positively denied by the ministers in both houses, seems to be generally believed, that some kind of convention or agreement, whether verbal, or only understood by secondary means, was established between the commanders in chief on each side, and that the abstaining from hostility on the one, was the condition of saving the town on the other. In proof of this it is affirmed, that combustibles were ready laid for firing the town, and that the selectmen were permitted to go out, and to hold a conference with Gen. Washington upon the subject.

Notwithstanding this security, the embarkation could not be regulated in such a manner, though

ten days were spent in carrying it into execution, as to prevent some degree of precipitation, disorder, and loss. It resembled more the emigration of a nation, than the breaking up of a camp. 1500 of the inhabitants, whose attachment to the royal cause had rendered them obnoxious to their countrymen, incumbered the transports with their families and effects. The officers had laid out their money in furniture, and such other conveniences, as were necessary to render their situation tolerable; no purchasers could be procured for these effects; and it would have been cruelly in the extreme to many of them, to have been under a necessity of leaving their whole substance behind. The soldiers were embarrassed by their continual duty, and all carriages and labour that could be procured in the town were of course monopolized by the emigrant inhabitants. Every person had some private concern, which was sufficient to occupy his time and thoughts. The sick, wounded, women, and children, called for every care and attention, and of course increased the embarrassment and distress. It will not be difficult to suppose some part of the confusion incident to such circumstances.

The General's situation was truly pitiable. But he bore it with great fortitude; and conducted the whole with admirable temper. Some discontents appeared, which were to be endured and allayed. Scarcity of provisions, and ill success, always breed discontent in camps. This was in some measure the case at present. The General having received no advice from England since the preceding

[*K] 3 month

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month of October, they considered themselves in a great measure as abandoned, and left to extricate themselves as they might out of the unfortunate situation in which they had been involved. Discontents are exceedingly fruitful; one generating a number of others in a very small space of time. Mutual jealousies prevailed between the army and navy; each attributing to the other the cause of some part of that uneasiness which itself felt. The intended voyage to Halifax was subject to circumstances of a very alarming nature. The coast, at all times dangerous, was dreadfully so at this tempestuous equinoctial season, and the multitude of ships, which amounted to about 150, increased the difficulty and apprehension. As the high north-east winds now prevailed, they were also liable to be blown off to the West Indies, without a stock of provisions in any degree sufficient to subsist them in such a passage. And, to render matters still more irksome, they were going to a sterile miserable country, which was incapable of affording those reliefs which they so much wanted. It could not pass the observation, and was highly vexatious to the military, that all this dangerous voyage, if completed, was directly so much out of their way. They were going to the northern extremity of the continent, when their business lay in the southern, or at least about the center.

The necessity of the situation left no choice of measures, and regret was useless. As the March 17, rear embarked, Gen. 1776. Washington marched into the town, with drums beating, colours flying, and in all the

triumph of victory. He was received by the remaining inhabitants, and acknowledged by the refugees, who now recovered their ancient possessions, with every mark of respect and gratitude, that could possibly be shewn to a deliverer. The assembly of the province were not less zealous in their public acknowledgments. His answer was proper, moderate, and becoming his situation. The king's forces were under a necessity of leaving a considerable quantity of artillery and some stores behind. The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boston Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unserviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented their having any great effect. Some mortars and pieces of cannon which were thrown into the water, were afterwards weighed up by the town's people.

Thus was the long contested town of Boston at length given up, the colony of Massachusetts's Bay, for the present, freed from war, and left at liberty to adopt every measure which could tend to its future strength and security. It was above a week before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but they had ample amends made them in the passage, the voyage to Halifax being shorter and happier than could have been hoped for. Several ships of war were left behind to protect the vessels which should arrive from England; in which, however, they were not perfectly successful, the great extent of the Bay, with its numerous islands and creeks, and the number of small ports that surround it, affording such opportunities to the provincial armed boats,

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boats, and small privateers, that they took a number of these ships, which were still in ignorance that the town had changed masters.

As several movements made by the rebels, and particularly their taking stations on the neighbouring islands, indicated a design of attacking Castle William, the possession of which would be the means of locking up the ships of war in the harbour, and of rendering all future attempts upon the town by sea impracticable, General Howe thought it necessary to blow up and demolish the fortifications on that island before his departure.

General Washington was now in possession of the capital of Massachusetts Bay; but being ignorant of the destination of the fleet, and apprehensive of an attempt upon New York, he detached several regiments for the protection of that city, on the very day upon which he took possession of Boston. The royal army were not, however, at that time, in circumstances that admitted of their undertaking any expedition. They did not exceed, it is said, nine thousand healthy and effective men, and were in other respects by no means sufficiently provided.

The estates and effects of those emigrants who had accompanied Gen. Howe to Halifax, were ordered to be sold, and the produce applied to the public service. Some who ventured to stay behind, though they knew themselves to be obnoxious to the present government, were brought to trial as public enemies, and betrayers of their country; and the estates of such as were found guilty were confiscated in the same manner. But nothing occupied so much at

present the minds of the people of Boston, or had so much attention paid to it by the province in general, as the putting of that town in such a state of defence, as might prevent a repetition of those evils which it had lately undergone. For this purpose, the greatest diligence was used in fortifying the town and harbour; some foreign engineers were procured to superintend the works, and every inhabitant dedicated two days in the week to their construction. Great doubts may, however, be entertained, whether Boston can be rendered tenable against an army, though these works may preserve it from insult.

During these transactions at Boston, the blockade of Quebec was continued under great difficulties by Arnold. Reinforcements arrived slowly, and the Canadians, who are not by any means remarkable for constancy, were disheartened and wavering. It seems as if the Congress was unequal in conduct, as well as resources, to the management of so many operations at the same time. The succours that were sent, suffered incredible hardships in their march; which they endured with that fortitude which had hitherto distinguished the Provincials in this war. On the other hand, General Carleton guarded, with his usual vigilance, against every effort of fraud, force, and surprize; but as all supplies were cut off from the country, the inhabitants and garrison experienced many distresses.

As the season approached, in which supplies from England were inevitable, the Americans grew more active in their operations. They again renewed the siege,

and erected batteries, and made several attempts by fire-ships, and otherwise, to burn the vessels in the harbour. They failed in these attempts, though some of them were very boldly conducted; and their troops were at one time drawn up, and scaling ladders, with every other preparation, in readiness for storming the town, during the confusion which they expected the fire would have produced. Though they had not all the success they wished, they however burnt a great part of the suburbs, and the remaining houses being pulled down to prevent the spreading of the conflagration, afforded a most seasonable relief of fuel to the town, which had for some time been exceedingly distressed through the want of that necessary. During this state of things, a party of Canadians which had been embodied March 25th. by Mr. Beaujeu, with a design of raising the siege, were encountered on their march, and easily dispersed by a detachment of the rebels.

This small success was not long sufficient to support the spirits of the provincials. Having failed in all their attempts with shells, fire-ships, and red hot balls, to cause a conflagration in the city, their hope of taking it by storm ceased, whilst that of succeeding by a regular siege was daily lessened; indeed their artillery was far enough from being equal to any great service. Although considerable reinforcements arrived in the remote parts of the province, the various impediments of bad roads, bad weather, and the want of necessaries suitable to the service, prevented their being able to join them. In the state of despondency conse-

quent of these circumstances, that scourge and terror of the western continent and of its numerous nations, the small pox, broke out, and made its usual cruel ravages amongst them. Nor was the immediate effect with respect to life or health the worst consequence of the calamity; for that disorder being considered as the American plague, and regarded with all the horror incident to that name, the dread of infection broke in upon every other consideration, and rendered it difficult, if not impracticable, to sustain discipline, or preserve order.

In this situation, the provincial accounts inform us, that they intended to raise the siege before the arrival of the succours from England, and that Gen. Wooster, who at that time held the command, with some other of the principal officers, had already gone to Montreal to make some preparations necessary for the facilitating of that purpose. If such a design was formed, it was prevented from being carried successfully into execution, by the zeal and activity of the officers and crews of the *His man of war*, and of two frigates, which were the first that had sailed from England with succours, and who with great labour, conduct, and resolution, having forced their way through the ice, arrived at Quebec before the passage was deemed practicable. The unexpected sight of the ships threw the besiegers into the greatest consternation, which was not lessened by the immediate effect of their cutting off all communication between their forces on the different sides of the river.

General Carleton was too well
versed

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versed in military affairs, to lose any time in seizing the advantages which the present situation afforded. A small detachment of land forces which arrived in the ships of war, together with their marines, being landed with the utmost expedition, and joined to the garrison, the March 6th. Governor immediately headed to attack the rebel camp. There he found every thing in the utmost confusion; they had not even covered themselves with an intrenchment, and having already begun a retreat, upon the appearance of our troops they fled on all sides, abandoning their artillery, military stores, scaling ladders, and other matters of incumbrance. The flight was so precipitate as scarcely to admit of any execution; nor were the King's forces in any condition for a pursuit, if prudence could even have justified the measure. Some of the sick became prisoners. During this transaction, our smaller ships of war made their way up the river with such expedition and success, that they took several small vessels belonging to the enemy, and retook the Gaspee sloop of war, which they had seized in the beginning of the preceding winter.

Thus was the mixed siege and blockade of Quebec raised, after a continuance of about five months. And thus was Canada preserved by a fortitude and constancy, which must ever be remembered with honour to the Governor and garrison. From this time, the provincials experienced a continued series of losses and misfortunes in that province. The Governor shewed he was worthy of his success by an act which immediately succeeded

it, and which does great honour to his humanity. A number of the sick and wounded provincials lay scattered about and hid in the neighbouring woods and villages, where they were in the greatest danger of perishing under the complicated pressure of want, fear, and disease. To prevent this melancholy consequence, he issued a proclamation, commanding the proper officers to find out these unhappy persons, and to afford them all necessary relief and assistance at the public expence; whilst, to render the benefit complete, and to prevent obstinacy or apprehension from marring its effect, he assured them, that as soon as they were recovered they should have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.

Towards the end of May, several regiments from Ireland, one from England, another from General Howe, together with the Brunswick troops, arrived successfully in Canada; so that the whole force in that province, when completed, was estimated at about 13,000 men. The general rendezvous was at Three Rivers, which lies half way between Quebec and Montreal; and at the computed distance of about ninety miles from each. This place lies on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and takes its name from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whose waters are discharged thro' three mouths into that great reservoir.

The provincials continued their retreat till they arrived in the borders of the river Sorel, which falls into the St. Lawrence at the distance of about 140 miles from Quebec, where they joined some of those
reinforce-

reinforcements that had not been able to proceed farther to their assistance; but the whole were now sunk in spirit, and debilitated in act. To complete their misfortunes, the small-pox had spread through all their quarters.

These discouraging circumstances were not sufficient to damp the spirit of enterprize in their leaders. A very daring, and not ill laid plan, was formed for the surprize of the King's forces at the Three Rivers; which, if it had been attended with all the success it was capable of, might have been ranked among the most considerable military achievements of that nature.

The British and Brunswick forces were at this time much separated. A considerable body were stationed at Three Rivers, under the command of Brigadier General Frazer. Another, under that of Brigadier General Nesbit, lay near them on board the transports. A greater than either, along with the Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips, and the German General Reidesel, were in several divisions, by land and water, on the way from Quebec. The distance from Sorel was about fifty miles, and several armed vessels and transports full of troops, which had got higher up than Three Rivers, lay full in the way.

In the face of all these difficulties, a body of above 2000 men, under the command of a Major General Thompson, embarked at Sorel in fifty boats, and coasting the south side of what is called the Lake of St. Peter, where the St. Lawrence spreads to a great extent, arrived at Nicolet, from whence they fell down the river by night, and passed to the other side, with

an intention of surprizing the forces under General Frazer. Three Rivers is rather to be considered as a long village, than a regular town; and the design was, that it should be attacked, a little before break of day, and at the same instant, by a strong detachment at each end, while two smaller were drawn up in readiness to cover or support them. If the success should have proved complete, the design was extended to the destruction of all those vessels which lay near the shore.

The concurrent circumstances necessary to give effect to this design were too numerous to afford any strong confidence of success. It was one of those bold undertakings which might have been productive of great advantage; but which was of too perilous a nature for any thing less than the most desperate situation of affairs to justify. They missed their time by about an hour, which, though they passed the armed ships without observation, occasioned their being discovered, and the alarm given at their landing. They afterwards got into bad grounds, and were involved in many other difficulties, which threw them into disorder and confusion. In this state, June 8th. they found General Frazer's corps in preparation to receive them, having landed several light six pounders, which were played upon them with great effect. While they were thus engaged in front, Brigadier Nesbit, whose transports lay higher up the river, landed his forces full in their way back.

Nothing was left but a retreat, the accomplishment of which was more to be wished for than hoped.

Nesbit's

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Nesbit's corps kept the river side to prevent their escape to the boats, while Frazer's, in pursuit, galled them severely with their light artillery. Between both, they were driven for some miles through a deep swamp, which they traversed with inconceivable toil, exposed to constant danger, and enduring every degree of distress. The British troops at length grew tired of the pursuit, and the woods afforded them a wished-for shelter. The first and second in command, with about 200 others, were taken prisoners. It will be easily conceived that our loss was trifling.

This was the last appearance of vigour shown by the provincials in Canada. The whole army having joined at Three Rivers, pushed forwards by land and water with great expedition. When the 14th.

fleet arrived at Sorel, they found the enemy had abandoned that place some hours before, dismantled the batteries which they had erected to defend the entrance into that river, and had carried off their artillery and stores. A strong column was here landed under the command of General Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorel to St. John's, while the remainder of the fleet and army sailed up the river to Longueuil, the place of passage from the island of Montreal to La Prairie on the continent. Here they discovered that the rebels had abandoned the city and island of Montreal on the preceding evening, and that if the wind had been favourable, they might have met at this place. The army was immediately landed on the continent, and marching by La Prairie, crossed the peninsula formed by the St. Lawrence and

the Sorel, in order to join General Burgoyne at St. John's, where they expected a stand, and a strong resistance would have been made.

That General pursued his march along the Sorel without intermission; but with that caution necessary in a country not wholly cleared of the enemy, and where their last and most desperate efforts were to be expected. He arrived at St. John's on the evening of the 18th, where he found the buildings in flames, and nearly every thing destroyed that could not be carried off. The Provincials acted in the same manner at Chamblee, and burned such vessels as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, where they immediately embarked for Crown Point. Though their flight was precipitate, they sustained no loss, and a General Sullivan, who commanded in the retreat, received public thanks for the prudence with which he conducted it, by which he saved their ruined army, at a time, they say, when it was encumbered with a vast multitude of sick, most of whom were ill of the small-pox.

Thus was an end happily put to the war in Canada. The pleasure of which was, however, considerably checked, by the restraint which was now laid upon the further operation of the army in that quarter. For as the enemy were masters of Lake Champlain, it was impossible for the forces to proceed to the southward, until such a number of vessels were constructed or obtained, as would afford a superiority, and enable them to traverse that lake with safety. The doing this was a work of labour and time; for though six armed vessels were

were sent from England for that purpose, the falls of Chamblee rendered the means of conveying them to the lake highly difficult, and a matter which required much ingenuity and industry. A vast number of other vessels were also necessarily to be constructed both for conveyance and protection.

The necessity under which we have seen Governor Martin, obliged to seek refuge on board a ship of war in Cape Fear river, did not damp his ardour in the public service, nor restrain his attempts to reduce the province of North Carolina to obedience. His confidence of success was increased, by the knowledge he had, that a squadron of men of war with seven regiments, under the conduct of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis, were to depart from Ireland on an expedition to the southern provinces in the beginning of the year, and that North Carolina was their first, if not principal object. He also knew that General Clinton, with a small detachment, was on his way from Boston to meet them at Cape Fear.

The connection he had formed with a body of desperate people, lately considered as rebels to the King's government, now equally enemies to the provincial establishment, whom we have frequently had occasion to take notice of under the name of *Regulators*, as well as with the Highland emigrants, seemed to insure the reduction of the insurgents, even independent of the expected force. That colony was deemed the weakest in America, except Georgia; and the two parties we have mentioned were numerous, active, daring, and the former were at this time,

as well as the latter, zealously attached to the royal cause. The Highlanders were considered as naturally warlike, and the Regulators, from situation, habits, and manner of living, to be much bolder, hardier, and better marksmen, than those who had been bred to other courses, and in more civilized parts of the country.

The Governor sent several commissions to these people for the raising and commanding of regiments, and granted another to a Mr. M'Donald to act as their General. He also sent them a proclamation, commanding all persons, on their allegiance, to repair to the royal standard, which was erected by General M'Donald about the middle of February.

Upon the first advice of their assembling at a place called Cross Creek, Brigadier General Moore immediately marched at the head of the Provincial regiment which he commanded, with such militia as he could suddenly collect, and some pieces of cannon, within a few miles of them, and took possession of an important post called Rockfish-Bridge, which, as he was much inferior in strength, he immediately intrenched and rendered defensible. He had not been many days in this position, where he was receiving and expecting succours, when General M'Donald Feb. 15th. approached at the head of his army, and sent a letter to Moore, inclosing the Governor's proclamation, and recommending to him and his party to join the King's standard by a given hour the next day, or that he must be under the necessity of considering them as enemies.

As Moore knew that the Provincial

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cial forces were marching from all quarters, he protracted the negotiation, in hopes that the Tory army, as they called it, might have been surrounded. In his final answer he declared, that he and his officers considered themselves as engaged in a cause the most glorious and honourable in the world, the defence of the liberties of mankind; he reminded the emigrants of the ungrateful return they made to the kind reception they met in the colony; and the General, with some of his officers, of an oath they had taken a little before, and upon which they were permitted to come into the country, that they only came to see their friends and relations, without any concern whatever in public affairs. In return to the proclamation, he sent them the test proposed by the Congress, with a proffer, that if they subscribed it, and laid down their arms, they should be received as friends; but if they refused to comply, they must expect consequences similar to those which they had held out to his people.

In the mean time, M'Donald perceived the danger he was in of being enclosed, and abruptly quitting his ground, endeavoured, with considerable dexterity, by forced marches, the unexpected passing of rivers, and the greatest celerity of movement, to disengage himself. It seems, the great and immediate object in view with this party, was to bring Governor Martin, with Lord William Campbell, and General Clinton, who had by this time joined them, into the interior country, which they judged would be a means of uniting all the back settlers of the southern colonies in the royal cause, of

bringing forward the Indians, and of encouraging the well-affected to shew themselves in all places.

The provincial parties were, however, so close in the pursuit, and so alert in cutting the country, and seizing the passes, that M'Donald at length found himself under a necessity of engaging a Colonel Caswell, who, with about a thousand militia and minute-men, had taken possession of a place called Moore's Creek Bridge, where they had thrown up an intrenchment. The royalists were by all accounts much superior in number, having been rated from 3000 to 1500, which last number M'Donald, after the action, acknowledged them to be. The emigrants Feb. 27th. began the attack with great fury; but M'Cleod, the second in command, and a few more of their bravest officers and men being killed at the first onset, they suddenly lost all spirit, fled with the utmost precipitation, and, as the provincials say, deserted their General, who was taken prisoner, as were nearly all their leaders, and the rest totally broken and dispersed.

This victory was a matter of great exultation and triumph to the Carolinians. They had shewn that their province was not so weak as was imagined; for though their force actually in the engagement were not considerable, they had raised 10,000 men in about ten days. But what was still more flattering, and, perhaps, not of less real importance, they had encountered Europeans (who were supposed to hold them in the most sovereign contempt, both as men and as soldiers) in the field, and defeated them with an inferior force.

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If the zeal of these people could have been kept dormant until the arrival of the force from Ireland, it seems more than probable that the southern colonies would have considerably felt the impression of such an insurrection. But now, their force and spirits were so entirely broken, their leaders being sent to different prisons, and the rest stripped of their arms, and watched with all the eyes of distrust, that no future effort could be reasonably expected from them. Perhaps too great a dependence was laid on their power and prowess, while those of the opposite side were measured with a scale equally deceitful. It is, however, extremely difficult to regulate or restrain the caprice or violence of those leaders who assume authority in such seasons.

A squadron of five frigates were sent out by the Congress early in the year, under the command of one Hopkins, who failed with them to the Bahama islands; where they stripped that of Providence, which is the principal, of a considerable quantity of artillery and stores; but were disappointed in the powder, which they most wanted, through the prudence of the Governor, who sent 150 barrels of it away in a small vessel, the night before they landed. They brought off the governor, and some other public officers, as prisoners; and after taking several prizes in their return, fell in at length with the Glasgow frigate of war, accompanied with a tender, the latter of which they took, and the former escaped with difficulty after a very sharp engagement.

Lord Dunmore, with his fleet

of fugitives, continued on the coasts and in the rivers of Virginia for a great part of the year; and as every place was now strictly guarded, these unhappy people, who had put themselves under his protection, underwent great distresses. The heat of the weather, the badness and scarcity of water and provisions, with the closeness and filth of the small vessels in which they were crowded, by degrees produced that malignant and infectious distemper, which is known by the name of the Jail or Pestilential Fever. This dreadful disorder made great havoc among them, but particularly affected the negroes, most of whom it swept away. After various adventures, in which they were driven from place to place, and from island to island, by the Virginians, several of the vessels were driven on shore in a gale of wind, and the wretched fugitives became captives to their own countrymen. At length, every place being shut against, and hostile to the remainder, and neither water nor provisions to be obtained, even at the expence of blood, it was found necessary, towards the beginning of August, to burn the smaller and least valuable vessels, and to send the remainder, amounting to between 40 and 50 sail, with the exiles, to seek shelter and retreat in Florida, Bermudas, and the West-Indies. In this manner ended the hopes entertained by the employment of the negroes to suppress the rebellion in the southern colonies. This measure, rather invidious than powerful, tended infinitely to inflame the discontents in those colonies, without adding any thing to the strength of the royal arms. The unhappy creatures

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creatures who engaged in it are said to have perished almost to a man.

It had for some time past been the fortune of the fleets, transports, and victuallers, which had been sent to America, to meet with such exceedingly bad weather on their passage, such delays and so many untoward circumstances of different sorts, as in a great degree frustrated the end of their destination. Sir Peter Parker's Squadron, which sailed from Portsmouth at the close of the year, from an unexpected delay in Ireland, and bad weather afterwards, did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May, where they were detained by various causes till the end of the month. There they found General Clinton, who had already been at New-York, and from thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had seen Lord Dunmore, and finding that no service could be effected at either place with his small force, came thither to wait for them.

The season of the year was much against the operations of the troops at this time in the southern colonies, the excessive heat having rendered them sickly even at Cape Fear, notwithstanding the plenty of refreshments they procured, and the little labour they had upon their hands. Something, however, must be done, and Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina, was within the line of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis's instructions. They had but little knowledge of General Howe's situation; the only information that General Clinton received of his evacuating Boston being from the American newspapers. And it happened unluckily, that a vessel, which General

Howe had dispatched from Halifax with orders for their proceeding to the northward, met with such delays in her passage, that she did not arrive at Cape Fear till after their departure.

The fleet anchored off Charlestown Bar in the beginning of June. They were joined before they proceeded to action by the Experiment man of war; and the naval force then consisted of the Commodore Sir Peter Parker's ship, the Bristol, of 50 guns; the Experiment, of the same force; the Active, Solebay, Aetona, and Syren frigates, of 28 guns each; the Sphinx of 20, a hired armed ship of 22, a small sloop of war, an armed schooner, and the Thunder bomb-ketch. The passing of the bar was a matter of time, difficulty, and danger, especially to the two large ships, which notwithstanding the taking out of their guns, and the using of every other means to lighten them as much as possible, both touched the ground, and stuck several times.

The land forces were commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Brigadier General Vaughan. It was remarkable that at the time General Clinton sailed from Boston, General Lee, at the head of a strong detachment from the army before that place, immediately set out to secure New-York from the attempt which it was supposed the former would have made upon that city. Having succeeded in that object, General Clinton could not but be surprized, at his arrival in Virginia, to find Lee in possession, and in the same state of preparation, in which he had left him at New-York. Upon his departure for Cape Fear, Lee again traversed

traversed the continent with the utmost expedition to secure North-Carolina. And at length, upon the further progress of the fleet and army to the southward, Lee again proceeded with equal celerity to the defence of Charlestown.

The first object of our forces, after passing the bar, was the attack of a fort which had been lately erected, though not made altogether complete, upon the south-west point of Sullivan's Island. This fort commanded the passage to Charlestown, which lay farther west, at about six miles distance; and, notwithstanding the lateness of its construction, was with propriety considered as the key of that harbour. It is said to have been represented to our commanders as in even a more imperfect state than it was found in; but if the description had been otherwise, it is not probable they would have expected that a raw militia could have been able, for any length of time, to have supported the great weight of fire from our ships, even excluding the co-operation of the land forces.

The troops were landed on Long Island, which lies nearer, and to the eastward of Sullivan's; being separated only by some shoals, and a creek called the Breach, which are deemed passable at low water, the ford being represented to our officers as only eighteen inches in depth in that state. The Carolinians had posted some forces with a few pieces of cannon near the north-eastern extremity of Sullivan's Island, at the distance of near two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the passage of the royal army over the breach. General Lee was encamped with a considerable body

of forces on the continent, at the back and to the northward of the island, with which he held a communication open by a bridge of boats, and could by that means, at any time, march the whole, or any part of his force, to support that post which was opposed to our passage from Long Island. The latter is a naked burning sand, where the troops suffered greatly from their exposure to the intense heat of the sun. Both the fleet and army were greatly distressed through the badness of the water; that which is found upon the sea coasts of South Carolina being every where brackish. Nor were they in a much better condition, with respect either to the quantity or quality of provisions.

Notwithstanding the dispatch which these inconveniencies rendered necessary, such delays occurred in carrying the design into execution, that it was near the end of the month before the attack upon Sullivan's Island took place; a season which was applied by the enemy with great assiduity to the completion of their works. Every thing being at length settled between the commanders by sea and land, the Thunder bomb, covered by the armed ship, June 28th.

took her station in the morning, and began the attack, by throwing shells at the fort as the fleet advanced. About eleven o'clock, the Bristol, Experiment, Active, and Solebay, brought up directly against the fort, and began a most furious and incessant cannonade. The Sphinx, Acteon, and Syren, were ordered to the westward, to take their station between the end of the island and Charlestown, partly thereby to enfilade

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enfilade the works of the fort, partly, if possible, to cut off the communication between the island and the continent, which would, of course, cut off the retreat of the garrison, as well as all succours from the latter; and partly to prevent any attempts that might be made by fire-ships, or otherwise, to interrupt the grand attack. This part of the design was rendered unfortunate by the strange unskilfulness of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the shoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all stuck fast; and though two of them were in some time with damage and difficulty got off, it was then too late, and they were besides in no condition to execute the intended service. The *Astreon* could not be got off, and was burnt by the officers and crew the next morning, to prevent her materials and stores from becoming a prey to the enemy.

Whilst the continued thunder from the ships seemed sufficient to shake the firmness of the bravest enemy, and daunt the courage of the most veteran soldier, the return made by the fort could not fail of calling for the respect, as well as of highly incommoding the brave seamen of Britain. In the midst of that dreadful roar of artillery, they stuck with the greatest constancy and firmness to their guns; fired deliberately and slowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ships suffered accordingly; they were torn almost to pieces, and the slaughter was dreadful. Never did British valour shine more conspicuous, nor never did our marine, in an engagement of the same nature with any foreign enemy, experience so rude an encounter. The springs of the *Bristol's* cable being

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cut by the shot, she lay for some time exposed in such a manner to the enemy's fire, as to be most dreadfully raked. The brave Captain Morris, after receiving a number of wounds, which would have sufficiently justified a gallant man in retiring from his station, still with a noble obstinacy disdained to quit his duty, until his arm being at length shot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a possibility of recovery. It is said that the quarter deck of the *Bristol* was at one time cleared of every person but the Commodore, who stood alone, a spectacle of intrepidity and firmness, which have seldom been equalled, never exceeded. The others on that deck were either killed, or carried down to have their wounds dressed. Nor did Captain Scott, of the *Experiment*, miss his share of the danger or glory, who, beside the loss of an arm, received so many other wounds, that his life was at first despaired of.

The fire from the British ships was not thrown away; though it did not produce all the effect which was hoped and expected. But the fortifications were much firmer than they had been thought, and their lowness preserved them in a great degree from the weight of our shot. They were composed of palm-trees and earth, and the merrons were of an unusual thickness. The guns were at one time so long silenced, that it was thought the fort had been abandoned. It seems extraordinary, that a detachment of the land forces were not in readiness on board the transports or boats to profit of such an occasion. But these are only a part of the circumstances relative to this engagement

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agement which have never been sufficiently cleared up. The praise bestowed upon the garrison for the constancy and bravery of their defence, by the Americans in general, as well as by General Lee, shew, that they neither abandoned their guns, nor were changed; however they might be, and undoubtedly were, reinforced. It appears by their accounts, that the silence of the fort proceeded from the expenditure of all their powder, and the waiting for a supply from the continent; which, probably, did not arrive the sooner, from the necessity of its being conveyed through the line of fire from the men of war.

During this long, hot, and obstinate conflict, the seamen looked frequently and impatiently to the eastward, still expecting to see the land forces advance from Long Island, drive the rebels from their intrenchment, and march up to second the attack upon the fort. In these hopes they were grievously disappointed. Such various accounts have been given of the cause of this inaction of the land forces, that it is difficult to form any decided opinion upon the subject. The Gazette, from whence a satisfactory solution of all difficulties might be expected, is so totally defective and dissatisfactory, that it seems to have laid a foundation for every other error and contradiction relative to this business. That account says, that the King's forces were stopped by an impracticable depth of water, where they expected to have passed nearly dry-shod. To suppose that the Generals, and the officers under their command, should have been nineteen days in that small island, without ever examining, until the

very instant of action, the nature of the only passage by which they could render service to their friends and fellows, fulfil the purpose of their landing, and answer the ends for which they were embarked in the expedition, would seem a great defect in military prudence and circumspection. But there might be reasons for concealing a true state of the affair. Until that state appears, it would be unjust to lay any imputation on the officers concerned in so critical a service. The only rational solution of the fact, must, for the present, be drawn from the different American accounts. From these it is to be inferred, that the post which the rebels possessed at the end of Sullivan's Island, was in so strong a state of defence, the approaches on our side so disadvantageous, and Lee's force in such preparation and capability of crushing us in the conflict, that General Clinton would have run the most manifest and inexcusable risque, of the ruin, if not total loss, of his forces, if he had ventured upon an attack. To this it may be added, that it was only upon a near approach that our people acquired any certain knowledge of the force of the enemy.

The action continued, until the darkness of the night compelled that cessation, which the eagerness of the assailants, worn down as they were with fatigue, and weakened with loss, was still unwilling to accept. Sir Peter Parker, after every effort of which a brave man is capable, finding that all hope of success was at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly spent, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening withdrew his shattered vessels from the scene of action, after an engagement

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ment which had been supported with uncommon courage and vigour for above ten hours. The Bristol had 111, and the Experiment 79, men killed and wounded; and both ships had received so much damage, that the provincials conceived strong hopes, that they could never be got over the bar. The frigates, though not less emulous in the performance of their duty, being less pointed at than the great ships, did not suffer a proportional loss. The bomb vessel did not do all the service upon this occasion which was expected; whether it was from overcharging, in consequence of having originally taken too great a distance, which has been said, or whether it proceeded from some fault in the construction, which seems more probable; however it was, the beds of the mortars were in some time so loosened and shattered as to become utterly unserviceable.

Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in the fort, received great and deserved applause from his countrymen, for the courage and conduct by which he was so much distinguished in its defence. The garrison also received a great share of praise, and a serjeant was publicly distinguished by a present of a sword from the President of the colony, for a particular act of great bravery.

During these transactions, the Congress took an opportunity of feeling the general pulse of the people, and of preparing them for the May 15th. declaration of independence which was to follow, by a kind of circular manifesto to the several colonies, stating the causes which rendered it, as they said, necessary, that all

authority under the crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government taken respectively into their own hands. In support of this position, they instanced the Prohibitory Act, by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown; the rejection of their petition for redress of grievances and reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the force of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, for their destruction. They concluded with a recommendation to those colonies, whose government was not already sufficient, to proceed to the establishment of such a form, as was necessary to the preservation of internal peace, and suited to the present exigency of their affairs, for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies.

Pennsylvania and Maryland were the only colonies that in part opposed the establishment of a new government, and the declaration of independency. A majority in the assembly of the former, though eager for a redress of grievances, regarded with horror every idea of a total separation from the parent state. But though they knew that great numbers in the province held similar sentiments, they were also sensible, that the more violent formed a very numerous and powerful body; that they had already taken fire at their hesitation, and considered them rather as secret enemies, than luke-warm friends. Their situation was besides difficult. If they broke the union of the colonies, and thereby forfeited the assistance and protection of the others, they had no certainty of

obtaining a redress of those grievances, nor the security of those rights, for which they were as willing to contend in their own way as the most violent; but were not yet willing to give up all hope, nor to break off all possibility of accommodation. Thus critically circumstanced, they declared, that the question of independence was a matter of too great importance for them to decide finally upon, and that they would therefore refer it to their constituents, together with the arguments which had been used on both sides of the question.

It was manifestly a step from which it would not be easy to retreat. On one hand, the separation from Great-Britain, even if it could be finally accomplished, must be attended with many evident inconveniences. The protection of the great parent state, and the utility of the power of a common sovereign to balance so many separate, and, possibly, discordant commonwealths, besides many political and many commercial advantages derived from the old union, must appear in a clear light to every sober and discerning person. On the other hand, it was said, that their liberty was their first good, without which all the other advantages would be of no value. That if they were to submit to a great standing army, composed of foreigners as well as English, composed in part even of their own slaves, and of savages, what terms were they to hope for? The moment their arms were laid down, they must be at the mercy of their enemy. For what end did they take up these arms? If it was to secure their liberty, to lay them down without that security, would

be to own, that their first resistance was causeless rebellion; and the pardon offered, was the only satisfaction for the present, or security for the future, they were given to expect. Did they resist power only to obtain a pardon? were they so absurd originally, or are they so cowardly now? If then their object is refused to all their entreaties by Great Britain; if she abandons them to plunder without redemption, except on unconditional submission, how is the object of their resistance to be obtained? By war only. But as long as they acknowledge the claims of the crown of Great Britain, so long will their councils and their generals be destitute of all civil and military authority. The war they carry on must of course be irregular, feeble, and without the smallest prospect of success. Orders will be given, which none will be obliged to obey; and conspiracies and mutinies will be formed, which none will have a just power to punish or repress. Neither will any foreign power give them any support against the hostile combinations of Great Britain, and so many foreign powers as she has called to her assistance, so long as they hold themselves to be subjects. We do not break the connexion (said they); it is already broke and dissolved by an act of parliament; and thus abandoned, all laws human and divine not only permit, but demand of us, to provide every internal and external means for our own preservation.

In these sentiments, by a reference to the people, the matter was brought to a fair trial of strength between the two parties; when it was carried by great majorities, that the delegates should agree to the

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the determination of the Congress. This decision, however, occasioned much dissention in the province, and has founded a considerable party in opposition to the present government.

In Maryland, the delegates were instructed, by a majority of seven counties to four, to oppose the question of independency in the Congress; which they accordingly did; and having given their votes, withdrew totally from that assembly. But the horror of being secluded and abandoned, together with the reproaches of the others, and perhaps the dread of their resentment, soon gave a new turn to the conduct, if not to the disposition of that province. The delegates were again instructed to return to the Congress, and to act there, as they thought best for the interest of their country. This completed the union of the colonies in that measure.

The fatal day at length arrived, which, (however the final consequences may be) must be deeply regretted by every true friend to this empire, when July 4th. thirteen English colonies in America declared themselves free and independent states, abjured all allegiance to the British crown, and renounced all political connexion with this country. Such are the unhappy consequences of civil contention. Such the effects that may proceed from too great a jealousy of power on the one side, or an ill-timed doubt of obedience on the other. The declaration has been seen by every body; it contains a long catalogue of grievances, with not fewer invectives; and is not more temperate in style or composition, than it is in act.

There were three principal ob-

jects proposed in the conduct of the British forces in the present campaign. The first was the relief of Quebec, and the redemption of Canada, which also included the subsequent invasion of the back parts of the colonies by the way of the lakes. The second was the making a strong impression on the southern colonies, which it was hoped would at least have succeeded so far as to the recovery of one of them. The third was the grand expedition against the city and province of New York.

Of the two collateral parts of this plan we have already seen the event, so far as the first was yet capable of being carried into execution. On the third, the greatest hopes of success were not unjustly founded. Much the better part of the province of New York is enclosed in islands, which being long and narrow, were exposed on all sides to the hostility of our fleets, and to the descents of our troops, with every advantage in their favour, whilst they continued in a state of enmity. When reduced, the protection of the ships of war would be as effectual in their preservation, as their hostility had been in their reduction. The central situation of this province afforded great advantages. The war could be carried on with equal facility either in Connecticut, and the continent of New-York on the eastern side, or in New Jersey, and from thence to Pennsylvania on the western; or it may be transferred to and from either at pleasure. So that this position enabled the British commander to prescribe the scene of action, and to quit it when he liked; while, if the army was withdrawn from the field, he might,

by the means of the great north river, and the different channels between the islands and the main land, with his ships and detachments, harass and ruin the adjoining countries; at the same time that the rebels, however powerful, could make no attempt on the island, that would not be attended with the greatest disadvantages, and liable to the most imminent danger. Another great object in view from this situation, was, that if General Carleton could penetrate to Hudson's, or the great north river, General Howe might thereby totally cut off all communication between the northern and southern provinces. To crown these advantages, Long Island, which is very fertile in wheat and all other corn, and abounded with herds and flocks, was deemed almost equal in itself to the maintenance of an army. The inhabitants were also supposed to be in general well affected to the royal cause.

The attainment of these great objects, and the conduct of the grand armament which was necessary to the purpose, were committed to Admiral Lord Howe, and his brother the General; men who stood high in the opinion and confidence of the nation, as well from their own merits and services, as from the military character and bravery of the family. To this service was allotted a very powerful army, consisting, besides the national forces, of about 13,000 Hessians and Waldeckers. The whole force, if the different parts of which it was composed could have been united in the beginning of the campaign, it was supposed, would have amounted to about

35,000 men. It will be easily conceived, by those acquainted with military affairs, that all calculations of this nature, though founded upon the best official information, will far exceed, even at a much nearer distance than America, the real effective number that can ever be brought to action. This force, when united, was, however, truly formidable, and such as no part of the new world had ever seen before. Nor was it, perhaps, ever exceeded by any army in Europe of an equal number, whether considered with respect to the excellency of the troops, the abundant provision of all manner of military stores and warlike materials, or the goodness and number of artillery of all sorts with which it was provided. It was besides supported by a very numerous fleet, particularly well adapted to the nature of the service. Besides their military powers, the General and Admiral were appointed the commissioners under the late act of parliament, for restoring peace to the colonies, and for granting pardon to such as should deserve the royal mercy.

The situation of the army at Halifax, and the long stay of above two months which it was obliged to make there, still waiting the arrival of some of the reinforcements from England to enable it to go upon service, was neither pleasing to the General, nor comfortable to the men. The country was in no situation to afford them a sufficient supply of provisions or necessities; nor was the place even capable of providing quarters on shore for the private men, who were obliged to continue on board the ships during the whole of their stay. As the summer advanced, the

the General grew impatient at the delay, and was probably further urged by the scarcity of provisions. He accordingly, without waiting for his brother, or the expected reinforcements, departed, with Admiral Shulldham, and the fleet and army, from Halifax, about the 20th of June, and near the end of the month arrived at Sandy Hook, a point of land that stands at the entrance into that confluence of sounds, roads, creeks, and bays, which are formed by New-York, Staten, and Long, islands, the continent on either side, with the North and Rariton rivers.

On their passage they were joined by six transports with Highland troops on board, who were separated from several of their companions in the voyage. It appeared soon after, that some of the missing ships, with about 450 soldiers, and several officers, were taken by the American cruisers. The General found every approachable part of the island of New-York strongly fortified, defended by a numerous artillery, and guarded by little less than an army. The extent of Long Island did not admit of its being so strongly fortified, or so well guarded; it was, however, in a powerful state of defence; had an encampment of considerable force on the end of the island near New York, and several works thrown up on the most accessible parts of the coast, as well as at the strongest internal passes.

Staten Island, being of less value and consequence, was less attended to. The General landed on the island without opposition, to the great joy of those of the inhabitants who had suffered for their loyalty; and

the troops being cantoned in the villages, received plenty of those refreshments which they so much wanted. He was met by Governor Trion, with several well-affected gentlemen who had taken refuge with him on board a ship, at Sandy Hook, who gave him a full account of the state and disposition of the province, as well as of the strength of the enemy. He had the satisfaction of being joined by about sixty persons from New Jersey, who came to take arms in the royal cause, and about 200 of the militia of the island were embodied for the same purpose, which afforded the pleasing prospect, that when the army was in force to march into the country and protect the royalists, such numbers would join it, as would contribute not a little to bring the present troubles to a speedy conclusion.

Lord Howe arrived at Halifax about a fortnight after his brother's departure, from whence he proceeded to Staten Island, where he arrived before the middle of July. His first act was to send July 14th, circular letter to the several late Governors of the colonies, acquainting them with his civil and military powers, and desiring that they would publish, as generally as possible, for the information of the people, a declaration which accompanied the letter. In this piece he informed the public of the powers with which his brother and he were endued under the late act of parliament, of granting general or particular pardons to all those, who, in the tumult and disorder of the times, might have deviated from their just allegiance, and who were willing, by a speedy return to their

duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour, and of declaring any colony, province, county, town, port, district, or place, to be at the peace of his Majesty; in which case, the penal provisions of that law would cease in their favour. It also promised, that a due consideration should be had to the services of all persons who contributed to the restoration of the public tranquillity.

These papers being immediately forwarded by General Washington to the Congress, were as speedily published by them in all the newspapers, with a preface or comment of their own in the form of a resolution; that the publication was in order that the people of the united states might be informed of what nature are the commissioners, and what the terms, with the expectation of which the court of Great Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who still remained suspended by a hope founded either on the justice or moderation of that court, might now at length be convinced, that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties.

At and about the same time, different flags were sent ashore by Lord Howe, accompanied by some of his officers, with a letter directed to George Washington, Esq. which that General refused to receive, as not being addressed with the title, and in the form, due to the rank which he held under the United States. The Congress highly applauded the dignity of this conduct, in a public resolution passed for the purpose; by which they directed, for the future, that none of their commanders should receive any letter or message from

the enemy, but such as should be directed to them in the characters which they respectively sustained.

At length, Adjutant General Patterson was sent 20th. to New-York by General Howe, with a letter addressed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. That General received him with great politeness, and the usual ceremony of blindfolding, in passing through the fortifications, was dispensed with in his favour. The Adjutant regretted in the name of his principals, the difficulties which had arisen with respect to addressing the letters; declared their high esteem for his person and character, and that they did not mean to derogate from the respect due to his rank; and that it was hoped the *et cetera's* would remove the impediments to their correspondence. The General replied, that a letter directed to any person in a public character should have some description or indication of it, otherwise it would appear a mere private letter; that it was true the *et cetera's* implied every thing; but they also implied any thing; and that he should absolutely decline any letter directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station.

A long conference ensued on the subject of prisoners, and the complaints which were made on both sides, particularly by the Congress, relative to the treatment they received. The Adjutant having observed, that the commissioners were armed with great powers; that they would derive the greatest pleasure from effecting an accommodation; and that himself wished to have that visit considered as making the first advance towards that desirable object; he received for answer,

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answer, among other things, that by what had appeared, their powers were only to grant pardons; that those who had committed no fault wanted no pardon; and that they themselves were only defending what they deemed their indisputable right. The adjutant was received by General Washington in great military state, and the utmost politeness was observed on both sides.

Some small time previous to the arrival of the fleet and army, plots in favour of the royal cause were discovered in New-York and Albany, which were productive of much trouble. Some few executions took place, great numbers were confined, and many abandoning their houses under the operation of their fears, were pursued as outlaws, and enemies to their country. The estates of those unfortunate people, against whom there were proofs, were seized. In the mean time, new forms of government were established in all those colonies, which deemed the former insufficient for their present situation, and the others made the alterations necessary to adapt their old forms to the new system. The declaration of independence was also published in all the colonies, and every where received and accompanied with the greatest public testimonials of joy. This confidence and boldness in the midst of so untried and dangerous a struggle, and at the eve of so formidable an invasion, shewed either great presumption, a knowledge of internal strength, or a certainty of foreign support, which appeared alarming.

The first division of Hessians, with the British troops by whom

they were accompanied, sailed directly from England to Halifax, as Lord Howe had done, being still ignorant of the General's departure from that place. By this means the month of August was considerably advanced before their arrival at New-York, and it was of course some days longer before any expedition of importance could be undertaken by the commissioners. In the mean time they were joined by Sir Peter Parker and General Clinton, with the Squadron and forces from South Carolina, as well as by some regiments from Florida and the West-Indies.

All the forces being now arrived, except about one half of the Hessians, who, though on their way, were not speedily expected, an attempt upon Long-Island was resolved upon, as being more practicable, and therefore better fitted for the first essay than New-York, as affording a greater scope for the display to advantage of military skill and experience, and as abounding with those supplies which so great a body of men as were now assembled by sea and land necessarily demanded.

The necessary measures being taken by Aug. 22. the fleet for covering the descent, the army was landed without opposition near Utretcht and Gravesend, on the south-west end of the island, and not far from the narrows where it approaches closest to Staten Island. General Putnam was at that time with a strong force encamped at Brookland, or Brooklyn, at a few miles distance, on the north coast, where his works covered the breadth of a small peninsula, having what is called the East river, which separated him from

from New-York, on his left; a marsh, which extended to Gowan's Cove, on his right; with the bay and Governor's island to his back. The armies were separated by a range of hills covered with wood, which intersect the country from east to west, and are, in that part, called the heights of Guana. The direct road to the enemy lay through a village called Flat Bush, where the hills commenced, and near which was one of the most important passes. As the army advanced, the north coast was to the left, the south to the right, and Flat Bush was nearly in the center between both. The island in that part is kept narrow by Jamaica-bay, on the right, but soon widens. General Putnam had detached a considerable part of his army to occupy the woody hills, and possess the passes; and if the commanders upon this service had been skilful and vigilant, they could not have been easily passed.

Lord Cornwallis pushed on immediately with the reserve, and some other troops to Flat Bush, where finding the enemy in possession of the pass, he complied with his orders in making no attempt upon it. When the whole army was landed, the Hessians, under General Heister, composed the center at Flat Bush; Major General Grant commanded the left wing, which extended to the coast; and the principal army, containing much the greater part of the British forces, under the command of General Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, turned short to the right, and approached the opposite coast at Flat Land.

Every thing being prepared for

forcing the hills, and advancing towards the enemy's lines, General Clinton, at the head of the van of the army, consisting of the light infantry, grenadiers, light horse, reserve under Lord Cornwallis, and other corps, with fourteen field pieces, began, as soon as it was dark on the night of the 26th, to move from Flat Land, and passing through the part of the country called the New Lots, arrived upon the road which crosses the hills from Bedford to Jamaica, where turning to the left towards the former of these places, they seized a pass of the utmost importance, which, through some unaccountable and fatal neglect of the enemy's generals, was left unguarded. The main body, under Lord Percy, with ten field pieces, followed the van at a moderate distance, and the way being thus happily open, the whole army passed the hills without noise or impediment, and descended by the town of Bedford into the level country which lay between them and Putnam's lines.

The engagement was begun early in the morning by the Hessians at Flat Bush, and by General Grant on the coast, and a warm cannonade, with a brisk fire of small arms, was eagerly supported on both sides for some hours. In the mean time the ships made several motions on the left, and attacked a battery on Red Hook, not only to distract the right of the enemy, who were engaged with General Grant, but to call off their attention totally from the left and rear, where all their danger lay. Those who opposed the Hessians in the left and center, were the first apprized of the march of the British army, and of their own danger. They

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They accordingly retreated in large bodies, and in tolerable order with their artillery, in order to recover their camp, but soon found themselves intercepted by the King's troops, who furiously attacked, and drove them back into the woods. There they again met the Hessians, and were alternately chased and intercepted by the light infantry and dragoons. In these desperate circumstances, some of their regiments, overpowered and outnumbered as they were, forced their way to the lines through all the difficulties and dangers that opposed and surrounded them. Others, perhaps not less brave, perished in the attempt. Some kept the woods and escaped; others, less fortunate, were lost under the same protection. The nature of the country, and variety of the ground, occasioned a continuance and extension of small engagements, pursuits, and slaughter, which lasted for many hours.

Never was any body of men more effectually entrapped: their right, which was engaged with General Grant on the coast, were so late in their knowledge of what was passing, that they were intercepted in their retreat by some of the British troops, who, besides turning the hills, and their left, had in that morning traversed the whole extent of country in their rear. Such of these as did not chuse to take to the woods, which were the greater number, were obliged to throw themselves into the marsh at Gowan's Cove, which we have already taken notice of, where many were drowned, and others perished more miserably in the mud: a considerable number, however, made their escape this

way to the lines, though they were thinned in every part of the course by the fire of the pursuers.

Their loss was represented as exceeding 3000 men, including about 1000 who were taken prisoners. Almost a whole regiment from Maryland, consisting altogether of young men of the best families in the country, was cut to pieces. Undoubtedly their loss must have been great, though they do not acknowledge any such number in their accounts. This action, however, broke their spirits exceedingly. They not only lost a number of their best and bravest men, but the survivors lost that hope of success, and confidence in their own prowess, which are so essential to victory. New soldiers, in the fulness of spirits, and pride of bodily strength, can scarcely conceive any advantage over them, which the old can derive from discipline and a knowledge of their business. And if they are well commanded, and skilfully led to action in this temper, so that their opponents are deprived of an opportunity of turning these advantages to account, they will do wonderful execution: for not being yet capable of thoroughly comprehending danger, nor having known by experience the pain and vexation of wounds, they are often more daring, adventurous, and violent than veterans. But if, as in the present instance, they find courage and strength totally useless; that when they are making the greatest, and, as they think, most effectual efforts, they find them all thrown away, and that they are surrounded, overpowered, and destroyed, by means which they cannot understand, they withdraw all due confidence from those

those things on which they had before placed too much, and ascribe an irresistible power to military skill and discipline which they do not really possess. Thus they abandon their natural strength, and it will be some time before they have confidence enough in their new knowledge to call it effectually into action.

Great errors seem to have been committed on the side of the provincial commanders. They say, that a body of not more than four or five thousand men was surrounded by the whole force of the British army. They endeavour to palliate their misconduct in getting into that situation by representing, that they had no idea that more than about that number of British troops were landed on the island. It does appear as if no more had landed in the first embarkation; but either from a change or concealment of plan, very great bodies were afterwards embarked and passed. The provincials too, as usual with men in misfortunes, hinted treachery in some of those who were employed to discover the motions of their enemy, and to guard the passes, by the occupying of which they had been surrounded.

Nothing could exceed the spirit and alacrity shewn by all the different corps of which the British army was composed in this action. The ardour of the soldiers was so great, that it was with difficulty the generals could call them off from attacking the enemy's lines, in the eagerness of their pursuit after the fugitives. Nor is it improbable, in that temper, that they would have carried every thing before them. It may be supposed, that the emulation between the so-

vereign troops and the British did not lessen the desire of being distinguished on either side in this their first action. Too much praise cannot be given to the ability which planned this enterprize, nor to the promptness and exactitude with which the several generals carried their respective parts of it into execution.

Three of the enemy's commanders, viz. Major General Sullivan, with the Brigadiers General Lord Sterling and Udell, and ten other field officers, were among the prisoners. The loss on the side of the British and Hessians was very trifling, being under 350 in killed and wounded; of which the former did not compose one fifth. An officer with a few men were taken prisoners. The victorious army encamped in the front of the enemy's works on that evening, and on the 27th, at

night, broke ground in form at 600 yards distance from a redoubt which covered the enemy's left.

General Washington passed over from New-York during the engagement, and is said to have burst into a poignant exclamation of grief, when he beheld the inextricable destruction in which some of his best troops were involved. Nothing was now left but to preserve the remainder of the army on Long-Island. He knew that the superior power of the royal artillery would soon silence their batteries, and that if their lines were forced, which, in their present depression of spirits, and comparative weakness in number as well as discipline, there was little hope of preventing, they must all be killed or taken. If he attempted to strengthen them by reinforcements from New-York, he

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he hazarded the loss of that island, which was already menaced on every side, and kept in continual alarm and apprehension by the fleet. A danger not less than any other was still to be considered; the men of war only waited for a fair wind to enter and take possession of the East river, which would have totally cut off all communication between the islands. In this situation, no hope remained but in a retreat; a matter of no small difficulty and danger, under the eye of so vigilant an enemy, and with so powerful an army, flushed with success, close to their works. This arduous task was, however, undertaken, and carried into execution with great ability by General Washington. In the night of the 29th, their troops were withdrawn from the camp and their different works, and with their baggage, stores, and part of their artillery, were conveyed to the water side, embarked, and passed over a long ferry to New-York, with such wonderful silence and order, that our army did not perceive the least motion, and were surprised in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and seeing the last of the rear guard (or, as they say, a party which had returned to carry off some stores that were left behind) in their boats, and out of danger. Those who are best acquainted with the difficulty, embarrassment, noise, and tumult, which attend, even by day, and no enemy at hand, a movement of this nature with several thousand men, will be the first to acknowledge, that this retreat should hold a high place among military transactions.

Soon after the retreat from Long Island, General Sullivan was sent

upon parole with a message from Lord Howe to the Congress. In this he stated, that though he could not at present treat with that assembly as such, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of their members, whom he would consider for the present only as private gentlemen, and would himself meet them at such place as they should appoint. He said, that he had, in conjunction with the General, full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, upon terms advantageous to both, the obtaining of which had detained him near two months, and prevented his arrival before the declaration of independency took place. That he wished a compact might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say they were compelled to enter into the agreement. That if the Congress were disposed to treat, many things which they had not yet asked might and ought to be granted to them; and that if upon the conference any probable ground of an accommodation appeared, the authority of Congress must be afterwards acknowledged, or the compact could not be complete.

The Congress returned for answer, that being the representatives of the Free and Independent States of America, they could not with propriety send any of their members to confer with him in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body to know whether he had any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress for that purpose,

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in behalf of America, and what that authority was, and to hear such propositions as he should think fit to make respecting the same.

Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, being appointed as a committee upon this occasion, waited accordingly upon Lord Howe in Staten Island: The committee sum up the account of this conference, which they laid before the Congress, in the following words: "Upon the whole, it did not appear to your committee, that his lordship's commission contained any other authority of importance than what is contained in the act of Parliament, viz. That of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the King's peace upon submission. For, as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversations to the ministry, who (provided the colonies would subject themselves) might, after all, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alterations in the former instructions to governors, or propose in Parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehended any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependance."

In this manner the hopes of negotiation by the commissioners ended. They endeavoured to make

amends for their failure in their civil capacity by the vigour of their military operations. The royal army being now divided from the island of New-York only by the East river, were impatient to pass that narrow boundary. They posted themselves along the coast wherever they could see or front the enemy, and erected batteries to answer, if not to silence, theirs. A fleet, consisting of considerably more than 300 sail, including transports, covered the face of the waters, while the ships of war, hovering round the island, threatened destruction to every part, and were continually engaged with one or other of the batteries by which it was surrounded. The small islands between the opposite shores were perpetual objects of contest, until, by dint of a well-served artillery, the aid of the ships, and the intrepidity of the troops, they secured those which were most necessary for their future operations. Thus an almost constant cannonade was kept up for many days, and the troops, who had so lately escaped from the most imminent danger, had little time to quiet their apprehensions.

Every thing being at length prepared for a descent, several movements were made by the ships of war in the North River, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that side of the island. Other parts seemed equally threatened, and increased the uncertainty of the real object of attack. The seizure of the island of Montresor, near Hell Gate, and erecting a battery on it to silence one which the provincials had at Horeen's Hook, seemed to indicate a design of

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of landing in that part, which was near the center of New-York Island.

While the rebels were in this state of expectation and uncertainty, the first division of the army, Sept. 15th. under the command of General Clinton, with Earl Cornwallis, Major General Vaughan, Brigadier General Leslie, and the Hessian Colonel Donop, embarked at the head of Newtown bay, which runs pretty deep into Long-Island, and where they were out of all view of the enemy. Being covered by five ships of war upon their entrance into the river, they proceeded to Kepp's bay, about three miles north of New-York, where being less expected than in some other places, the preparation for defence was not so great. The works, however, were not inconsiderable, nor destitute of troops, but the fire from the ships was so incessant, and so well conducted, that they were soon abandoned, and the army landed without opposition.

The enemy immediately abandoned the city of New-York, with their other posts on that part of the island, and retired towards the north end, where their principal strength lay. They were obliged to leave their artillery, which was considerable, and their military stores (of which, except powder, there was plenty) behind. They sustained some loss in slain, and a greater in prisoners, as well in the retreat, as in the subsequent skirmishes which took place during the day. The sore remembrance of their late loss was strongly visible in every part of their conduct, and their own ac-

counts acknowledged, that several of the regiments behaved ill.

A brigade of the British army having taken possession of New-York, the rest encamped not far from the center of the island, with the right at Hore's Hook, on the East river, and the left at the North river, near Bloomingdale; thus occupying the extent of the island from shore to shore, which, though about 16 miles in length, is not much above one in breadth. The enemy were very strong in the north of the island, where they had great works erected: particularly at Kingsbridge, by which their communication with the continent of New-York was kept open, where their works were so considerable on both sides of the passage, that in their present state of force they seemed to defy all attempts on either. Their nearest encampment was on the heights of Harlem, at the distance of about a mile and a half. M'Gowan's pass, and the strong grounds called Morris's heights, lay between them and Kingsbridge, and were defensible against a very superior force. In this situation of both armies, frequent skirmishes of course happened, and it was found by degrees that their late apprehensions began to wear away.

General Howe had not been many days in possession of New-York, when some incendiaries, who probably had stayed behind and concealed themselves for that purpose, being determined, if possible, to prevent its being of any benefit to the conqueror, prepared combustibles with great art and ingenuity, and taking 20th. the advantage of dry weather and a brisk wind, set fire to the city about

about midnight, in several places at the same time. Thus, near a third of that beautiful city was reduced to ashes, and nothing less than the courage and activity of the troops, as well as of the sailors who were dispatched from the fleet, could have preserved any part of the remainder. Many of the wretches who were, as it is said, concerned in this atrocious business, being detected, experienced a summary justice, and were precipitated by the fury of the soldiers into those flames which they had themselves kindled.

The general perceiving that no attempt could be made on the enemy upon the side of New-York, which would not be attended with great danger, without affording any equal prospect of success, determined at length upon a plan of operation, which would either oblige them to quit their present strong situation, or render their perseverance in holding it extremely dangerous. For this purpose, Oct. 12. the greater part of the army being embarked in flat boats and other small craft proper for the service, passed successfully through the dangerous navigation of Hell Gate, which forms a communication between the East river and the sound, and landed on Frog's Neck, near the town of West Chester, which lies on that part of the continent belonging to New-York, upon the side of Connecticut.

Earl Percy, with two brigades of British troops, and one of Hessian, continued in the lines near Harlem to cover New-York. Though this movement was highly judicious in the present exact state of things,

it seems as if it would have been extremely dangerous if General Washington had commanded a veteran army on whose performance he could rely, and that the corps under Lord Percy would in that case have been in great danger. It is, however, to be observed, that the powerful fleet which surrounded that narrow island, would have afforded shelter and protection in almost any situation to which they could have been reduced. This fleet was of infinite service in all the operations of the campaign. In this the inferiority of the provincials was most felt, being totally destitute of any force of that nature.

The army was detained for some days at Frog's Neck, waiting for the arrival of the provisions and stores, and of a reinforcement which was drawn from Staten Island. They then proceeded through Pelham's Manor to New Rochelle, which lies on the coast of the Sound, as that channel is called, which separates the continent from Long Island. At this place they were joined by the greater part of a regiment of light horse from Ireland, one of the transports having been taken in the passage. They were also joined by the second division of Hessians under General Knyphausen, with a regiment of Waldeckers, both of which had arrived at New-York since the departure of the army from thence.

The first object of this expedition was to cut off the communications between Washington and the eastern colonies; and then, if this measure did not bring him to an engagement, to enclose him on all sides in his fastnesses on the north end of York Island. The King's troops

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troops were now masters of the lower road to Connecticut and Boston; but to gain the upper, it was necessary to advance to the high grounds called the White Plains; a rough, stony, and mountainous tract; which, however, is only part of the ascent, to a country still higher, rougher, and more difficult. Upon the departure of the army to the higher country, it was deemed necessary to leave the second division of Hessians, with the Waldeck regiment, at New Rochelle, as well to preserve the communications, as to secure the supplies of provisions and necessities that were to arrive at that port. Indeed the army was now so powerful, that it was enabled to support every service.

General Washington was not inattentive to the danger of his situation. He saw, that if he continued where he was, he would at length be compelled to commit the whole fortune of the war, and the safety of all the colonies to the hazard of a general engagement; a decision, of which he had every cause to apprehend the event, and in which a defeat would be final, as there could scarcely be a possibility of retreat. His army likewise, which had been disheartened by their late misfortunes, was then much reduced by sickness, which the severity of the services, indifferent quarters, insufficient cloathing, the want of salt and other necessities, joined to a slovenliness generally prevalent in America, had rendered general, and very fatal in his camp.

A grand movement was accordingly made, by which the army was formed into a line of small, detached, and entrenched

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camp, which occupied every height and strong ground from Valentine's Hill, not far from King's bridge, on the right, to the White Plains, and the upper road to Connecticut, on the left. In this position they faced the whole line of march of the King's troops at a moderate distance, the deep river Bronx covering their front, and the North river at some distance in their rear, whilst the open ground to the left afforded a secure passage for their stores and baggage to the upper country. A garrison was left for the protection of Fort Washington, the lines of Harlem and King's bridge.

In this situation of the enemy, General Howe thought it necessary to proceed with great circumspection. The progress was slow, the march of the army close, the encampments compact, and well guarded with artillery, and the most soldier-like caution used in every respect. This did not restrain the enemy from sending parties over the Bronx to impede their march, which occasioned several skirmishes, in which the royal army were generally successful. Upon the approach of the army to the White Plains, the enemy quit- ted their detached camps along the Bronx, and joining their left, took a strong ground of encampment before the British on the former.

Every thing being prepared for bringing the enemy 28th. to action, the army marched early in the morning in two columns towards the White Plains, the left being commanded by General Heister. Before noon, all the enemy's advanced parties being drove back to their works by the light infantry and Hessian Chasseurs, the

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army

army formed, with the right upon the road from Mamoroneck, at about a mile's distance from their centre, and the left to the Brunx, at about the same distance from the right flank of their entrenchments.

A body of the enemy possessed an advantageous ground, that was separated from their right flank by the Brunx, and which also, by its windings, covered that corps in front from the left of our army. As this post would have been of great consequence in attacking that flank of the entrenchments, Brigadier General Leslie, with the second brigade of British troops, the Hessian grenadiers under Colonel Donop, and a battalion of that corps, were ordered to dislodge the enemy. Previous to their attack, Colonel Ralle, who commanded a brigade of Hessians on the left, had passed the Brunx, and gained a post, which enabled him to annoy the enemy's flank; while they were engaged with the other forces in front.

Though the passage of the river was difficult, it was performed with the greatest spirit, and the 28th and 35th regiments, being the first that passed, formed with the greatest steadiness, under the enemy's fire on the opposite side; they then ascended a steep hill, in defiance of all opposition, and rushing on the enemy, soon routed, and drove them from their works. No less alacrity was shewn by the other troops in supporting these two regiments. The gaining of this important post took up a considerable time, which was prolonged by the enemy's still supporting a broken and scattered engagement, in defence of the adjoining walls and hedges. In the evening, the

Hessian grenadiers were ordered forward upon the heights within cannot shot of the entrenchments, the 2d brigade of British formed in their rear, and the two Hessian brigades, on the left of the second. The right and centre of the army did not remove from the ground upon which they had formed. In that position the whole army lay upon their arms during the night, with a full intention, and in the highest expectation, of attacking the enemy's camp next morning.

It was perceived in the morning that the enemy had drawn back their encampment in the night, and had greatly strengthened their lines by additional works. Upon this account the attack was deferred, and it was thought necessary to wait for the arrival of the 4th brigade, and of two battalions of the 6th, which had been left with Lord Percy at New-York. Upon the arrival of these troops, the necessary dispositions were made in the evening, for attacking the enemy early on the last of October; but an extreme wet night and morning prevented this design from being carried into execution.

In the mean time, General Washington had not the smallest intention of venturing an engagement, whilst there was a possibility of its being avoided. He knew that delay was in some sort victory to him. That small actions, which could not in the least affect the public safety, would more effectually train his men to service, and inure them to danger, than a general action, which might in one day decide their own, and the fate of America. It must be acknowledged, that in the course of this campaign, and more particularly in this

this part of it, he fully performed the part of no mean commander.

The American accounts say, that upon our covering four or five batteries with a powerful artillery, preparatory to an attack; together with the General's knowledge that by turning his camp, the British might become possessed of hills at his back which totally commanded it, he found it necessary to change his position. He accordingly quitted his camp on the night of the 1st of November, and took higher ground towards the North Castle district, having first set fire to the town or village of White Plains, as well as to all the houses and forage near the lines. The British army on the next day took possession of their entrenchment.

General Howe seeing that the enemy could not be enticed to an engagement, and that the nature of the country did not admit of their being forced to it, determined not to lose time in a fruitless pursuit, and to take this opportunity of driving them out of their strong holds in York Island; an operation which their army could not now possibly prevent. For this purpose, General Knyphausen crossed the country from New Rochelle, and having taken possession of King's Bridge without opposition, entered York-Island, and took his station to the north of Fort Washington, to which the enemy had retired at his approach.

Fort Washington lay on the west side of New York Island, not far from King's Bridge, near Jeffery's Hook, and almost facing Fort Lee on the Jersey side, from which it was separated by the North River. This work, though not contemptible, was not sufficient to resist

heavy artillery; and it was by no means of a sufficient extent for any other purpose than the strengthening of lines. But the situation was extremely strong, and the approaches difficult.

The army having Nov. 13th, returned slowly by the North River, encamped on the heights of Fordham, at a moderate distance from King's-Bridge, with that river on its right, and the Bronx on the left. Every thing being prepared for attacking the Fort, and the commander, Colonel Magaw, refusing a summons to surrender, and declaring he would defend it to the last extremity, a general assault was determined upon, as saving the time that would be lost in regular approaches. The garrison consisted of near 3000 men, and the strong grounds round the Fort were covered with lines and works. Four 16th. attacks were made at the same time. The first, on the north side, was conducted by General Knyphausen, at the head of two columns of Hessians and Waldeckers. The second, on the east, was led on by Brigadier General Matthew, at the head of the 1st and 2d battalions of light infantry; and two battalions of guards, supported by Lord Cornwallis with the 1st and 2d battalions of grenadiers, and the 33d regiment. These forces crossed the East River in flat boats, and as the enemy's works there extended the breadth of the island, redoubts and batteries were erected on the opposite shore, as well to cover the landing of the troops, as to annoy those works which were near the water. The third attack, which was principally intended as a feint to distract the enemy, was

conducted by Lt. Colonel Sterling, with the 42d regiment, who passed the East River lower down, between the 2d and 4th attacks. The last attack was made by Lord Percy, with the corps which he commanded on the south of the island. All the attacks were supported with a numerous, powerful, and well served artillery.

The Hessians under Gen. Knyp-hausen had a thick wood to pass, where the enemy were very advantageously posted, and a warm engagement was continued for a considerable time, in which the former were much exposed, and behaved with great firmness and bravery. In the mean time the light infantry landed, and were exposed both before and after to a very brisk and continual fire from the enemy, who were themselves covered by the rocks and trees among which they were posted. The former, however, with their usual alertness and activity, extricated themselves by clambering up a very steep and rough mountain, when they soon dispersed the enemy, and made way for the landing of the rest of the troops without opposition. During these transactions, Lord Percy having carried an advanced work on his side, Col. Sterling was ordered to attempt a landing, and two battalions of the 2d brigade to support him. This service was effected by the Colonel with great bravery. He advanced his boats through a very heavy fire, which they bore with the greatest firmness and perseverance, and forcing his way up a steep height, gained the summit, and took 170 prisoners, notwithstanding a bold and good defence made by the enemy.

In the mean time Colonel Ralle, who led the right column of General Knyphausen's attack, having forced the enemy, after a considerable opposition, from their strong posts in his line, pushed forward to their works, and lodged his column within an hundred yards of the fort; and being soon after joined by the General with the left column, who had at length overcome the impediments which he met with in the wood, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. The loss on either side was not in any degree proportioned to the warmth, length, and variety of the action. The quantity of gunpowder found in the Fort was utterly inadequate to the purpose of almost the shortest defence. How so large a body was left with so poor a provision, is extremely unaccountable. But the narrative of all these transactions is hitherto very imperfect.

Upon this acquisition, a strong body of forces under the command of Lord Cornwallis was passed over the North River, in order to take Fort Lee, and make a further impression in the Jerseys. The garrison of 2000 men, had a narrow escape, by abandoning the 18th. Fort just before his lordship's arrival, leaving their artillery, stores, tents, and every thing behind. Our troops afterwards overrun the greater part of both the Jerseys without opposition, the enemy flying every where before them; and at length extended their winter cantonments from New Brunswick to the Delaware. If they had had any means of passing that river upon their first arrival in its neighbourhood, there seems little doubt, considering the consternation and dismay which then prevailed

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availed among the enemy, that they might easily have become masters of the city of Philadelphia; but the former, very prudently, either destroyed the boats, or removed them out of the way.

During these successes in the Jerseys, Gen. Clinton, with two brigades of British, and two of Hessian troops, with a squadron of ships of war under the command of Sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attempt upon Rhode Island. In this enterprize they succeeded beyond expectation. The Dec. 8th. rebels having abandoned the island at their approach, they took possession of it without the loss of a man; at the same time that they blocked up Hopkins's squadron, which was in the harbour of Providence, on the adjoining Continent. The squa-

dron and troops continued here during the winter, where they had better quarters than any other of the king's forces. Hitherto the royal army had succeeded in every object since their landing at Staten Island. The Provincial army, besides the loss by sword, by captivity, and by desertion, began to dwindle to very small numbers, from the nature of their military engagement. They were only enlisted for a year; and the colonists, who were but little used to any restraint, very ill brooked, even so long an absence from their families. At the expiration of the term, but few were prevailed upon to continue in service. Every thing seemed to promise a decisive event in favour of the royal arms, and a submission of some of the principal colonies was hourly expected.

C H A P. IX.

General conduct of European powers with respect to the American troubles. France. Military preparations. Count de St. Germain placed at the head of the war department. Musquetaires reduced. Mr. Necker placed at the head of the Finances. Spain. Extraordinary military preparations. Dispute with Portugal. Improvements. Discoveries in the Southern Ocean. New Academy. Vienna. Torture abolished. Toleration enlarged. Bohemia peasants on the royal demesnes freed from their former state of villainage. Attempt to open a trade with the East Indies. Russia. Endeavours to people the uncultivated parts of the Empire. Grand Duchess dies. Grand Duke marries the Princess of Wirtemberg. Porte. Bessora taken by the Persians. Northern kingdoms. Holland.

WHILST our own affairs have opened so extensive a field of business and action, the rest of Europe has happily preserved its tranquillity, and affords few objects of historical discussion. Indeed it seems as if the transactions we have described, had occasioned a kind of pause in the active poli-

ticks of other states. The unhappy contention in which we are engaged, is of such general importance in its progress, and may be so widely extensive in its consequences, that every commercial state finds itself interested in the one, and its speculation strongly excited by the other. Political

[*M] 3 enthusiasts,

enslaved, like all others, overlook all obstacles to the establishment of their favourite system, and all impediments in the way to that point, which they have fixed upon as the summit of attainment. Such a schemer as Alberoni, would now see a prospect opened for a total change in the political system of Europe, and a new arrangement of power and commerce in both the worlds. However the race of projectors may become extinct in other sciences, they are immortal in the affairs of nations. In them Alberoni's are never wanting.

It is not then to be wondered at, that the political attention of some of the great European states should be strongly attracted by objects, in which Great-Britain and her colonies should only have an interest; or that the consciousness of a power, which would enable them to convert all favourable circumstances to the greatest advantage, should dispose them to look forward to possible consequences. It is as little a matter of surprise, that other states, whose views are more limited, should endeavour to profit of the present conjuncture.

No alliance, no ties of political friendship founded upon mutual interest and safety, (and no other can subsist between states) are capable of resisting the allurements of commerce, with its concomitants wealth and power, when these even approach in value, to that of the bands which cemented the union. If such be their influence upon the closest alliance, upon those who are bound by many common motives of connexion and friendship, what must it be upon natural enemies; upon jealous and suspicious rivals; upon those who

dread, or who have experienced our power; or even such as only envied our greatness? Without the attainment of those benefits to themselves, the simply withdrawing them from an envied or dreaded power, and thereby lessening its importance and the apprehension it excited, would be an object of the first consideration.

France and Spain have opened their ports, with the greatest apparent friendship to the Americans, and treat them in every respect as an independent people. The remonstrances of the British ministers have availed but little. They already have a taste of the sweets of that commerce which we had so long secluded from the rest of the world; and which would have still preserved our greatness if we had lost all other. They now begin to know by experience the extent of those advantages, which before were only objects of an uncertain speculation, and whose real value was not well understood by ourselves. Not content with reaping the benefits of the American commerce, by keeping barely within the pale of a verbal neutrality, they go farther; they solicit and afford the means for its continuance. The American privateers have been openly received, protected, and cherished, and the rich prizes they have taken from the British merchants, rather publicly sold in the French ports, both in Europe and the colonies. Artillery and military stores of all kinds have been likewise sent; whether really bought with their own money, or supplied gratis, is uncertain. At this the British ministers find themselves obliged, sometimes to remonstrate, sometimes to wink. French engineers and officers have also

also joined the Americans, in numbers not before known upon any occasion of foreign or volunteer service. It signifies little to enquire, whether this has been practised by permission, or suffered by connivance.

Two evils attend this unhappy civil contention, which at the same time that they distinguish it from other wars, render it more dangerous and grievous than any. The one is, that by the advantages which it lays open, either immediately or in prospect, to other nations, it causes an union in a certain degree, either in act or sentiment, of the commercial world against us; holding out a temptation to mankind to become our enemies. The other is, the weakness which it induces with respect to foreign powers. Our dominions are not only severed at that critical juncture, when it is too evident that a strict union of the whole would be particularly necessary; but a new enemy springs up in the separated part, which from the extraordinary vigour of exertion, proceeding from the novelty of the situation, the danger attending it, and the bitterness of domestic enmity, acquires an efficacy and force, far beyond what it contributed, or knew it possessed, when in unity, and only forming a subordinate share of general defence. Thus we have been obliged to be the tame spectators of a conduct, which in another season would have been deemed insufferable, and to submit to a degree of injury and insult which we never before experienced, or, at least, which was never offered with impunity.

Neither was neighbourhood, long alliance, the power of pro-

clamations, nor the vigilance of our Ambassador, sufficient to restrain the Dutch from sharing in those advantages which were now offered. In a word, all the nations who possess colonies in America; were eager to partake of the new and unexpected commerce which was now opened; and all, excepting the Portuguese, who, much against their inclination, have been restrained through our influence at that court, still continue most sedulously to profit of the opportunity. This disposition has, by degrees, appeared pretty general in other European states.

It must indeed be acknowledged, that this commerce, whilst confined merely to the European colonies in the New World, may be justified upon some very reasonable grounds. The French, Dutch, and Danish islands in the West-Indies, as well as our own, had at all times been supplied by North-America with various commodities, some of which, such as provisions and lumber, were even essential to their existence. Nor were all the Spanish colonies, notwithstanding their extent of continent, wholly free from this necessity. It could not then be expected, that these States, from any regard to our private quarrels, or attention to our acts of parliament, should suffer their islands to be starved, or their staple commodities lost. Nor could the ruin which they saw coming upon our own West-India islands, and palliated chiefly by captures from the Americans, be the smallest inducement to their submitting to a similar mischief.

However, from this invasion of the American trade by foreigners one advantage is derived, if not to

the commerce and navigation, yet to the manufactures of England; that these nations not having yet got into the way of providing a proper assortment for the American market, they resort hither for supply. This is felt in all the manufacturing towns; and the Ministry owe much of their quiet, during the present contention, to that source.

It is probable that Europe is much indebted, for the continuance of its tranquillity, to the pacific disposition of the French monarch, which is supposed with difficulty to have restrained the activity or restlessness of a close ally and powerful neighbour, as well as the ardour of the princes of the blood, the nobility, and the nation in general, who are thought to be eagerly disposed to a war. Indeed, from whatever cause it proceeds, the American party is so strong in France, that it seems nearly to include the whole nation, except the ruling part of the court. However that may be, the present disposition of that court is favourable to the happiness of mankind, and, in the present state of affairs, particularly fortunate to Great-Britain.

The military preparations however, in France, particularly on the sea-coasts, and the naval armaments, have been so considerable, that no explanation which could be given of the motives, was sufficient for a time to allay the alarm and apprehension which they excited. It was said, that as the seas were covered with English fleets and American cruizers, and not only an actual war carried on, but such armies sent to the New World as had never before appeared there,

it became necessary for France to arm in such a manner, as would effectually secure her colonies, and protect her commerce: That her engagements with Spain, and the disputes between that power and Portugal, rendered it besides necessary, that she should be in such a state of preparation, as in case of a rupture would enable her to fulfil them: and that it was very extraordinary, that those who, besides being themselves in the highest possible state of warlike preparation, had also sent hosts of armed foreigners into the New World, should make objections to their neighbours putting themselves in a proper state of security. Whatever satisfaction these answers afforded, no better could be obtained; and it is very probable, that a greater reliance was placed upon a knowledge of the temper of the French Ministers, and of the cabals which prevailed in the court, than upon any assurances they could have given. All together were not sufficient to prevent alarm, or totally to remove apprehension.

The Count de St. Germain, who in the preceding year had been recalled by the King to the service of his country, and placed at the head of the war department, ventured upon a military regulation, which for a time made a great noise, and would, in a more turbulent season, have been exceedingly dangerous. This was the suppression of the Musquetaires, and some other of those corps, which being adapted more to the parade of guarding the royal person, than any real military service, were supported at a prodigious expence, without an adequate return of benefit to the state. Notwithstanding

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standing the evident utility of this reduction, and that the very considerable sums of money arising from the savings, were to be applied to increase the real strength and security of the nation, by the establishment and support of effective marching battalions; yet these corps being composed of gentlemen, and their officers being of the first families in the kingdom, it occasioned a prodigious clamour, and the fate of Straenfee, whose fall had been precipitated by a similar innovation with respect to the Danish guards, was loudly and repeatedly prognosticated, if not threatened, as the certain doom of the author. Such is the power of habit, and such the pride and pleasure which men find, and the mutual attachment they contract, when thrown into any distinct class that separates them from the rest of the community, that no women, in the case of being torn away from their husbands, country, and all that was most dear to them by a merciless conqueror, could express a more poignant grief, or shew greater marks of despair, than these brave men, whose courage had at all times been distinguished, did upon this occasion. Of this a more striking instance needs not to be given, than that of the veteran commander of the Grey Musketaires; who, though the matter was fully known, and the corps he commanded assembled for the purpose of receiving the order of suppression, yet is said to have fainted away in their arms upon its being delivered.

Another remarkable circumstance, which will still more distinguish this year in the history of France, was the placing of Mr.

Necker, a foreigner and protestant, at the head of the Finances in that kingdom. This gentleman, who is a Swiss by birth, is said to possess such distinguished abilities in every thing appertaining to his office, that his appointment to it could be no matter of surprize, if it had not been so directly opposite to the long-established maxims and policy of that nation. It affords one of those instances which are now happily becoming general, of that enlargement of mind, and liberality of sentiment, which are daily gaining ground upon prejudice and error.

The vast expence at which Spain has continued, ever since the affair of Algiers, to augment her armaments by sea and land, has given some alarms to different parts of Europe. Indeed, nobody believed, that she intended, for the present, to venture another attempt upon the coast of Africa. The great land and naval force which she supported, and daily increased, in the West Indies, with the pains she was at in rendering her principal fortresses there as nearly impregnable as skill and expence were capable of making them, seemed to indicate either design or apprehension in that quarter, while no colourable cause could be assigned for supposing the latter. It is certain, that the island of Jamaica was more than once seriously alarmed at the apprehended designs, or the movements of these forces in her neighbourhood.

A dispute with Portugal, about limits, on the borders of the Rio de la Plata, in South America, afforded a favourable opportunity for continuing and increasing these preparations. The vast, and almost

most unmeasurable countries, with the ill-defined, and nearly unknown limits, in those half discovered regions, will for ages afford opportunities of dispute, as well through error as design. The Portuguese say that the Spaniards had seized a considerable tract of territory, which had been repeatedly confirmed to them by different treaties, and guaranteed by Great-Britain. However the matter of right may have been between the two countries, it is certain that the conduct of the Court of Lisbon was charged by their adversaries to have been, in every part of their proceeding, full of artifice, fallacy, and breach of faith.

Troops had been for some time sent to the Brazils, unobserved, and in small numbers, until they at length amounted to a dangerous force; the marine was increased by the same imperceptible degrees, and every preparation for hostility and defence was carried on with the utmost privacy. They then, as the Court of Spain asserted, attacked, overpowered, and slaughtered the Spaniards, and took several of their forts, without any fair or previous notice of hostility. That court complained, that at the same time the most pacific sentiments were held out at Lisbon, the conduct of their Governors and Officers totally disavowed and condemned, and the strongest assurances given, that all hostility should immediately cease, and all possible satisfaction be made, as soon as the necessary instructions could arrive at the scene of action. Instead of the expected instructions strong reinforcements were sent out, to support and extend the advantages already gained.

In these circumstances, large bodies of the Spanish forces, with a proper artillery, were advanced towards the borders of Portugal, and France was called upon for the stipulated auxiliary assistance she was bound by treaty to furnish, in case of a war with that state. The mediation of Great-Britain and France, or, perhaps more properly, the pacific determination of the latter, prevented matters from proceeding to the last extremity; so that some sort of an imperfect accommodation took place, which, however, left sufficient room open for renewing the quarrel. It is said, that even the former of these Courts expressed the utmost disapprobation of the conduct of Portugal in this business, and even declared, that it could not deem itself bounden by the defensive treaties between both States, unless proper satisfaction was first given.

The death of the King of Portugal, and the removal of his favourite and prime minister from the government of that country, which he had long ruled with an unbounded, and to the nobility a most dreaded sway, both of which happened since the close of the year, have probably made a total change, with respect at least to each other, in the political principles both of that and the Spanish Court.

We shall not dwell longer at present on this subject, as the particulars fall more properly within the year succeeding that whose events we now relate, and as the proceedings in South-America have not yet been fully known in Europe.

As this is the era of improvement in almost every part of Europe, Spain, which has been so long

long at a great distance; in that respect, behind her neighbours, seems now beginning to have her share. A policy, a little more liberal, begins to dawn in that country, which may perhaps turn the great natural advantages she possesses in both worlds to such account, as to raise her to the very first rank in power and importance. But knowledge and literature, so necessary to this progress, can scarcely have their operation towards so great an improvement, whilst, at best, they can appear only in a sort of disguise, during the continuance of the inquisition. For a while, that tribunal was reduced only to name; but at present, it is said to be revived on grounds with which we are unacquainted. However, Spain has formed, and is said still to be forming, several most useful regulations, for the improvement and extension of her commerce, particularly by laying the trade to Mexico open to all her ports without distinction, and removing those destructive restrictions by which it was confined to certain places, seasons, and a certain specified number of ships. Other measures equally useful in their several degrees, and tending to the same end, have been adopted with respect to the government and conduct of her colonies, and the establishment of a regular mercantile correspondence with them. It is even said that the barbarous penal law, which renders it death to foreigners to hold any share in, what is called, the trade to the Indies, will be most wisely and deservedly abrogated. If these and similar measures are pursued even to a moderate extent, they will

soon produce unthought of effects, both in the face and state of that country. Foreign merchants, and the ingenious and industrious of all nations, will crowd into her maritime towns, which will become the seats of wealth and commerce. The improvement of the interior country will follow unbidden.

The spirit of discovery which appeared in our late voyages, seems to have operated upon the Spaniards, and prompted them to acquire a perfect knowledge of those seas and countries which they consider peculiarly as their own. For this purpose, Buccarelli, the Viceroy of New Spain, has for some time past sent several frigates from Acapulco, to explore those unknown, or barely discovered regions which lie to the north of California. These adventures are said to have been attended with success, and that the voyagers have discovered an extensive coast, inhabited by a docile and tractable people, among whom they have established several missions. It is farther said, that these discoveries are capable of some immediate and considerable benefits, by the whale, and other fisheries, which they would admit of to a great extent.

A new academy has been established in Madrid, under the laudable title of "The Friends of their Country," which affords a strong instance of the disposition to the most useful improvements which at present prevails in that kingdom. The design of that institution is the encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, arts, industry, and commerce. It is patronized by the King, who has assigned an annual sum of money

to it for premiums, and the princes of the blood, with the grandees, and other of the most illustrious names in the kingdom, are among its members.

The House of Austria never perhaps made a more illustrious figure, not even in the height of the power, victories, and glories of Charles V. than it does in its present beneficent representatives. Among the most glorious acts of the present sovereigns, is the abolishing of the torture with all its horrors in the hereditary dominions, and the granting of a most liberal religious toleration. The latter has already been observed, even in its first operation, so have produced, particularly in Hungary, the happiest effects. The most mortal animosities subsisted between the Roman Catholics and Protestants in that country, occasioned by the power which the laws afforded, to the worst members of one communion, (who are those that are always busy in such matters) to grieve and harass even the best of the other. The taking away of this unnatural and ill-bestowed power, and the removing all objects of contention, particularly the forced attendance of the Romish clergy in sickness, and of the Protestants at processions, has likewise strongly operated to subdue all animosity and dissension, and it probably may not be long, when both they, and the causes from which they originated, will be equally forgotten.

The same beneficence, attention to the welfare and happiness of the people, and regard to the rights of mankind, has been displayed in Bohemia, where the peasants upon the imperial demesnes have been

discharged from the state of villinage in which they had hitherto been retained, and those extensive tracts portioned out into moderate lots, and let to them upon lease, not only at equitable but easy rents; whilst even task work, the only remaining mark of servitude, is allowed to be commuted for by a small yearly sum of money. Nor are the immediate benefits of this measure its only object, it being intended and hoped, that the example will be followed by the Bohemian nobility, and that it will be a means of weaning them from those remains of ancient barbarity, which render them at present so tenacious of a power, that deprives their vassals of all the rights of human nature, and of which even the sovereign could not venture to strip them by force.

One Bohts, a German, who had acquired a large fortune in the service of our East India Company, but who, to all appearance, from an impracticable temper, and a turbulent litigious disposition, involved himself in such troubles by quarrels with our Governors abroad, and law-suits with them and the Company at home, as greatly disarranged his affairs, partly with a view of retrieving them, and partly, it may be supposed, through revenge; has this year induced the Emperor to revive the long abandoned scheme of instituting a company, and opening a trade to the East-indies. Every body knows the alarm which the Ostend Company excited in the maritime powers, and the effectual measures which they used for its suppression. Such is the state of affairs at present, and so much perhaps have sentiments and opi-

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mons changed since that time, that this measure is passed over without notice. Indeed such great difficulties attend all new establishments of this kind against powerful concurrents already in possession, that this scheme will probably fail without any direct interference of the commercial states.

Russia still continues to move in that superior sphere of conduct which has for some years excited the admiration of the world. Great and splendid actions, adorned by a noble magnificence, and a munificence only suited to the resources of so vast an empire, throw a lustre all round, which dazzles the eyes of the beholders, and affords a permanency to the government of Catherine, which was little to be expected, either from the disposition of the people, the uncertain tenure of arbitrary power, or many inauspicious circumstances which attended its commencement. Individuals feel themselves partakers in the exalted state of the whole, and that sense influences their conduct. A Captain of a Russian ship, forgetting all sober maxims of prudence, with a noble generosity, hazards the loss of life and property, and encounters what is still more dreadful than either, the danger of slavery, in boldly cutting a rich Christian prize out of a fortified piratical harbour in Barbary, scorning all benefit to himself or his brave crew, other than the glory of the act, with the pleasure of restoring liberty to the captives, and their property to the pillaged. Perhaps there is an intermediate period, between the roughness of barbarism, and a refined state of cultivation, in all brave nations, when the manners,

and general cast of thinking, tend to produce that peculiar character, which constitutes and distinguishes what is understood as an age of chivalry or heroism.

The attention which has been paid this year to the increase and improvement of the Russian naval force, sufficiently speak the intentions of that government, if other evidence was even wanting, to advance speedily into the first class of commercial and maritime power. But of all the vast projects which have engaged the attention of the rulers of that empire from Peter the Great downward, none equalled in magnitude, that which not only occupies the contemplation of the present Empress, but is said to be already, in some degree, undertaken. This is no less than the union of the remote and inland Caspian Sea, with the far distant frozen and boundless Northern Ocean. However extraordinary this scheme may appear, and however difficult it may prove in the execution, it is at present hoped, that by the means of canals, with the junction of several navigable rivers, it will not be found impracticable. If it should succeed, it will undoubtedly exhibit the greatest monument of human industry, and the most extraordinary inland navigation, that has ever been known.

Great pains are used, and no expence or encouragement spared, to induce foreigners to people those vast deserts which overspread a great part of the empire, and which, in many places, require only cultivation, to produce, in the greatest plenty, every thing necessary to the subsistence and comfort of mankind. These means, joined with

with the inducement of an unbounded toleration in religious matters, have succeeded so happily, that twelve new colonies, comprehending above 6000 families, are already established on the borders of the Wolga. In order to facilitate the commerce and communication with China, and to prevent the great expences attending caravans, no less endeavours have been used, to form a cultivated tract along the course of the road, through those wide and void regions which separate the two empires. Towns and villages have been founded at proper distances for this purpose; and as a rampart at the head of the line, several colonies of Polish farmers were established during the war, in the country immediately adjoining to the confines of China. As these poor emigrants, who had escaped the double horrors of war and oppression in their own country, were liberally provided with stock and all necessaries, and began to taste the sweets of security in person and property, the new settlements flourished accordingly, until the rapacity of the Governors, encouraged by the supposed impunity which their distance from the seat of government, and the means they possessed of suppressing information and complaint, would afford, changed the pleasing prospect, and had nearly accomplished their ruin. The vigilance of government has saved the poor people from destruction. A rigorous enquiry is commenced into the conduct of their oppressors; and nobody will regret the severity of a Russian punishment upon this occasion.

Some small difficulties that occurred, as to fulfilling a part of the conditions which were included or

supposed in the late treaty of peace between Russia and the Porte, and which particularly related to the freedom and extent of navigation and commerce claimed by the former in the Black Sea, the Mediterranean, and the passage through the Dardanelles, and to the troubles excited by the contending Khans in the Crimea; only indicated in a small degree, those differences, which since the close of the year have risen to a considerable height, and still afford room for apprehension of their being the means of renewing the troubles between the two powers. These will of course become objects of future observation. They were indeed so little expected or thought of, that the Ambassadors on both sides quitted the opposite courts, with every mark of favour, and appearance of cordial friendship; and a great Russian trading house was established at Constantinople, endowed with very considerable exclusive privileges, and under the immediate patronage of the Empress, whose foundation was fixed upon that commerce which is now in dispute.

The Grand Dutchess of Russia having unfortunately died, without the felicity of leaving an heir to inherit that empire, the great affair of the succession was a matter of too much importance, to be governed or limited by those forms which prevail in common cases of the same nature. The Grand Duke accordingly paid a visit to the court of Berlin towards the close of the summer, where he received the Princess of Wirtemberg as a bride from the hands of the King of Prussia. The marriage was in some time after Oct. 7th.

pomp

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pomp and magnificence at Peterburgh.

The war with Persia, in concurrence with all late events in which the Ottoman power and safety are concerned, has proved unfortunate to the Porte. The ancient, venerable, once great, and even of late considerable commercial city of Bassora, after a siege of more than

April 16th. twelve months, was at length compelled, by dint of sickness and famine, to submit to the Persians. The defence of that city rested upon the government of Bagdad, which, in the present state of Persia, would have been fully competent to the purpose, if the divisions and disorders which extend through that vast and unwieldy empire, had not rendered all its parts inefficacious. The family of Omar Pacha, taking advantage of the venality and weakness which have so long degraded government in its seat, had for several years, without assuming the title, or pretending to its rights, in reality exercised all the powers of sovereignty in the extensive provinces which compose the important frontier of Bagdad. The time which should have been now allotted to the public defence, was applied to the remedy of this evil; and that not being easily compassed by force, recourse was had to intrigue; money and promises had the desired and usual effect upon the great men of the country, and so powerful a party was formed against the unfortunate Omar, that his head with his vast treasures were brought in triumph to Constantinople. Such was the inglorious compensation which the Porte received for the loss of Bassora.

A new Basha who succeeded

Omar, having neither power nor influence in the country, was easily defeated by the Persians, at the head of such a small and ill-formed force, as he was able to raise for the relief of that city. Though Bassora submitted upon composition, the Persians, according to the barbarous maxims of the eastern world, were guilty of great excesses and cruelties, the former of which extended even to the Christian merchants, who suffered considerably upon this occasion. This success encouraged Kerim Khan, the Regent of Persia, to send a considerable army under the command of his brother, against the government and city of Bagdad. Here his hopes were effectually checked. The great men of the country, uniting now in their own defence, totally routed the Persians with great slaughter.

The numerous sons, family, and officers of the unfortunate Chick Daher, have been hunted with a rage as cruel and unremitting, as the avarice which principally excited the pursuit was boundless. Unhappily for them, the taking of new treasures from time to time, have kept up the ardour of the chase, and it will probably only end in the extermination of the whole race. It would seem wonderful, if long and constant experience had not rendered it familiar, that in that vast extent of the globe, through every part of which the possession of riches is, with mathematical certainty, attended with inevitable destruction, and yet, that the avidity of accumulating wealth, is at least as strong in those regions so unfriendly to property, as in any other part of the world.

Its seems remarkable, that the mag-

magnificence, splendour, and even the munificence of Prince Repnin, during his embassy at Constantinople, was a most grievous eye-sore to the Turks, who considered it as a kind of insult, and an ostentatious triumph over them, in consequence of the losses and disgraces of the late war. This jealousy was so prevalent, particularly among the common people, that the Grand Vizir was obliged to take effective measures, to prevent its being productive of insult or mischief.

Great efforts have been used since the peace to restore and strengthen the Turkish marine, and several ships of war of great force, and upon a new construction, have this year been launched at Constantinople. Equal pains have been taken to strengthen the fortresses on the Danube and Neister, and every thing of late tends to shew, that the strongest jealousy prevails with respect to the navigation, and the greatest apprehension of the power, which Russia will possess in consequence of it upon the Black Sea. It can scarcely, however, be imagined, that the Porte, in its present state, will venture upon a new war with Russia, unless encouraged to it, by an assurance of the most powerful support on the side of Europe.

The northern kingdoms afford

little matter for observation this year. Sweden continues to be governed with great moderation, and apparently to the satisfaction of the people, whilst the King is equally industrious and successful, in placing it in a most respectable state, with respect both to its land and naval force. As this seems to be an era, when the opulence of merchants particularly excites the envy and avarice of Princes, who not content with the power, would become universal traders, and monopolize also the commerce of the earth, the Danish King has shewn his approbation of so laudable a system of regal policy, by abolishing the Guinea Company, taking all their affairs into his own hands, and appointing a few of his officers to manage the future traffic.

The states of Holland have renewed the charter of their East India Company upon such liberal terms, as might be expected in a commercial and wise commonwealth. For finding that the Company had of late suffered greatly, as well by a decline of commerce as other losses, they accepted the sum of two millions of florins for a new charter for thirty years, instead of three millions, which they had paid for the former, under the same conditions, and for a like term.



CHRO.

C H R O N I C L E.

J A N U A R Y.

1st. **B**EING new-year's day, was observed at court, and elsewhere, as usual. [For the Ode performed at St. James's on the occasion, please to turn to our article of Poetry for this year.]

The town of Norfolk, the best sea-port, and most flourishing town, in Virginia, was, all to three houses, burnt to ashes. Shortly after the provincials made themselves masters of New-Providence, one of the Bahama islands, with a small fleet of seven sail, which, at their return, met with the Glasgow man of war, and attacked her. But as to the details of these events, and others of the same kind, we must leave them, as making part of the unhappy war between the mother country and her colonies, to the able pen which favours the public with the historical part of this work.

Mr. Melish contracted with the commissioners of the victualling office for 1000 oxen, at 33s. 10d. per hundred weight; no bad criterion of the price of such provisions at this time.

An ordinance was published at Paris, granting a general pardon to all deserters, by which it was computed that upwards of 20,000 men would return to the service; and likewise decreeing, that deserters shall not for the future be punished with death, but be sent to work at the fortifications for a longer term

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than their engagement in the military service.

Extract of a Letter from Paris, of this date.

“ We learn from Vienna, in Dauphiny, that, notwithstanding the discovery which had been made, at a small distance to the southward of the town, in 1773, of a valuable piece of antique Mosaic, they had discontinued their researches after these monuments of antiquity, till the singular patronage given to the arts, by the governor of the province, had determined Monsieur Schneider, painter, and professor in the school of drawing, at the Royal College in that town, to continue his researches in the same spot where the first piece of Mosaic was found. By the labours of this artist were found many pieces of marble, curious both for their size and sculpture; and a piece of Mosaic was discovered, larger and more variegated than the former. This pavement is thirty-four feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth. In the middle is a tablet, on which are three female figures, one half naked, who appear greatly terrified, and as if flying from a soldier, armed with a lance, who is in pursuit of them. Above this tablet is a rampart, on which is a tent, and two other warriors, one of whom seems to be giving orders for stopping the women, and the other sounding a trumpet. These figures, which are of the natural

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size,

size, are in the Grecian dress. Above the tablet are five medallions; one representing the head of Medusa; and the others, the four seasons, with their particular attributes. The rest of this rich pavement consists of twenty-six compartments, alternately square and round. The whole is bounded by a border of exquisite taste and workmanship.

Mr. Schneider, by a contrivance of his own, raised this Mosaic without injuring it, and sent it to the college, where it remains a precious monument to all the lovers of the fine arts.

In pursuing his researches, with an ardor increased by success, he has discovered a second pavement in white Roman Mosaic, interspersed with fragments of the most uncommon marbles, scattered, as it were, by chance; the whole polished, producing a beautiful effect, and forming a very hard body. Some of this kind of marble has likewise been deposited in the same college. The analytical decomposition of this facitious marble might prove very useful to our modern workers in stucco."

In consequence of the pregnancy of the first and favourite sultaness of the Grand Signior, which was lately notified in form, His Highness granted permission to the Christians throughout his dominions, to repair such of their churches as might have suffered by the ruins of time. Thankfully availing themselves of this permission, the Christians worked night and day for the restoration of their places of worship. One of the Turkish emirs, however, viewing this privilege with a jealous eye, employed every artifice to instigate the people to revolt;

inasmuch that the sultan found himself at length constrained by policy, to revoke the permission he had given to the Christians, and to issue an order, that such of their religious edifices as had been repaired, should be instantly demolished. By this event, not only Christianity must suffer some decay in the Turkish dominions; but many beautiful reliques of ancient architecture, upheld by Christian piety, may perish past the possibility of being retrieved.

The lottery finished drawing at Guildhall.

3d.

Being Twelfth-day, the lord-chamberlain of the king's household, in the absence of his Majesty, made the usual offering at the altar, of frankincense, myrrh, &c. and also a purse of gold, to be distributed among the poor.

Began, attended with an high easterly wind, one of the greatest falls of snow that has happened in England in the memory of man; and it was followed by so intense a frost, that the barometer, at times, sunk two or three degrees lower than it did in the great frost which began during the last days of 1739, and continued about three months in 1740; and, by the 16th, the Thames was entirely frozen over at Mortlake. Nor was this inclemency of the weather confined to our island. The Sound itself, that vast body of water which separates Denmark from Sweden, was frozen over as hard as during the above great frost; so that even heavy-laden sledges crossed it with safety. On the 2d of February, here in England at least, the wind, which had continued easterly from the beginning of this visitation, turned to the south,

south, and gave every thing a different appearance.

The many and great inconveniences and evils usual on these occasions, in a country like this, where they are seldom felt, and of course little provided against, it would be unnecessary to dwell upon; such as snow-drowned fields, obstructed roads, stoppage of handicraft labour; and their natural consequences; and perhaps, considering the humanity which now universally prevails, it might be equally unnecessary to enlarge upon the relief afforded by those in rich, and even easy, circumstances, to their suffering brethren. Their Majesties behaved on the occasion with their usual benevolence; as did likewise many corporate bodies and individuals; particularly the city of London, and the nobility and gentry throughout England, as well on their estates, as in the places of their residence; and, to crown all, their assistance was given mostly in kind; that is, in bread, broth and coals; by which means, the profligate and the inconsiderate were, in a great measure, prevented from making any improper use of it.

On this occasion we would beg leave to recommend to our readers the perusal of accounts of some persons who lived a long time in a house buried by a slide of snow, or valanza, from a neighbouring steep mountain, which he may find in our First Volume, p. 297; and in our Eighth, p. 85: as likewise that of an article relating to heat and cold; and another, concerning the freshness of ice-water obtained from salt-water; both in the second part of our present volume.

In the mean time, the following particulars relating to the great frost

in 1739 and 1740 may not be unentertaining. It began on the 24th day of December: the day after it was very sharp, the wind blowing north-east, and continuing so till the 29th, when it changed a little to the southward of the east, about east-south-east, and blew hard; the cold was then very severe; water thrown up, fell down in ice; and the mercury in the thermometer fell to 25 degrees below the freezing point. On the 30th, the cold still increasing, it fell to 32, which was lower than ever it had been remembered in England. On the 31st, towards the evening, the wind being much abated, the severity of the frost was not so great; and there was some appearance of a thaw on the 1st and 2d of January; but on the 3d, in the evening, the frost set in again, with greater violence than ever; and on the 4th, in the morning, the mercury fell one degree lower than it had been before, when there was an uncommon great hoar, and the air was so sharp and penetrating, as to render it difficult for strong persons to endure the cold; and vegetables in general suffered prodigiously.

The river Stour, which 8th. runs through Canterbury, was so swelled by the heavy rains that fell for three preceding days, that the streets contiguous to the river were one continued torrent, and most of the houses filled to the height of four feet. Nothing could equal the distress and confusion occasioned by this deluge, but the readiness of the inhabitants whom it did not affect, particularly the two members, to contribute to the relief of the poor sufferers.

A young fellow was shot dead in attempting to rob the Norwich coach,

coach, near Newmarket. He appeared to be the son of an inn-keeper, who had run through a considerable fortune, and was driven to necessity.

About one this morning, a woman who lived in that part of Paris, called *le Palais*, where the courts of justice are kept, having the misfortune to fall asleep, with a chauf-frette, or small pot with charcoal burning in it, used by women there to keep themselves warm in cold weather; the fire communicated itself to her cloaths, immediately stifled her, and then spread insensibly, till one of the office-keepers, awakened by the smoke, gave the alarm through the palace;—but too late for himself, for the progress of the fire became now so rapid, that he was swallowed up in the flames. It then caught the prison of the Conciergerie, and extended itself to the shopkeepers hall; by which, there being a communication from the great chamber to the holy chapel, the conflagration became general.

The first object of attention was to remove the prisoners into places of safety; but, in the first moments of terror, some of the criminals had address enough to escape. The firemen, the French guards, the city guards, horse and foot, and all the orders of Mendicant friars, assembled to assist in extinguishing the flames; but, notwithstanding all their endeavours, part of the Conciergerie was destroyed, and the fire caught the court of Aids. Many of the public offices were burnt, and several toy-shops, with all their stock, entirely consumed. A Capuchin friar, and another person, were lost by the sudden falling of a great beam. This fire was not got under till noon; but

time enough to save the first chamber of the court of Aids, the holy chapel, the treasury, and the depository of the registers of parliament, with the greatest difficulty. The king's loss, on this occasion, was computed at two millions of livres; that of the court of Aids at two hundred thousand; and that of individuals, at much about the same sum. His majesty sent the private sufferers a thousand louis d'ors; the queen, two hundred; and many of the richer inhabitants of Paris contributed, likewise, very liberally to their relief.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, his Majesty reviewed, on Clapham Common, the first and second battalions of foot, lately arrived from Gibraltar; after which they were ordered to prepare immediately to embark for America.

Came on at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, the trial of the principal rioter at a riot at Vauxhall, on the last night of the last season, when, after a trial of seven hours, he was fined, and obliged to give security for his good behaviour for two years. The fine was paid in court.

This night the wind blew 11th. so hard at east, that the tide ran up the river at the rate of six miles an hour; and several vessels were driven from their moorings by its violence.

At about three o'clock 15th. in the afternoon, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester was safely delivered of a prince, in the Teodole palace at Rome: their Royal Highnesses household and some English gentlemen were present, as witnesses to testify the event; and on Monday the 12th of February, the new-born prince was baptized by the
Rev.

Rev. Mr. Salter, and called William Frederick, in the presence of all the English gentlemen then at Rome. The Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Gotha, and the Margrave of Anspach being sponsors.

About the same time, Archangelo Caselletti, bookseller, who had leave from the Duke to inscribe to him some dramatic pieces, was banished that capital, for having omitted the title of Royal, after that of Highness, at the head of the dedication.

There was an execution at Tyburn; and another on the 17th; for the particulars of which we beg leave to refer the readers to our last volume, as belonging to our account of the last Old Bailey sessions, held in the year 1775.

Ended the sessions at the Old-Bailey, which began on the 10th, when five prisoners, capitally convicted, receive sentence of death, viz. two for highway robbery; one for a street robbery; one for housebreaking; one for a burglary; and two for coining. The two last moved in arrest of judgment; one of the highway robbers was executed the 19th of February; and the rest were repited.

19th. It appears, by letters of this date, from Naples, that Mount Vesuvius had at last, after threatening an eruption for some time, actually burst an opening about half way up, from which the lava ran at first towards Atrio del Cavallo, and then towards Ottajama, but so gently as not to do the country any great damage.

20th. In a piece intitled, "The Ancient Testimony and Principles of the People called Quakers, with respect to King and Government; and touching the Commotions now prevailing in these (Pennsylvania and New-Jersey)

and other Parts of America," addressed to the people in general, and dated at Philadelphia this day, that respectable part of the community profess their just and necessary subordination to the king, and those who are lawfully placed in authority under him, that they may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, under the government which has been set over them by God, whose peculiar prerogative, they say, it is, for causes best known to himself, to set up and put down kings and governments.

Mr. Dunning having moved the court of King's Bench to make absolute a rule for a mandamus, to replace in his office the clerk of the parish of Hampstead, who had been discharged by the rector, as having acted indecently, in giving a kiss to a bride, to whom he had stood father, as soon as the ceremony was over, the court declared the clerk, after appointment, a servant to the parish, and not dischargeable at the pleasure of rector or curate, the office being of a temporal, not an ecclesiastical nature; and made the rule absolute.

The following hand-bill was delivered to the members of both houses of parliament: 25th.

"To the parliament: A suffering and afflicted people most humbly and solemnly beseech and implore every member of parliament to put a speedy stop to the further effusion of the blood of our American brethren; that peace and tranquillity may be restored to the royal breast, and glory, commerce, and felicity to the whole empire."

A cause of an extraordinary nature came on in the court of Chancery, upon a bill brought by an

[H] 3

apothecary

apothecary at Bath, against a gentleman of Huntingdonshire, for the recovery of 100*l.* lent to the gentleman's wife. The merits were briefly as follows: The defendant, in possession of about 4000*l.* per annum, married a lady in 1757, who brought him 20,000*l.* In the year 1769, being in a very ill state of health, she was advised by her physicians to go to Bath. The defendant shewed much reluctance, raised several objections to her going, and seemed likewise not much pleased with her being obliged to use his new chaise; but at length he consented, gave her fifty pounds to defray the expences; and afterwards remitted her more money, but in very small sums, the greatest remittance not exceeding twenty pounds; so that the lady, notwithstanding the most frugal manner of living, was obliged to exceed her allowance, and borrow 100*l.* of the plaintiff, to clear her bills before she could leave Bath, giving him a draft for the same upon her husband. The only extravagant article which appeared against her, was half a guinea for some moss roses. In the summer after her return she grew worse, and died. The plaintiff then applied to the defendant in town, for payment, but was told to seek his remedy at law, the defendant being determined (without compulsion) not to pay a shilling. But, upon hearing counsel on both sides, the court decreed payment of the money with full costs of suit.

A late pastoral letter from 29th. the synod of New-York and Philadelphia, to the congregations throughout America, was delivered at the doors of the Houses of Lords and Commons.

A placart was published at Copenhagen, dated the 15th instant, excluding all foreigners from employments in the Danish dominions, except those who were or should be naturalized.

The Pope lately granted 31st. to the whole christian world, an universal jubilee, which is to last six months, to be computed, in the different countries, from the day of the publication of the bull in them; and to extend to those who had already obtained the indulgencies in Rome during the course of the last year.

The following extraordinary affair lately happened at Lisbon. A poor widow came several times into the antichamber of the court, and, though frequently ordered to retire, constantly returned the next day, saying, she must speak to the king. At length it happened, that seeing his majesty pass by, she immediately advanced towards him, presented him with a casket, and spoke to him as follows; "Sire, behold what I have discovered among the rubbish of some of the buildings ruined by the great earthquake in 1755. I am a poor widow, and have six children. That casket would relieve me from my present distresses, but I prefer my honour, with a good conscience, to all the treasures in the world. I deliver this to your majesty, as the most proper person to restore it to its lawful possessor, and to reward me for the discovery."—The king immediately ordered the casket to be opened, and was struck with the beauty of the jewels which it contained; after which, speaking highly in praise of the widow's honesty and disinterestedness, he assured her of his

his protection, and immediately ordered her 20,000 piastres [3s. 7d. each]. His majesty further ordered, that proper enquiry should be made after the real proprietor; and, if it should prove fruitless, that the jewels should be sold, and the produce appropriated to the use of the widow and her children.

A new print of M. de Voltaire has lately been published at Paris, with the following lines under it, written by M. Dorat:

Il vit le dernier Siecle expirer chez
Ninon,
De Virgile à trente Ans il ceignit la
Couronne,
Des Lauriers de Sophocle il orna son
Automne,
Il pere son Hiver des Fleurs d'Ana-
creon.

Died, the 15th instant, Mrs. Eleanor Willis, who had been married to four husbands, and had seventeen children, aged 105 years, in Beech Lane.

The 16th, Mr. Thomas Weston, the celebrated comedian of Drury-Lane Theatre.

Mary Coon, aged 112 years, at Westborough, in Ireland.

The 18th Mr. John Leach, a master builder, in the 106th year of his age. He retained his memory to the last.

Not many years ago there died, in the neighbourhood of Ffestiniog, in Merionethshire, Wales, as appears by Lord Lyttelton's works, an honest Welch farmer, who was 105 years of age: by his first wife he had 30 children; by his second 10; by his third 4; and by two concubines 7. His youngest son was 81 years younger than his eldest, and 800 persons, descended from his body, attended his funeral.

FEBRUARY.

A proclamation having been this day issued by the 1st. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, laying an embargo, for an unlimited time, on all provisions of whatever kind, except to Great-Britain, and the British dominions not in rebellion, to which salted beef, pork, bacon, and butter, may be sent by permission of an English act of parliament; George Ogle, Esq; pursuant to a promise made by him in the House of Commons in Ireland, where the force of such a proclamation was warmly debated, soon after passed an entry in the custom-house of Dublin for three hundred barrels of beef, to be shipped forthwith in a vessel then in the river of that city, bound for Bourdeaux.

A clergyman who this afternoon preached a charity 4th. sermon at a church in the city, during his discourse, pulled out of his pocket a news paper, and read out of it the following paragraph, viz. 'On Sunday the 18th of January, two ponies ran on the Uxbridge road, 20 miles for 20 guineas, and one gained it by about half a head; both ponies ridden by their owners.' Also another paragraph of the like kind, of a race on the Rumford road on a Sunday. He made an apology for reading part of a news paper in the pulpit, said he believed it was the first instance of the kind, and he sincerely wished that there never might be occasion for the like again. He then pointed out the heinous sin of Sabbath breaking, and what a scandal it was that such actions should be practised in a Christian country by men of property, who

ought to set a good example to the lower-class of people; and pass unnoticed by those who had authority to punish the offenders; he added, that such wickedness would have been severely punished by Mahometans; how much more ought it to be by Christian magistrates!

5th. Came on in the court of King's-Bench, before the Right Hon. Lord Mansfield, the trial of Benjamin Cholley, for wilful and corrupt perjury upon the trial of the merits of the petition of Mr. Beckford and Mr. Calthorp, respecting the Hindon election. Lord Mansfield, in his charge, remarked, that on one or other side the most impious and audacious perjury had been committed. His Lordship, however, left the jury intirely to their own opinions, who, after withdrawing for about a quarter of an hour, brought the defendant in guilty.

8th. Sir Robert Ainslie, appointed ambassador at Constantinople, took leave of his majesty, and received his last instructions,

12th. Was decided in the court of Common Pleas, the long contested cause, wherein Mr. Rafael, an Armenian merchant, late of the province of Owd, in the East Indies, was plaintiff, and Harry Verelst, Esq; late Governor of Bengal, was defendant. The action was brought for the defendant's assaulting and imprisoning the plaintiff in the East-Indies. Upon the trial of the cause at Guildhall in the sittings after last term, before the Right Hon. Lord Chief-justice De Grey, the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff; but, as objections were raised by the counsel for the defendant, that in

point of law (under the particular circumstances of the case) the action would not lie in our courts of law, at Westminster against him, the jury found a special-verdict, reserving the point of law for the determination of the court of Common Pleas; and, in case the court should be of opinion that the action was maintainable, they gave the plaintiff 4000*l.* damages. The case was argued on the 9th instant in the court of Common Pleas by Mr. Serjeant Glynn, for the plaintiff, and Mr. Serjeant Adair on the part of the defendant; and this day the judges delivered their opinions, in which they were unanimous, that the action was well sustained, and of course decreed the defendant the 4000*l.* damages, and costs of suit.

At a general court of the Turkey company, Lord 14th. North, was unanimously chosen governor, in the room of the late Earl of Radnor.

Came on in the court of King's Bench, before Lord 19th. Mansfield and a special jury of the county of Middlesex, a cause wherein John Potter Harris, Esq; of Baghurst, was plaintiff, and the Rev. John Craven, of Barton-Court, Berkshire, defendant, for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife; when the jury, after going out of court a short time, brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with 3000*l.* damages, and costs of suit.

A cause was tried in the court of King's-bench, 20th. Westminster, before Lord Mansfield and a special jury, wherein Mr. Towsey, of Clement's-Inn, was plaintiff, and a gentleman of the county of Worcester, defendant. The cause was brought by indictment

ment against the said gentleman for wilful and corrupt perjury on a late occasion. After a hearing of near seven hours, the judge summed up the evidence, and gave his charge to the jury, who withdrew, and in half an hour returned and delivered their verdict, finding the defendant guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury. He was ordered to be brought up the first day of next term, in order to receive sentence. Great numbers of persons of distinction, and several members of the lower assembly, appeared in behalf of the prisoner.

Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen having signified, the 4th instant, his intention to resign the office of Chamberlain, on account of his bad state of health, the election of a proper person to succeed him came on this day at Guildhall; the candidates, Mr. Wilkes, and Mr. Hopkins, alderman of Broadstreet Ward; when the shew of hands appearing in favour of the former, he was declared duly elected. But Mr. Hopkins, not content with this decision, demanded a poll; which being granted, the number of votes at the conclusion of it on the 26th appeared as follows.

For Mr. Hopkins	-	2887
Mr. Wilkes	-	2710

Majority for Mr. Hopkins - - - 177

upon which Mr. Hopkins was declared Chamberlain.

The total number of pollers at this election was 5597, which is 1049 less than at the contested election for the same office, between Bosworth and Selwyn.

The following is a list of those gentlemen who have been Cham-

berlains from the Revolution to the present year. Upon an average each enjoyed the office nine years.

1688 Sir Peter Rich.
1689 Sir Leonard Robinson.
1696 Sir Thomas Cuddon.
1702 Sir William Fazakerley.
1718 Sir George Ludlam.
1727 Samuel Robinson, Esq;
1734 Sir John Bosworth.
1751 Sir Thomas Harrison.
1765 Sir Steph. Theo. Janssen, Bart.

1776 Benjamin Hopkins, Esq;

It is somewhat remarkable, that at the general election in 1761, the number of the livery who then voted, amounted to 5,797. At the general election in 1768, the number amounted to 5,697. And at the present election for Chamberlain, the amount is 5,597; so that in the three elections here alluded to, there has been a regular and gradual decrease of one hundred pollers.

When Mr. Hopkins had been declared duly elected, Mr. Wilkes, in an harangue, in which he paid his usual compliments to corrupting ministers, and the directors of the Bank, as having interfered on the occasion, &c. &c. and accused the latter with having lent government eight millions of money, without the consent of the proprietary, invited the livery to meet him on the same spot, the Midsummer-day following, to assert the rights of a free election, as well as their own dignity and importance. This challenge was answered in another speech by Mr. Hopkins; upon which the friends of both subscribed towards the expence of the contest. Alderman Bull subscribed one hundred pounds in favour of Mr. Wilkes; and twelve Aldermen

men subscribed fifty pounds each in favour of Mr. Hopkins. Before this election came on, a court of common-council resolved, that every future chamberlain should give 40,000*l.* security for the faithful discharge of his office; and voted Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen the thanks of the city for his past services.

21st. His Excellency the Count de Guines, the French ambassador, having received his letters of recall, took leave of his majesty, leaving M. Garnier charge des affaires till another ambassador arrives.

The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when four convicts received sentence of death, two of whom suffered on the 12th of April; viz. one for a highway robbery; and the other for house-breaking.

25th. By a letter of this date from York, it appears, that counterfeit guineas of the date 1775 were now in circulation, and so well executed that it was difficult to distinguish them from the real ones. On comparing them with the latter they will be found rather larger, paler, and thinner, and defective in the milling. In the counterfeits there is not the hollow between the forehead and the nose discoverable in the real ones. In air they weigh 6*d.* above the standard, and only 14*s.* in water.

26th. A desperate attempt was made by the felons in Maidstone gaol to escape, but was happily defeated by the vigilance and resolution of the keeper. It being the day for carrying some convicts on board a transport, the felons concluded the keeper himself would go with them as usual, and that consequently they should have only the turnkey, or

some servant of the keeper's to encounter with; but the keeper having reason to suspect some schemes were on foot, prudently staid at home, sending his turnkey with proper assistants to put the transports on board. Between four and five in the afternoon, just before the time of locking all up, twenty-four of the most daring of the felons, having found means to get off their irons, suddenly seized and secured two of the keeper's men, and with knives at their breasts swore they would murder them if they did not let them out, and attempted immediately to make towards the Fore-Gate, but could not reach it before the keeper had caught the alarm and appeared with a blunderbuss, which prevented them on that side. They then changed their attack, and endeavoured to make way through the keeper's apartments, swearing they were determined to get out or die in the attempt. Here the keeper expostulated with them again and again, desiring them to desist, and retire peaceably; but all to no purpose; they still swearing they would one and all escape, or die in the attempt. The keeper was now under the necessity of threatening to fire upon them, if they did not retire, and, on their not retiring, firing accordingly a blunderbuss loaded with small shot amongst them, and wounded three or four of the most daring (who were charged with highway robberies) in the legs. Whereupon finding, that the keeper was as resolute as themselves, and that he had also now good assistance, they began to retreat, and were soon mastered and properly secured without farther mischief. To the honour of the poor debtors, they did not join
with

with the felons in this desperate attempt.

A committee of West-India planters and merchants, having lately attended Lord George Germaine and Lord North, and given each a separate memorial, requesting, in consequence of their lordships' inclinations, publicly declared to assist and relieve the sugar colonies, that the distillation of grain should be stopped, and the duties on rum lessened, with a view of increasing the consumption of that article, and thereby enabling the memorialists to supply themselves with lumber, now, on account of the troubles in America, risen to a most exorbitant price, each of their lordships delivered a verbal answer, amounting in the whole, that the propositions cannot at present be complied with. Probably such compliance might be looked upon as interfering too much with the husbandry of the mother country.

About eleven o'clock, 27th. while the piquet-guard was off duty, a terrible mutiny happened among the transports and recruits confined in the Savoy gaol, when near forty found means to escape, by breaking through a back window near the water-side, and getting over the wall, the tide being down, to the craft on the river. A soldier was now ordered to bid them stop; and, on their refusal, to fire. The orders were obeyed, and on his killing the last of them, the rest were secured.

Lord Viscount Pitt, (son of the Earl of Chatham) lately resigned his commission as ensign in the 47th regiment, now at Boston, his lordship being determined not to serve in the present war between the mother country and her colonies.

Two Indian chiefs, who lately arrived in town from Canada, were introduced to his Majesty at St. James's by Col. Johnson, and graciously received.

An oak-tree lately cut through on the estate of Dennis Rolle, Esq; near Great Torrington, in Devonshire, measured in the body thirteen feet six inches diameter: two couple danced a country-dance on the surface, the fidler standing in a corner.

DIED, the 6th instant, the Rev. Evan Lloyd, A. M. Vicar of Llanfair, near Ruthim, Denbighshire, and author of several ingenious poetical pieces.

The Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, upwards of 53 years chaplain of his Majesty's German chapel at St. James's.

The 19th, Mrs. Ellison, in Westgate, Newcastle, possessed of a fortune of 181,000l.

The 21st, Mr. Movat, surgeon, at Langholm in the shire of Dumfries, aged 136.

The 22d, Mr. Joseph Collyer, translator of the Messiah and Noah from the German, and author of several useful works, in Barns-row, Islington.

Mr. William Horsley, aged 75, author of the Periodical Letter, entitled The Fool.

Mr. Livingstone, one of the heads of the Congress at New-York, and father-in-law to the late General Montgomery.

John Manners, commonly called My Lord Manners, at Dryfield, in the East-Riding of the county of York.

David Brian, of Tinnecrane, in Ireland, aged 117.

MARCH.

MARCH.

1st. Being St. David's day, the tutelar Saint of Wales, the stewards of the society of Ancient Britons waited on his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to compliment him on the occasion; when he was pleased to make them a present of 100 guineas towards the support of that useful charity, for the education of poor friendless Welch children in London: and the sum of 464l. 10s. 2d. was collected for the same laudable purpose, at their yearly dinner.

A peace between the East-India company and the Marattoes, on very advantageous terms to the former, was signed at Loonan, and proclaimed at Bombay the 12th following.

Came on in the court of 2d. King's-bench at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield and a special jury, the cause relative to the election of Mr. Hart some time ago to the aldermanship of Bridge Ward, in the room of the late Sir William Stephenson, when the jury, after withdrawing for about a quarter of an hour, brought in a verdict, that Mr. Hart was duly elected.

About nine at night, a fire broke out in the warehouse of Mess. Cox and Bigg, printers, in the Savoy, just after the journeymen had left the office. And notwithstanding every possible effort to stop its progress, the warehouse, the printing-office, and the dwelling-houses of the two partners were, in a short time, consumed, together with two warehouses filled with books belonging to Mr. Cadell, and Mr. Elmsly, of the Strand, and several contiguous buildings. It was with the utmost difficulty that the two German chapels were saved.

There were no less than seven parties, from so many different states, lately recruiting in Ham-burgh. The Hanoverians had the greatest success, as they enlisted men of every country, provided they were sizeable, and not too old; and gave a large bounty.

By a letter from Naples of the 5th instant, it appears, 3d. that the Free-Masons there, continuing to frequent a lodge near Cape Demonte, notwithstanding the publication of an edict which prohibited them from holding clandestine assemblies; the government being informed thereof, caused the lodge to be surrounded this day, and all who were there to be arrested and put in prison.

The House of Commons 4th. having thought proper to address his Majesty relative to cloathing the foreign troops in British pay with the manufactures of Great Britain; his Majesty was pleased to answer, that being always desirous to give every encouragement in his power to the manufactures of Great Britain, he will use his endeavours, as recommended by the said address.

Just after two men, convicted of robbery, in Dublin, and ordered for execution, had received the sacrament from the ordinary, who in the most solemn manner declared their innocence, but were about to be pinioned, preparatory to their execution, two other criminals, confined for street robbery, declared themselves to be the persons who actually committed the fact for which those innocent men were going to suffer. Upon this, the Sheriffs waited on the Lord Lieutenant, and the circumstances being made known to his Excellency,

Excellency, a respite was immediately granted.

The subjects for the prize medals left by the late Sir William Browne, for the present year, are: For the Odes, *Bellum Americanum*. For the Epigrams, *Inest sua Gratia Parvis*. The Epigram prize medal was not disposed of last year; two therefore will be given the present year, if any Epigrams appear to deserve them.

The two gold medals given annually by the Duke of Grafton, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, for the encouragement of classical learning, are this year adjudged to Mr. Foster, A. B. of St. John's College, and Mr. Wakefield, A. B. of Jesus College.

Mr. Alderman Oliver 7th. having moved the House of Commons, that the resolution of the 8th of May, ordering the attorney-general to prosecute Richard Beckford, Esq; for employing an agent to endeavour to bribe and corrupt certain voters of the borough of Hindon, be rescinded; he was warmly supported by Mr. Dunning, and opposed by Sir George Young and Mr. George Grenville. But, the question being at length put, it passed in the negative without a division.

The college of commerce of Sweden has sent circular letters to all the ministers and consuls of that kingdom residing in foreign countries, desiring them to transmit an exact list of all the Swedish merchants, traders, and artists, who are settled at their respective places, in order to find out the motives that induced them to quit their native country, and endeavour to prevent such emigrations for the future; a thing, which it is improbable they should ever be able to effect, till

they can change their soil and climate, and have reformed their constitution.

The anniversary sermon 10th. to recommend the institution of the society for the recovery of drowned persons was preached at St. Andrew's, Holborn, by Dr. Dodd, to a very numerous congregation. Twelve of the persons who had been recovered through the means of this institution attended, among whom was an elderly man who had been fifty-five minutes under water. [The reader will find a full account of this useful institution, and the properest methods to recover persons in similar circumstances, in our last volume.]

A cause between Alderman Newnham and the churchwardens of the parish in which he lives, has been lately decided in favour of the latter. The object of litigation was, whether Mr. Newnham, as an alderman of the city, was compellable to serve the office of churchwarden; to which he had been elected, but refused to serve, upon a supposition that he was legally exempted from the duties of it by his magisterial character; and the court of aldermen advised him to try the point. But it now appears, that no gentleman, because he chuses to fill an employment of honour, is to be discharged from his parochial obligations, wherever he may be an inhabitant.

One day last week, as one Kinchey, a private soldier in the guards, who flung up his pay in order to be permitted to follow his own business, was lamenting his hard fate in drawing a lot to go to America, and being thereby obliged to leave his wife and children

dren to the parish; Henry Francis, a comrade of his, who happened to be standing by, went directly, without saying any thing to him, to the commanding officer, to whom he painted the poor fellow's distress in the best manner he was able, and added, that as he himself was a single man, and free from any incumbrance, he was very willing to go in his place. The officer, pleased with the man's generosity and spirit, accepted his offer, told him he was a brave fellow, and giving him half a crown to drink his majesty's health, promised to be his friend.

13th. Two ship loads of damaged oats, that had been spoiled by long keeping, were sold at the Hermitage for 4s. 6d. per quarter. On this occasion it may not be improper to observe, that by an act of the 11th of George II. any person or persons keeping a quantity of grain of any kind on board any ship, vessel, lighter, &c. on the river Thames beyond the time prescribed for clearance at the custom-house, shall forfeit ship and cargo to the conservator of the said river.

14th. Messrs. Rumbold and Sykes, the late sitting members for Hindon, in Wilts, were found guilty of bribery at the last election, at the prosecution of the attorney-general, by order of the House of Commons.

In a court of common-council, a motion being made and carried by a great majority, "that the thanks of this court be given to Dr. Price, for his excellent pamphlet on civil liberty, just published; and also, that the freedom of this city be presented to him in a gold box of the value of 50l." both were soon after done: when the doctor wrote Mr.

Rix, the town clerk, the following letter, which was ordered to be entered in the city journals.

'S I R,

'I request the favour of you to convey to the lord-mayor, the aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, my warmest acknowledgments for the very condescending resolution of thanks, with which they have honoured my Observations on Civil Liberty. Those Observations were written with no other intention, than to plead the cause of liberty and justice, and to remind this country of the dreadful danger of its present situation; the testimony of approbation, which they have received from a body so respectable, annually elected by the first city in the world, and so distinguished for giving an example of zeal in the cause of liberty, will, it may be hoped, lead the public to fix their views more on such measures as shall save a sinking constitution, and preserve us from impending calamities.

'I am, Sir, with great respect,

'Your's, &c.

'RICHARD PRICE.'

A proper explanation between the Pope and the king of Prussia, which had till now retarded the abolition of the order of Jesuits in the Prussian dominions, has at length taken place, the court of Berlin having made the following declaration. "His Prussian majesty would by no means renounce his own interest, but combine it with that of the Pope, and meant by suffering the Jesuits to reside in his dominions, not to permit the existence of the society, but the utility of its members. The most important object of a sovereign, has always been public education: In

In a state like Prussia, where there are so many different sects and religions, education must be various, and the instruction of a million and a half of catholics, which are in different parts of Prussia, is no small concern. This agreed to, and the society abolished, his majesty will not abolish the functions they filled, which were the instruction of youth in religion and the catholic theology. These are the only functions which his majesty will permit them to continue, which appears evident from his declaration, that it was indifferent to him whether they changed their name of Jesuits, their habits, their vows, and all their interior rules, if their functions were left them."

The king's troops evacuated Boston.

A gentleman lately deceased has left the University of Oxford, one hundred and sixty pounds per annum, to be given to a person who shall preach eight sermons in the course of the year, against dissenters or heretics. The preacher is not to receive the money till he has delivered a copy of the sermons to the head of each house. No person can be appointed twice, nor any person who is not at least A.M. of either of the English Universities, Oxford or Cambridge.

Some detachments from the three regiments of foot guards destined for America, were reviewed by his majesty, accompanied by the duke of Wirtemberg, and attended by the duke and duchess of Northumberland, and many officers and other persons of great distinction, as also one of the Indian chiefs, who was habited in the dress of his country, over an English suit of clothes. He wore an ensign's breast-plate; carried a

war hatchet in his hand, and his face was painted as with streaks of blood. Both officers and men gave great satisfaction on the occasion; both wore the same uniform, with their hair dressed in the same manner, which they are to continue to do abroad, that they may not be distinguished by the riflemen, who aim particularly at the officers. Moreover, the men, on a few field days, which for some time constantly succeeded this review, practised firing at a target, to be a better match for the riflemen. They had felt caps, with black feathers, presented them before their departure.

At a quarterly general court of proprietors of India stock at their house in Leadenhall-street, it appeared that the debt to government on the 1st instant, was reduced from 1,400,000l. to 420,000l. and the company was otherwise in a good situation.

Mr. Wilkes moved the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill for a more fair and equal representation of the people in the House of Commons, but after some very jocular treatment, it passed in the negative, without a division.

The Duke of Bridgewater's canal to Liverpool was compleated, and the vessels went through it to Manchester the two days following: nay, some of them returned to Liverpool the third. To make this junction, a mile was compleatly cut, and four capital bridges built, between the 22d of January and the 22d of March, in which time there were twenty-one days hard frost, and very bad weather. So singular a transaction cannot be equalled.

At one o'clock, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen Halifax, Crosby,

Crosby, Oliver, Townsend, Bull and Lec, the Sheriffs, 62 Common-councilmen, the Chamberlain, and other city officers, went in procession from Guildhall to St. James's, and after being joined by the Recorder in Pall-Mall, presented an address and petition to his majesty; which being rather too long for this part of our work, and too important to be abridged, we shall give it, with his majesty's answer, in one of the subsequent parts.

23d. The Continental Congress issued a proclamation to empower the inhabitants of the Colonies under them, to cruize on the ships of their enemies, and regulate the distribution of the prize-money, &c.

25th. The following bills received the royal assent by commission.

The bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army in North-America.

The bill to discontinue the duties payable on the importation of tallow, hog's-lard, and grease, for a limited time.

The bill to continue an act for laying a duty of two pennies Scots on all beer and ale brewed for sale in Dundee.

The bill for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia out of the land-tax.

The bill to rectify mistakes in the names of the commissioners appointed to execute the land-tax act.

The bill to enable his majesty to make leases, copies, and grants of offices, lands, &c. in Cornwall.

The bill for making a navigable cut or canal from or near Stourbridge, in Worcestershire, to join the Staffordshire and Worcester-

shire canal, at or near Stourton, in Staffordshire.

The bill to build an iron bridge across the river Severn, from Benthallin, Salop, to the opposite shore at Madeley wood.

The bill for better securing a fund, belonging to certain persons of the Theatre Royal, Drury-Lane, applicable to charitable uses, &c.

And also to several road, inclosure, naturalization, and other private bills.

At two in the afternoon, there fell in Lorraine such a prodigious quantity of hail and rain, that in less than half an hour, ninety-nine houses, composing the lower and principal street of the village of Tremont, were intirely laid under water, and filled with mud and hail; several of the inhabitants were drowned, or buried under the ruins of their houses, and the rest, to the number of five hundred, must have perished with hunger and cold, had not their neighbours exerted themselves in giving them assistance, particularly the Abbays of Trois Fontaines, Jandeures, and S. Hoil, and the regular clergy, who parted with their cloaths to them. All the poultry of the village, with five hundred and thirty-five head of cattle, which formed the riches of the inhabitants, were destroyed, and the territory laid waste.

The driver of a hackney-coach was brought before 26th. the Lord Mayor at Guildhall by two Custom-House officers, charged with having two dead bodies in his coach. The officers account of the matter was as follows. The day before, about four in the morning, as they were going over London-bridge, they observed a coach driving very precipitately, which gave

gave them a suspicion that some ~~rea~~ goods were concealed therein; and on calling to the coachman to stop, he drove the faster; on which one of them presenting a pistol, and threatening to fire at him, two men jumped out and ran away, and the coach stopped; the officers proceeded to examine it for their supposed prize, but, to their great astonishment, they found the body of an elderly man and that of a woman, quite naked, with each a rope tied round its neck, put into two separate sacks; there were three bruises about the body of the man, and neither of them had been dead a long time.—The coachman said, he took up his fare in Shoreditch, was ordered to drive to St. George's hospital, and he knew nothing more of the matter. However, on his taking the bodies, by the lord mayor's order, to the officers of Shoreditch parish, they were found to be those of two paupers who had lately died in their work-house, and which were supposed to have been stolen out of the burying-ground, for the use of the surgeons; a thing not very surprising, considering the careless manner in which such poor people are generally buried in London, as the reader may see by turning to our second part, p. 119.

Four days after the remains of more than one hundred dead bodies were discovered in a shed in Tottenham Court Road, supposed to have been deposited there by traders to the surgeons; of whom there is one, it is said, in the Borough, who makes open profession of dealing in dead bodies, and is well known by the name of the Resurrectionist.

The tower standing in the centre of the parish church of Bucking-
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ham suddenly fell down, and so much damaged the rest of the building that the whole was daily expected to be in ruins.

Some time ago, a citizen, who had raised himself to the distinction of a common-councilman of one of the wards of this city, and then had the misfortune to fail, and be obliged to compound with his creditors, called them together, to acquaint them he had embarked in another business, in which it had pleased God to bless his honest endeavours with success, and paid them every shilling of their debts. At the same time he desired one of them, who was churchwarden of his parish, to accept his benefaction of 20*l.* towards the cloathing of the poor children, during the late inclement season of the year.

23d. DIED, Doctor Robert James, author of the Medical Dictionary; and inventor of the celebrated fever powders, known by his name; in Bruton-street.

Lately, George Goodman, in Jamaica, in the 105th year of his age, and immensely rich.

24th. Mr. John Harrison, inventor and constructor of the famous time-keepers for ascertaining the longitude at sea, in the 84th year of his age, at his house in Red-Lion-square, Holborn. Mr. Harrison had received, as a reward for his useful labours, several thousand pounds of the money offered by parliament for facilitating the means of discovering the longitude at sea. [For some account of these his labours, please to turn to the second part of our eighth volume, for 1765.]

Mrs. Jay and Mrs. Gilbert, widows, at Uxbridge. They were twins; born within half an hour of each

each other; died within much about the same time; married the same day, and buried in one grave.

Mr. John Bird, a most ingenious and accurate mathematical instrument maker, and, as such, well known in every part of the world.

A P R I L.

2d: His majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills.

An act for the better supply of marines and seamen to serve in his majesty's ships of war, and on board merchant ships, &c.

An act for vesting certain estates, now held in trust for the benefit of the royal hospital for seamen at Greenwich, in the commissioners and governors of the said hospital.

An act for the better regulation of the pilots conducting ships and vessels into and out of the port of Boston in Lincolnshire, and for preventing mischiefs by fire in the said haven and harbour.

An act for lighting and watching the streets, lanes, &c. within the borough of Boston, in Lincolnshire.

An act for rebuilding the parish church of Tardebigg, in the counties of Worcester and Warwick.

An act for better cleansing, lighting, and watching the streets, lanes, &c. in Dorchester.

An act for lighting and watching of Camberwell and Peckham, in Surry.

An act for making and maintaining a navigable canal, from or near Stourbridge in Worcestershire, to join the Staffordshire and Worcestershire canal at or near Stour-

ton in Staffordshire. And to two more canal bills, two road and ten private bills.

By the above act, for the better supplying his majesty's fleet with mariners, it is enacted, that all trading ships shall be allowed to be navigated with 3-4ths of their crew foreigners, till the 25th of March, 1777, and no longer.

Patrick Hastings and John Clark stood in the pillory at the end of Margaret-street, Cavendish-square, for extorting several sums of money from James Lintott, by charging him with a detestable crime. They were pelted with apples, potatoes, eggs, &c. very severely; and conveyed back to Newgate, to undergo the remainder of their sentence, which is two years imprisonment.

Advice was received at the India house of the arrival of the Northumberland Indiaman, which had been a missing ship for some time, at Lisbon. She met with a violent hurricane near the Western Islands the latter end of February last, by which she broached to, and sprung so large a leak, that the water rushed in at the rate of four feet deep in the space of an hour, so that, notwithstanding the captain, and all hands, by turns, worked at the pumps, it was with the utmost difficulty they brought her into port, and that not without several feet water in the hold. Her cargo was damaged, and a large quantity of saltpetre, which made a considerable part of it, intirely destroyed. But ten of the original crew were left, all the rest having died with the fatigue of pumping day and night on the voyage.

By private letters from Dublin, there arrived the melancholy account

count that a malignant fever had, for some days past, made great havoc in that city. It was supposed by the faculty, to have arisen from a criminal, afflicted with the gaol disemper, being brought into court without the necessary precautions of washing him, shifting his cloaths, &c. Upon the list of those who have fallen victims to this direful disorder, were Fielding Ould, Esq; high-sheriff of Dublin, an active, worthy magistrate; counsellor Darby, counsellor Palmer, counsellor Spring, counsellor Ridge, Charles Caldwell, Esq; Mr. Bolton, Mr. Erwin, and several other attorneys and persons whose business brought them into court.

By letters from France, the sport of horse-racing, not without a little mixture of gambling, is daily increasing there. They have had two very lately in one day; the first, between the Prince of Nassau and the Marquis of Fenelon, who both rode their own horses. The former lost his wager, and was very near losing his life, by the indiscretion of one of the spectators. His horse fell, and the marquis who was under him, received a violent hurt on his head. The other race was between the Duke of Chartres and the Duke of Lauzun. The Duke of Chartres's horse, which won two former races, was beat this time by that of the Duke of Lauzun; their grooms rode this race, which was for 200 louis d'ors. Their majesties, and great part of the royal family, were present at this entertainment, which was rendered more agreeable by the fine weather they had for some time. The queen frequently assists at these amusements.

Notwithstanding this spirit of

dissipation, many national improvements have been lately undertaken in France. Among others, a considerable commercial company, actuated by a true spirit of patriotism, have formed in Paris, under the name of *Caisse d'Escompte*, or discount office, an establishment with a fund of fifteen millions of livres. They have contracted to discount bills and notes, both in peace and war, without ever exceeding the rate of four per cent. per annum, and have tied themselves down to this single branch of business, the gold and silver trade, and to receive voluntary deposits of cash, without meddling in any other matters whatsoever. This new establishment, the French say, is an improvement of the plan of the bank of England, and that, as the regulations relative to its administrations, its dividends, &c. are wisely calculated to insure success, it is probable the profits of the house will be considerable enough to enable the administrators to lower, in a little time, the rate of interest to three per cent.

A new establishment, equally or more useful, has likewise been lately formed in Madrid. It is an academy under the title of, "The friends of their country." The design of this institution is to encourage agriculture, manufactures, industry, arts, and trade, which are visibly decaying in Spain. The prince of Asturias, the infants Don Gabriel and Don Antonio, also the marquis de St. Croix, the prince Pignatelli, the duke de Crillon, the count de Montalvo, the illustrious Campomanes, and other grandees of the court, have caused their names

to be inscribed in the list of Academicians; and the king, ever attentive to the protection of establishments advantageous to his subjects, hath not only approved of the institution and statutes of this academy, but has been also pleased to assign a sum of money for an annual distribution of two premiums to be given to such agriculturers, manufacturers, or artists, as shall distinguish themselves in their several professions.

Extract of a letter from Dublin of this date.

"James Wilson, Esq; a member of our parliament, and captain of marines, has just now sent to Lord George Germaine, a memorial to lay before his majesty, requesting leave to lay down his commission, as he cannot, he says, consistently with his conscience, serve in the present dispute against the Americans.

"Captain Wilson, in the year 1760, raised a hundred and thirty men (as the purchase of his company) on his own estate in Ireland, and served all the remainder of the war in actual service with the highest credit to himself."

The committee on the Worcester election, after sitting forty days in hearing the examination of witnesses and the arguments of counsel, and five days deliberation, finally determined, that the sitting members, Thomas Bates Rous, and ——— Walsh, Esqrs. are duly elected. It is computed that this election has cost the parties upwards of twenty thousand pounds.

On taking up a floor in 6th. one of the rooms at Somerset-house, some bushels of cockle-shells were found in the cavity between it and the under ceiling.

Considering the genius of the time, in which this palace was built, it is very probable that some magical, or medicinal purpose was intended by this deposit.

Being Easter Sunday, was observed at court, and elsewhere, as usual. 7th.

By the report of the state 8th. of the city hospitals for the last year, laid before the Lord Mayor this day, as usual, at St. Bride's church, it appeared,

That all the patients cured, relieved, buried, and remaining under cure in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, amounted to 10,155. Those in St. Thomas's to 7957.

That, in Christ's Hospital, 142 boys had been put out and provided for, seven had died, and that 1132 remained.

That in Bridewell 1084 vagrants had been provided for, and that 33 apprentices had been maintained at trades, &c.

That in Bethlem 187 lunatics had been admitted, 190 cured, 17 buried; and 244 remained under cure.

A woman who keeps a 9th. public house was tried, at the quarter-sessions held at Westminster, for assaulting and greasing the chin of a Jew with pork. The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 10*l.* damages.

A very tragical adventure happened about this time at Lille, between the regiments of Auvergne and Maine, which were in garrison there. An uniform being found in one of the guard-houses, some of those who found it, took it into their heads, that it belonged to one of their comrades who had been killed; others thought that it was left there as a mark of contempt.

contempt. Some were for burning it; others thought that it would be best to demand satisfaction of the other regiment: this advice prevailed. Accordingly a day and hour being fixed, the two regiments fought against each other with such fury, that a great number were killed and wounded.

11th. The Castilla, a Spanish man of war of sixty guns, took fire off the mouth of the Tagus, when the flames reaching the powder room, the ship blew up, and all on board perished.

13th. The Dublin Gazette of this date, contains a notice, dated Dublin Castle, March 27, 1776, signifying, that it is his majesty's royal pleasure, that for the future, the Dublin Gazette shall, as nearly as possible, be put upon the same footing as the London Gazette; and that it shall contain no other articles of news than such as are authorized by his majesty's government of this kingdom, or duly authenticated; and his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland has appointed Mr. W. Roseingrave compiler of the said Dublin Gazette.

15th. A doubt having been started in the House of Lords, whether their Lordships could legally proceed to the trial of Elizabeth, styling herself Duchess of Kingston; she being indicted as the wife of John Augustus Hervey; and the judges, to whom the matter was referred, having made answer, that having duly considered the question proposed to them, they were clearly and unanimously of opinion, that their lordships may legally proceed to trial; this day, at length, their lordships (after some debates, whe-

ther she should be tried at their bar, or in Westminster-Hall, and several delays with regard to the time, on account of the interference of the terms) attended by the judges, several of the masters in chancery, garter king at arms, the usher of the black rod, and a number of other gentlemen, attendants on the lord high steward *pro tempore*, went in procession to Westminster-Hall, and, after the usual ceremonies, entered immediately on the trial; the doors of the court had been opened by seven in the morning; but each peer had but seven tickets of admission; a debate in favour of eight lasted but a short time; for it was proved that the benches were crowded at the trials of Lord Byron and the Earl of Ferrers, when only seven were delivered. Her ladyship, during the trial, was permitted to remain in the custody of the gentleman usher of the black rod.

[For an account of the trial itself, we beg leave to refer to our Appendix.]

The sessions at the Old-Bailey for Middlesex ended, 29th. when five convicts received sentence of death, viz. one, for having in his possession a dye, on which was impressed a resemblance of a sixpence; one, for bestiality; one, for stealing 180 guineas from Robert Whitehead; one, for picking a gentleman's pocket of his purse; and one, for returning from transportation: and on the 18th of June, the three first, with two other convicts, were executed at Tyburn. One of them acknowledged his being one of those people that attempted to rob Mr. Sandford's house, in Winchester-Street, in

which attempt Armstrong was shot. Another requested, that several robberies, &c. committed by him, should be made known to the injured parties, of which he gave some particulars; by which it appears he had got above four hundred pounds, most of it in ready money, during the two last years of his life; and in such capital sums as 50 and 180 guineas at a time.

21st. A fire broke out at War-radine, the capital of Esclavonia, by which seven parts out of eight of that large and opulent city were reduced to ashes. It happened by a man's shaking the tobacco out of his pipe without extinguishing the ashes.

25th. About six in the morning, her Majesty was taken with labour pains, notice of which was immediately sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the secretaries of state, and several of the nobility; and, at seven o'clock, her Majesty was safely delivered of a princess, being her eleventh child, and all of them living.

And on Sunday evening, the 19th of May, being the birth-day of her Majesty, who but then entered her thirty-third year, the ceremony of the christening of the young princess was performed in the great council chamber, by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. Her Royal Highness was named Mary. The sponsors were Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, represented by the Earl of Hertford, Lord-Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household; the Duchess of Saxe-Gotha, represented by the Duchess of Argyle; and the Princess Frederica of Mecklenburgh

Strelitz, represented by the Dowager Countess of Effingham.

On this happy occasion, both houses, and the lord-mayor, &c. addressed his Majesty, as usual. But, as the address of the latter is not altogether in the usual style, our readers may be glad to see it. It is as follows:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Your Majesty's loyal subjects, the Lord-mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, approach your Majesty with their congratulations on the happy delivery of their most amiable Queen, and the birth of another princess; and to assure your Majesty, that there are not, in all your dominions, any subjects more faithful, or more ready to maintain the true honour and dignity of your crown.

They will continue to rejoice at every event which adds to your Majesty's domestic felicity; and they hope, that every branch of the august House of Brunswick will add further security to those sacred laws and liberties which their ancestors would not suffer to be violated with impunity, and which, in consequence of the glorious and necessary Revolution, that illustrious House was called forth to protect and defend.

Signed, by order of Court,

WILLIAM RIX.

His Majesty's Answer.

"I thank you for this dutiful address on the happy delivery of the Queen, and the birth of another Princess.

The security of the laws and liberties

liberties of my people, has always been, and ever shall be, the object of my care and attention."

The subjects for the annual prizes of fifteen guineas each, given by the Marquis of Granby, and Richard Croftes, Esq; representatives for the university of Cambridge, for the best exercises in Latin prose, are, this year, for the senior bachelors, "Utrum Imperium atque Artes humaniores Occidentali Cursu Nationibus sese deferant?" For the middle bachelors, "An Constantinus Imperii sui Sedem Jure mutaverit?"

Died the Grand Duchess 26th. of Russia, Petrowna Alexi-ewna, born Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt, universally and sincerely lamented by her Imperial Majesty, the Grand Duke, and the whole empire.

Some days ago, Capt. Kidd, of his majesty's sloop Princess Anne, fell in with a smuggler dogger in the Frith of Forth and took her. But it was not long before another smuggling vessel, which, as it since appears, measures 66 feet keel, carries twenty six-pounders, with thirty swivels, and is navigated by eighty stout men, came up with and attacked Capt. Kidd, killed one or two of his men, and retook the dogger. Upon this, Capt. Ogilvie's excise yacht, and the Hazard sloop of war, failed in quest of the smugglers; but the latter, being a bad sailer, did not come up with them; and when Capt. Ogilvie did, he durst not venture to attack them alone.

The governors of the city 28th. of London Lying-in-Hospital held their anniversary feast at the King's-Arms Tavern in Cornhill. The collection at the church and

dinner, together with some late subscriptions, amounted to 564l. 4s. besides some legacies lately received, to the amount of 677l. 2s. 6d. amongst which was the sum of 500l. bequeathed to this charity by their late worthy president, Barlow Trecothick, Esq.

Mr. Axtell was brought 29th. into the court of King's Bench to receive judgment for printing and publishing a pamphlet called "The Crisis."—Sir Richard Aston read several extracts from the same, which he declared were grossly libellous, and deserving of punishment. However, an affidavit being read, in which the prisoner declared he was not worth five pounds, the court passed sentence of but three months imprisonment upon him.

Immediately after George Allen appeared, and Robert Holloway was brought into court to receive judgment; the former for printing and publishing, and the latter for writing a libellous pamphlet, called the "Rat Trap." When his lordship pronounced the sentence of the court, which was imprisonment for one month to the defendant Allen; and three months longer to the prisoner Holloway, who had been already confined a considerable time.

At a court of common-council, held at Guildhall, Mr. Horton arose, and prefacing his motion with some remarks upon the expenditure necessary to support the dignity of the mayoralty: he said, that for several years past, although the income allowed out of the chamber was but 4000l. the expence was not less than 7000l. and upwards; he thought the close attendance upon the duties of the office a suffi-

cient burthen; but that, connected with the other consideration, it was intolerable, and what the corporation ought not to suffer to be endured; he should therefore move, "That it be referred to the committee appointed to examine into the state of the city's cash, to take into consideration the amount of the salary and certain emoluments annually allowed by the corporation to the Lord-mayor, for supporting the necessary expence of the mayoralty; and that the said committee do state their opinion to the court thereupon." This was agreed to without a division.

The beginning of this year, the French clergy granted his Most Christian Majesty a free gift of sixteen millions of livres, or seven hundred thousand pounds sterling; which his majesty has acquiesced in; whilst other Roman Catholic states seem resolved to take another method with their clergy. — The senate of Venice are said to be resolved to sell the revenues of all the monasteries in their dominions. At least, they have already sold those enjoyed by the late Mr. Sarvognano, by auction. The produce, however, of these sales is to be kept in a separate stock, out of which the monasteries are to be supported, and the rest is to augment the revenues of the poorest bishopricks of the state, in order to put them more upon an equality with the rest. It was said, however, that the senate intended to send two prelates to Rome, with a commission to terminate the differences in an amicable manner. — The court of Naples has, it is said, resolved to pursue the same course with the senate of Venice,

with as little regard to the pope's permission.

Mr. Wilkes made his annual motion in parliament, 30th. for expunging from the journals of the house, the resolution for his expulsion; for a more equal representation of the people; and for shortening the duration of parliament; but it passed in the negative, 186 to 92.

The charter of the Dutch East-India company having expired in the year 1773, the company, under a pretence that its trade had declined, solicited the States-General to grant a diminution of the sum formerly paid for the renewal of the charter. Upon this, their high mightinesses, in order to have time to enquire into the foundation of this request, prolonged the charter for three years, upon the old footing; and finding since upon enquiry, that the company had really met with great losses, and that their trade had greatly declined, they complied with the company's request, and have lately granted them a new charter for thirty years, for the same term as the former; paying immediately two millions of florins instead of three millions, which they paid before, and the sum of 360,000 florins yearly, which last sum, however, they were allowed to make good in money or goods. In consequence of this indulgence, the stock of the company rose no less than 19 per cent. in about six months.

DIED, the 1st instant, 31st. Mr. John Harman, one of the most noted astrologers of the age.

The 2d, The Rev. Mr. Grainger, vicar of Shiplake, Oxfordshire, author

thor of that useful and entertaining work, the "Biographical History of England, &c." suddenly, by the bursting of a vessel in the brain, as he was administering the sacrament at church. [See an elegant epigram on the occasion, in our article of poetry.]

The 18th, Mr. Isaac Sparks, the celebrated comedian of Smock-alley theatre, Dublin.

The 26th, The Rev. Dr. Borlace, Rector of ———, during the long space of 55 years, justice of the peace, vice warden of the flanneries, at Castle Hornock, in Cornwall, aged 82 years.

The 28th, Mr. Robert Cook, at Clifton, Yorkshire, aged 107 years.

Mr. Rogers, master of the Sun alchouse in the Borough, a dwarf four feet three inches high.

The 30th, the famous Mr. Wortley Montague, brother to Lady Bute, at Padua. [See some account of this gentleman's life, in our second part.]

Lately, a lady of large fortune in Westminster, who left a considerable legacy to her footman to hang fourteen favourite cats.

Captain Panshaw, at Deptford, aged 98. He has left a large fortune between his man and his maid and a deserted girl; to whom he had the goodness to be a father, because she had no mother, and her father had forsaken her.

Nathaniel St. André, Esq; well known by the infamous story of Mary Tofts, the rabbit-woman; whose case was urged, by a learned contemporary divine, as a completion of a prophecy in the Revelations.

William G——, Esq; who having been left 18,000 l. a few months before, by his father, lost

it all by gaming in less than a month; in the Rules of the King's-bench.

David Biar, aged 117, at Finerane, in the county of Clare, Ireland.

Mr. John Mouat, surgeon, who, in the opinion of those best acquainted with him, was 136 years old, at Langhome, in the county of Dumfries, Scotland.

LENT ASSIZES.

At Hertford, four prisoners were capitally convicted.

At Chelmsford, eight; amongst whom was Samuel Norfolk for the murder of Sarah his wife. He strongly denied being guilty of the murder, till after sentence of death was passed on him; when he acknowledged that he threw her into the river, and afterwards kept her down with a stick till she was drowned. He was a farmer of Great Coggeshall, and in very good circumstances; and his wife, even by his own account, a woman of the greatest discretion and mildness.

At Oxford, two.

At Winchester, four.

At Reading, two; one of whom was reprieved; the other, for burglary, left for execution.

At Salisbury, nine; but all reprieved.

At the above assizes came on the trials of the four candidates for Hindon, in consequence of the prosecution commenced against them all by the attorney-general for bribery, by order of the house of commons. After a hearing, which continued for two days, General Smith and Mr. Hollis, the late sitting members for the borough, were found guilty. Mr.

Calthorp

Calthorp and Mr. Beckford, the petitioners, were, upon the strongest and clearest evidence, acquitted.

At Worcester, Ann Hale only, for the murder of her bastard child, was condemned and executed.

At Northampton, three were capitally convicted; but all reprieved, except one for a burglary and robbery.

At Bedford, one, for horse-stealing; but reprieved.

At Cambridge, a boy for a burglary; but reprieved.

At Maidstone, eight; amongst whom was Margaret Ryan, for the wilful murder of her husband. She pleaded guilty; but at the desire of the court, she put herself on her country. She appeared to be near 70, and only said in her defence "the deceased and she had words, and she stabbed him with a pen-knife."

At York, ten; among whom were Thomas Aikney and Elizabeth Boardingham, for the murder of John Boardingham, husband to the latter.

On their trials it appeared that Aikney had cohabited with her, during her husband's confinement in York Castle, for smuggling; and that, soon after his release and return to Flambrough, she went off with Aikney into Lincolnshire, where they continued three months: that, previous to their going off, she had frequently urged Aikney to murder her husband, but that he, to avoid yielding to her intreaties, persuaded her to elope: that, notwithstanding she was kindly received on her return home, she seemed inflexibly bent on her husband's destruction, and

renewed her solicitations that Aikney would effect it.

He at length agreed to accomplish the horrid design, for which purpose she promised to let him into the house in the night-time: that, eight days after her return, viz. the 13th of February, about eleven at night, she awakened her husband, by acquainting him that she heard a noise at the door, on which the unfortunate man put on his coat and waistcoat, and went down stairs, where Aikney, lying in wait for his coming, stabbed him first in the thigh, and afterwards on the left side, leaving the knife in the wound. Boardingham made to the street, and cried out murder; in the mean time Aikney escaped.

A neighbour came to his assistance, and found him, holding in one hand the bloody knife just drawn out of the wound, and with the other supporting his bowels that were falling from his body. He languished till next day, when he expired in great agonies. The knife was produced in court, and proved to be Aikney's, who, on being asked if he had any thing to advance in his defence, acknowledged the truth of the evidence, and received his sentence with resignation.

Elizabeth Boardingham's body was burnt to ashes, and Thomas Aikney's sent to the infirmary at Leeds for dissection.

At the same assizes a cause was tried, wherein Mrs. Saunderston was plaintiff, and a maltster defendant, for non-performance of a promise of marriage. The jury found for the plaintiff, with 100l. damages. The defendant is 60 years

years of age, and the plaintiff upwards of 50.

At Stafford, six were capitally convicted; one of whom was for the murder of his own daughter; an infant, aged ten weeks.

At Derby, one, for the murder of Mrs. Mary Vickars, Dec. 18, 1774.

At Norwich, four.

At the same assizes came on before Mr. Justice Willes, and a special jury, an action of debt, brought by Pinckney Wilkinson, Esq; against a clergyman, in order to recover the sum of 80l. for eight months non-residence on his living in this county, when the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, subject to the opinion of the court of King's-Bench, upon the following question, 'Whether the want of a parsonage-house is a sufficient excuse for the defendant's absence from his living, and a total neglect of his duty.' [See p. 141, for the opinion of the court thereupon.]

At Dorchester, one, for horse-stealing, but reprieved.

At Shrewsbury, four.

At Kingston, nineteen; fourteen of whom were afterwards reprieved.

At Bury, four; but all afterwards reprieved.

At the same assizes, a livery servant brought an action against a justice of the peace for false imprisonment, being committed for going out with his master's greyhounds, by his master's order, and killing a hare. The jury, who were special, deeming it an act of oppression, found for the plaintiff with costs of suit.

At East Grinstead, one was capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Exeter, four.

At Warwick, seven; four of whom were reprieved.

At Launceston, one, for the murder of her bastard child.

At Lancaster, two. Fourteen more, who had been concerned in the riot at Liverpool, were, by the clemency of the judge and prosecutors, suffered to go on board one of his majesty's ships of war destined for America.

At Gloucester, seven were capitally convicted.

At Monmouth, one, who was afterwards reprieved.

At Taunton, nine.

At Bristol, four; but all reprieved.

Huntingdon and Hereford assizes proved maiden ones.

At Hereford assizes, an action of singular importance to all traders in hops was tried, between Mr. Beezley, of Worcester, plaintiff, and Mr. Higgings, of Hereford, defendant, to recover satisfaction for a parcel of hops sold in October last by the defendant to the plaintiff, and which turned out to be badly cured, and, on that account, unmarketable. The event of this action (which it is to be hoped all hop planters will record in their minds) was, that the defendant was compelled to take the hops again; refund the price; pay interest, and for warehouse room; and allow a moderate profit to the plaintiff, which he of course would have made if the hops had been sound; and also to pay costs.

A new regulation was ordered to take place for the future at all the county assizes; which is, that all persons condemned, and afterwards pardoned, are to be transported forthwith, and not to lie till

till another affize to plead their pardon, as hitherto had been the custom.

M A Y.

By a proclamation issued 1st. the 12th ult. and to take place this day, no guineas, half-guineas, or quarter-guineas, more deficient in weight than the rates specified in the table following; viz.

Guineas coined prior to the 1st of January 1772	5	8
Half-guineas during the same period,	2	16
Quarter-guineas, during the same period,	1	8

are to be allowed to be current, or to pass in any payment whatsoever, in Great Britain, except

Guineas coined prior to the 1st of January 1772, weighing	5	6
Half-guineas, during the same period,	2	14
Quarter-guineas, during the same period,	1	7

which were till the 10th of August following, inclusively, to pass in payments to be made at the receipt of the Exchequer, or to the collectors or receivers of the revenues in Great Britain, or to the governor and company of the Bank of England, or to such other person or persons as shall be appointed by the lords commissioners of the treasury, or any three of them, or the Bank, to receive and exchange the same for gold of the weight mentioned in the first table,

such appointments to be published in the London Gazette.

On this occasion, three or four large fums, in light gold, were lost in their way to London, by being packed up, without any other precaution, in parcels, which, though big enough to conceal the bulk, were not heavy enough to drown the weight, of so ponderous a metal.

A demurrer in the cause, the king against John Hart, Esq. for usurping the office of Alderman of the city of London, was argued in the court of King's-Bench, when it was unanimously resolved; that the election is void.

The governors of the Magdalen charity dined together, 2d. when the collection amounted to 1007l. 13s. 6d.

Whitehall, May 3. The King has been pleased to order letters patent to be passed under the great seal of Great Britain, constituting and appointing Richard Lord Viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and the Honourable William Howe, Esq; Major-General of his Majesty's forces, and General of his Majesty's forces in North America only, to be his Majesty's commissioners for restoring peace to his Majesty's colonies and plantations in North-America; and for granting pardon to such of his Majesty's subjects there, now in rebellion, as shall deserve the royal mercy.

His Majesty hath also been pleased to nominate and appoint Henry Strachy, Esq; to be secretary to the said commission.

And about this time, or soon after, General Howe was invested with full power to grant commissions of every rank.

6th. The

6th. The siege of Quebec was raised; and soon after General Carleton issued two proclamations; by one of which he forbid such of its former inhabitants, with their wives and children, as had been banished the town before the siege, on account of their not joining in its defence, to attempt coming back, without a special licence under his hand, or that of the lieutenant governor: by the other, he invited such of the Provincials as might be hiding in the woods, particularly the sick and wounded, in danger of perishing for want of necessaries, to come in and be taken some care of; with a promise to dismiss them when able to set out for their own homes.

7th. Was held the anniversary meeting of the sons of the clergy. The collections at the performances in church, and feast, were as follow: at St. Paul's 197l. at ditto, 280l. 11s. 6d. at Merchant-Taylor's Hall, 392l. 6s. Total, 869l. 17s. 6d.

8th. Sir Robert Murray Keith took leave of his Majesty, being soon to set out on his embassy to the court of Vienna.

An ox of an extraordinary magnitude, fed by Henry Lutwidge, Esq. at Cooper's-Hill, was killed at Wigan, in Lancashire. It measured, when living, 16 hands in height, and 9 feet 2 inches in girth over the part called the saddle; and weighed 1568lb. After it was slaughtered, there were taken from it 168lb. of tallow. The sirloin, which weighed 67lb. was nine inches deep in fat; and the rump weighed 77lb. both of them cut as scant as possible.

At the anniversary meeting of the society for the discharge and relief of persons imprisoned for small debts, it appeared by accounts laid before the society, that since its institution, 3591 debtors had been released, and restored to their families; and a considerable sum was collected towards extending this charitable design.

Sir Robert Ainslie, late appointed ambassador to the court of Constantinople, took leave of his Majesty, being in a few days to set out on his embassy. Henry Higden, Esq. late secretary to Lord Suffolk, is appointed secretary to this embassy.

During an audience of leave which Prince Repnin, ambassador extraordinary at the Porte from Russia, had this day of the grand vizir, one of his officers, even in his presence, threw off his uniform and hat, and called for a turban, declaring he was a true and faithful Mahometan. But his excellency having talked to him, in the Russian language, and reclaimed him, the grand vizir caused him to be returned; which, however, was not the case with about twenty other Russians, who turned Mahometans.

A few days ago came on to be argued in the court of King's-Bench, a special case reserved at the Norfolk assizes, in a cause between Pinckney Wilkinson, Esq. plaintiff, and a clergyman defendant, upon the following question, whether the want of a parsonage-house is a sufficient excuse for a clergyman's absenting himself from, and neglecting the care of his living. The court were unanimously of

of opinion, that the want of a parsonage-house is not an excuse for non-residence; but that in such case a clergyman is obliged to be resident upon his living, and to perform his parochial duty, and for that purpose must hire an habitation in or near his parish; and accordingly judgment was pronounced for the plaintiff.

The royal assent was 13th. given by commission, to the following bills, viz.

The bill for raising a certain sum, by loans on Exchequer bills, for the service of the present year.

The bill more effectually to prevent the stealing or destroying of deer in Great Britain.

The bill for securing a fund belonging to certain persons of the theatre in Covent-Garden, and applicable to charitable purposes.

The bill to continue the corporation of guardians of the poor in the Isle of Wight.

The bill to remove the danger of fire amongst the ships in the port of Bristol.

The bill to amend an act for lighting and paving Portsmouth.

The bill for the better encouragement of the pilchard fishery within the bay of St. Ives.

The bill to declare his majesty's natural-born subjects inheritable to the estates of their ancestors in Scotland.

The bill for granting a bounty on flax-seed, the growth of the Austrian Netherlands, imported into Ireland.

The bill to indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices or employments within the time limited by law.

The bill for better supplying the town of Brecknock with water,

and for paving and lighting the street therein.

The bills to dissolve the marriages of Charles Horneck, Esq. and of Dr. John Elliot.

And also to several other public and private bills ready for that purpose, to the amount of fifty and upwards.

Lord Ravensworth moved in the House of Lords, that the commissioners of excise be desired to write to all such persons as they had reason to suspect had silver-plate, and had not paid the duty, and to return to the house the names of such persons as had, or had not paid it, on the first day of next sessions. This motion was agreed to.

Happened the affair of the Cedars, not perhaps so remarkable for the defeat of a pretty large body of Provincials, as the handle made of it by the Continental Congress to charge the British troops with the most wanton cruelty; whereas it has been since proved that their behaviour had been quite the reverse.

The opinion of the court of Common-Pleas was so 14th. solemnly delivered by all the judges upon a motion for an arrest of judgment, in a cause wherein Mrs. Baddeley, comedian, was defendant. The court was unanimous in granting the motion, but seemed to differ as to the principles. The chief justice declared, that as a *feme covert*, and not subject to the local custom of any trading community, she could not be sued, and was by law equally incapable of suing. His lordship adduced several cases, which clearly proved, that by the common law of this country, a married woman, not under influence of locality, cannot be

be made accountable for any debts she may contract.

15th. The Congress, considering the United Colonies as excluded by the capture acts from the protection of the crown of Great-Britain, recommended to the respective colonies, to adopt such form of government, as should best conduce to the happiness of the inhabitants, and the safety of America.

17th. The Attorney-General came into the court of King's-Bench, and moved for judgment against General Smith, for bribing the electors of the borough of Hindon: Mr. Justice Willes stated the evidence against him. As soon as he concluded, Serjeant Davy and Mr. Mansfield endeavoured to mitigate the sentence, by shewing how much the general had already been punished for his offence, the great expence he was at, and likely to be at. In answer to what was urged in his favour, the Attorney-General insisted, that the reasons given in favour of him, only aggravated his guilt. Lord Mansfield then began by expressing his concern that the defendant had brought himself into so disagreeable a situation, pursued the Attorney-General's idea, that as to the expence, the General brought it on himself by procuring a return by corruption; that the voters being willing to receive bribes, was no justification of the giver; that such punishment should be inflicted as would compel the candidate to be honest; that the present case was of the most serious nature. An officer of the crown, on behalf of the public, prosecuted to conviction a man endeavouring to get into the senate by corruption; this

crime called for ample punishment by way of example; it was the first instance of the kind heard of, and should be maturely considered, as it would be impossible to preserve the constitution from ruin, if courts of justice did not act with vigour, when such matters came before them. His lordship then ordered the General for the present to stand committed, and to be brought up the first day of next term to receive whatever sentence the court should think proper to pronounce. Mr. Hollis, the other candidate, standing upon the same ground, was dismissed in the same manner; and both sent to the King's-Bench prison.

The following bills were passed by commission: 20th.

The bill for granting to his Majesty a certain sum out of the sinking fund.

The bill to enable his Majesty to raise the sum of one million, for the purpose therein mentioned.

The bill for granting to his Majesty several duties on coaches and other carriages; also upon indentures, leases, bonds, and other deeds; likewise upon cards, dice, and news-papers; and for raising two millions by annuities and a lottery.

The bill for raising a certain sum by loans on exchequer bills.

The bill for relief of insolvent debtors, and bankrupts in certain cases.

The bill to dissolve the marriage of Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury with his now wife, and to enable him to marry again.

The bill for erecting lighthouses and land-marks in the port of Chester, for the better security of shipping.

The

The bill to explain, amend, and reduce into one act, the general laws in being, for the better preservation of turnpike roads.

The bill for the further encouragement of the whale-fishery, carried on from Great-Britain and Ireland.

The bill for allowing the exportation of a certain quantity of wheat and other articles to the sugar colonies in America, and to the island of St. Helena, and other settlements belonging to the East-India Company.

The bill for allowing corn, grain, and flour, imported into the port of Preston, to be landed without payment of the duties.

The bill for draining, improving and preserving certain fen and waste lands near Sandwich.

And also to several road, inclosure, and private bills.

By the coach act an additional duty of 20s. per annum is laid on all coaches, berlins, &c. except hackney-coaches; and a duty of 5l. per annum on stages; notice to be given, and payment made, agreeable to an act 20 Geo. I. The clause in the said act, exempting persons from paying for more than five carriages, is repealed.

By the new act with respect to stamps, an additional duty of 1s. is laid on all indentures, bonds, &c. heretofore liable to a shilling stamp; an additional duty of 6d. on every pack of playing cards, and 2s. 6d. on every pair of dice made for sale; an additional duty of one half-penny on every sheet or half-sheet of news-paper. Commissioners may provide a new stamp, to denote all the several duties; and, after July 5, 1776. all vellum, &c. liable to the new duty, to be carried to the stamp-office,

&c. before it is printed or wrote on. Persons counterfeiting stamps to suffer death as felons. Selling cards to be played with, after the cover has been broke open, 5l. penalty.

By returns made from the gaols throughout the kingdom, it appears, that there are upwards of 8000 debtors in the different prisons waiting to take the benefit of the insolvent-act.

His Majesty went to the house of peers, and, after being addressed by the Speaker of the House of Commons, gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

The bill to oblige the overseers of the poor, within the several parishes and places in England, which are not under the provision of former acts, to make returns upon oath relative to the state of their poor.

The bill to alter the mode of punishment of felons sentenced for transportation, to hard labour in England.

The bill to dissolve the marriage of the Rev. John Jenkins, with Mary Jenkins, his wife.

The bill relating to the duke of St. Alban's estate, and some other bills.

And then his Majesty put an end to the sessions, by a most gracious speech; which the reader will find, as also the Speaker's address, among our State Papers.

The new hall, called Free Mason's Hall in Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, was dedicated with great solemnity; great numbers of strangers being present; particularly ladies, who were treated with great politeness. Doctor Dodd preached the sermon on the occasion.

Being Holy Thursday, 8,400 charity

charity children, educated in the different schools of London and Westminster, met, and heard divine service performed at Christ-Church, according to annual custom.

24th. The general assembly of the church of Scotland met at Edinburgh, and chose the Rev. Dr. John Ker their moderator. Lord Cathcart was his Majesty's high commissioner on the occasion.

25th. The sessions ended at the Old-Bailey, when two criminals, for murdering Joseph Pearson, a custom-house officer, on the 11th of April last; two for coining, and fifteen others for various other capital crimes, received sentence of death; forty one were branded in the hand, of whom several were ordered to be imprisoned for some time in Newgate; four were ordered to be whipped; and eighteen discharged by proclamation. With the two coiners was tried one Hannah Horner, as an accessory, who having a fine child about four months old at her breast, greatly affected the whole court. On her acquittal, she fell into tears; and after paying her respects to the court and jury, first embraced her little innocent; and then, in a kind of frenzy, seized the unhappy father, one of the coiners, in her arms, and was with difficulty disengaged from him, expressing more anxiety for his life than for her own. At the same instant, on the conviction of the other coiner, a well-dressed young woman in the gallery burst into a loud fit, crying out repeatedly to the Lord-mayor and judges, "Gentlemen, spare my father! mercy! mercy! to my dear father!" and then

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falling down on the floor, was carried out of court in great agonies.

The two murderers were executed on the 27th. The poor man they had murdered was one of four custom-house officers, who, having previous intelligence that a quantity of tea was to be run in the night, way-laid the smugglers, near Deptford turnpike; but possibly the same person who gave the information to the officers might alarm the smugglers, who having made themselves drunk for mischief, instead of running the tea, armed themselves with clubs and bludgeons to hunt the officers; the unfortunate deceased was overtaken in the pursuit, and beat so unmercifully, that he died, after being conveyed to the hospital, in great agonies. They were convicted on the evidence of an accomplice; but there were other corroborating proofs against them, though none to their being the identical persons who gave the blows. One Gipsy George, a noted smuggler, was their employer, and hired the whole gang, twenty in number, to pursue the officers.

Most of the other capital convicts were respited; the rest, of whom the two coiners, and an elderly man, for being concerned with his son in robbing the son's master, made a part; with another convicted in February sessions for writing a threatening letter, when under sentence of transportation in Newgate, to the prosecutor of a fellow prisoner, were executed at Tyburn the 17th of July. The criminal, for writing the threatening letter, had been kept back for the opinion of the judges, on a point of law. The youth con-

[K]

victed

victed of robbing his master, was saved in consequence of a recommendation by the jury, as it appeared he had been put on by his father; and of a petition afterwards presented to the king by his grandmother, a poor woman of eighty-two; whom his Majesty perceiving to totter as she approached him, was graciously pleased to go and meet.

Being the anniversary of 29th. the restoration of Charles II. the same was observed as usual.

A sudden fire broke out, at noon-day, at Bellon, in Rutlandshire, by which 27 houses were consumed, besides barns, out-houses, and granaries, and more than 170 persons reduced to the greatest distress. It was occasioned by a girl's throwing hot ashes into a back yard, which kindled the litter and set an out-house on fire.

They write from Vienna, that since the power of the monks is fallen, the clouds of ignorance are dissipated, and toleration has proved that the difference of religion does not either weaken the love, or lessen the fidelity, of subjects, or sow the least dissension among them; if they are equally well used. By an imperial edict lately published in Hungary, it is said to be enacted, First, that no sick protestant shall for the future be obliged to have a catholic priest. 2d, The latter are forbid going to the sick protestants, unless they are called by the sick persons, their relations, or protestant friends. 3d, The protestants shall not for the future be obliged to have a catholic priest to attend their funerals. 4th, If a priest is called upon on such an occasion, he shall be obliged to sing such canticles

as the protestants shall chuse. 5th, All catholic school-masters, &c. are forbid to put such books into the hands of their pupils, as treat of different doctrines from that which their parents profess, under pain of losing their employments. 6th, All processions, &c. which take up more than one day, are absolutely forbid. 7th, When processions are made in cities, the protestants shall not be obliged to assist at them; consequently they are not to be invited, or punished for not coming. By these means all disorder, animosity, and profanation will be put an end to.

Several Spanish frigates having been sent from Acapulco to make discoveries, and propagate the Gospel among the Indians to the north of California; in the month of July, 1774, they navigated as high upon the coast as the latitude 58 deg. 20 min. six degrees above Cape Blanco. Having discovered several good ports, and navigable rivers, upon the west coast of this great continent, they established in one of the largest ports, a garrison, and called the port Presidio de San Carlos; and, besides, left a mission at every port where inhabitants were to be found. The Indians they here met with, are said to be a docile sort of people, agreeable in their countenance, honest in their traffic, and neat in their dress, but at the same time idolaters to the greatest degree, having never before had any intercourse with Europeans. M. Buccarelli, viceroy of New Spain, has received his catholic majesty's thanks for these discoveries, as they were made under his direction, and the several navy officers upon that service have been preferred.

Preferred. It is imagined that those new discoveries will be very advantageous, as the coast abounds with whales, as also a fish equal to the Newfoundland cod, known in Spain by the name of Baccalao.

At the late Lent assizes of Maryborough, in Ireland, twelve of the deluded people called White-boys were capitally convicted on a late act, and ordered for execution. By this act, persons found in arms, day or night, in any disguise, or distinguished by any name other than their usual name, are liable to corporal punishment, fine, or imprisonment;—persons maiming, wounding, shooting at, threatening the person, or destroying the property, of another, or compelling him to join in any criminal offences, are punishable with death;—persons forcibly entering the dwelling-houses of others in the night, or causing any door to be opened, any arms, ammunition, or other goods, or chattels to be seized, are punishable with death;—aiding, abetting, or concealing any such persons, is death;—and persons killing or maiming such offenders in pursuing or apprehending them, are indemnified.——All damages done by such offenders are to be made good by assessment in the district where the damage is sustained. Magistrates are empowered to search for and seize all arms, &c. in the possession of papists or reputed papists; and persons under such denomination are liable to corporal punishment, fine, and imprisonment, for concealing arms, ammunition, &c. The act, however, allows time for criminals to surrender and receive pardon; and enacts, that no confes-

sion that may be then made, shall be brought in evidence against any person so surrendering and pleading pardon.

On the 15th instant, Ellen Ellis, aged 72, and who had been married 46 years, was brought to bed, at the Four Crosses, Denbighshire. She has had twelve children by the same father, the oldest was 45, and the youngest, before the last, 25 years of age. The last was still-born, owing, as it is imagined, to the mother's being frightened by a brute of a fellow telling her a fortnight before, that, if she was with child, it must be by the devil. This is so remarkable an event, that her pregnancy was much called in question. Both she and her husband looked very infirm.

DIED, the 1st instant, William Smith, Esq; aged 98, at Seven-Oaks, Kent. He has left an only son, his heir, who is upwards of 60.

The 8th, The wife of Mr. Ricaby, hofier, in the Borough. Her death was occasioned by a sharper's coming in to her on a pretended message, and hastily telling her that her husband was dropt down dead at Camberwell.

The 29th, Nicholas Price, Esq; Lieutenant-Governor of Kinfale. As he was walking along Damestreet, Dublin, he struck a man that met him, and who he said had jostled him against the wall, a blow or two with his cane. The man, whether he knew the governor or not, never returned the blow, but contented himself with taking the cane with which he had been struck; when the governor immediately fell against the wall and

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expired.

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expired. Several surgeons were sent for, who attempted to bleed him, but all to no purpose. It is presumed he burst a blood vessel in his passion.

J U N E.

1st. Some experiments were tried at Woolwich before Lord Viscount Townshend, Lord Amherst, Generals Harvey and Desaguliers, and a number of other officers, with a rifle gun, upon a new construction, by Capt. Ferguson, of the 70th regiment; when that gentleman, under the disadvantages of a heavy rain and a high wind, performed the following four things, none of which had ever before been accomplished with any other small arms. 1st, He fired during four or five minutes at a target, at 200 yards distance, at the rate of four shots each minute. 2dly, He fired six shots in one minute. 3dly, He fired four times per minute, advancing at the same time at the rate of four miles in the hour. 4thly, He poured a bottle of water into the pan and barrel of the piece when loaded, so as to wet every grain of the powder, and in less than half a minute fired with her as well as ever, without extracting the ball. He also hit the bull's eye at 100 yards, lying with his back on the ground; and, notwithstanding the uneasiness of the wind and wetness of the weather, he only missed the target three times during the whole course of the experiments. The captain has since taken out a patent for the said improvements.

It passed the great seal on the 4th of December following.

Some weeks ago, a merchant in Dublin was charged, before the privy council of Ireland, with being concerned in shipping ammunition and warlike stores for America; and the captain of the ship Hancock and Adams, with receiving the same. The merchant was discharged for want of direct proof, but the captain was committed to Newgate.

Two addresses from the general assembly of the 4th. church of Scotland; one on the disturbances in America, the other expressing their congratulations on the birth of another princess, appeared in the London Gazette.

Being his majesty's birth-day, who then entered into the thirtieth year of his age, their majesties received, at St. James's, the compliments of a numerous and brilliant court on that occasion. [For the ode performed on the occasion, please to turn to our article of poetry for this year.]

Came on at Guildhall, before Mr. Justice Aston, a cause between Thomas Eden and Christopher Court, of London, tobacco merchants, plaintiffs, and the company of wharfingers, defendants. The action was brought for recovery of damages sustained on board the wharfingers lighters to and from different ships loaded with tobacco; which being plainly proved to have been occasioned by want of proper covering, or other necessary care on the part of the wharfinger, a verdict was given in favour of the plaintiffs, with full costs of suit, after a hearing of five hours.

5th. Was

5th. Was tried in the court of King's - Bench, at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield and a special jury, an action brought upon a bond, wherein the governors of Greenwich Hospital were plaintiffs, and a person who had contracted to furnish the said hospital with meat, defendant, to recover a penalty annexed to a breach of performance of the contract. The defendant had undertaken by bond to deliver good ox beef, instead of which he had substituted bull beef, and bull-flag beef, both of which were said to be of an inferior quality. To prove this, a late servant of the defendant was called, who positively swore, that he then often delivered the meat at the hospital from his master, and that amongst it was a quantity of the two different inferior sorts above mentioned. The counsel, after cross-examining the witnesses, contended, that, as the defendant's bills for the objectionable meat had been properly passed, it was thereby proclaimed to be agreeable to the contract, and had wiped away all imputation of fraud. But Lord Mansfield, in charge to the jury, combated this frivolous and evasive plea with equal humanity and justice. He remarked upon the iniquity of practising a fraud, in the very article of life, upon so extensive a charity. As to the defence set up, there was no colour to render it of any force; though the bills had been passed, it was evident, that those who audited them were imposed on; but however that might be, his lordship acquainted the jury, that it was no matter for their consideration; if they were satisfied a fraud had

been committed by the defendant upon the hospital, they would find a verdict for the plaintiffs. The jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict of one hundred pounds damages.

At five o'clock in the morning, a violent shock 6th of an earthquake was felt at Gibraltar, both ashore and on board the ships in the harbour: it lasted about fifty seconds; but, happily, neither the houses nor the fortifications received any damage.

Came on in the court of King's - Bench, at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield, a cause wherein Nathaniel Lane, of the city of London, grocer, was plaintiff, and a school-master, or master of an academy, near Barnard's Castle in Yorkshire, defendant. The action was brought by the plaintiff against the defendant, to recover a satisfaction for the defendant's neglect of the plaintiff's son, who had been entrusted to his care, particularly with regard to a swelling in the child's arm, which happened while at his school; by which neglect the child nearly lost the use of it.—The jury, without going out of court, gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 50l. damages and costs of suit.

A dreadful fire broke out at Askensund, situated in the middle of the province of Nericia, in Sweden. It reduced to ashes all that little, but rich and populous, town, not excepting the public buildings, and the iron manufactories, even those of Nagels. Two old women perished in the flames.

The Jews of the city of Mantua having assembled not long since in a large

large room up three pair of stairs, to celebrate a wedding, and there being a great number of guests, the weight of them broke down that floor, and those underneath, quite to the cellar, by which unhappy accident sixty-six persons were killed, and sixteen or seventeen dangerously wounded. The bride and her mother were among the former; but the bridegroom, whose name was Finzi, not being arrived when the accident happened, escaped the fate of his relations and friends.

8th. The provincials failed in a very bold attempt to surprise the king's troops, at a place called the Three Rivers, in Canada, with the loss of two hundred prisoners, besides those killed and wounded; and next day, the main body of them began their retreat from Canada, burning in their way every fort through which they passed.

General Richard Smith, and Thomas Brand Hollis, Esqrs. the late members for Hindon, were brought before the court of King's Bench, in order to receive sentence, having before been convicted of bribery at the general election; when Sir Richard Aston prefaced their sentence with a pathetic speech, in which he expatiated on the enormity of the crime, as, by violating the freedom of election, and corrupting the electors, the British constitution, the most perfect in the world, could only be undone; that the crime of which they had been guilty was aggravated by the tendency it had to lead the ignorant and unwary to the commission of that horrid and foul sin of perjury, the only barrier between God and man. From these

and other reasons equally forcible, he inferred the necessity of an exemplary punishment, and adjudged them to pay a fine of 1000 marks each (666l. 13s. 4d.) to the king, and to suffer six months imprisonment; and one of them, (General Smith) at the expiration thereof, to enter into a recognizance of 1000l. himself, and two securities in 500l. each, for his good behaviour for three years.

The day following, one of the voters at the same election was brought before the same court, to receive sentence for wilful and corrupt perjury, in his evidence before the house of commons; when he received sentence to stand on and in the pillory, with a paper on his forehead signifying his crime—Wilful and Corrupt Perjury—twice in the town of Hindon on market days, between eleven and two; the first time to-morrow se'nnight, and the second the Thursday following. And, accordingly, on Wednesday the 19th following, he was brought from the King's Bench prison to Fisherton gaol, Wiltshire, and on Thursday was carried to Hindon, where he was placed in the pillory for the first time. He was met on the road by a number of his friends, with two flags, and blue ribbons in their hats. The populace treated him very favourably, their attention being taken off in a great measure, by a person mounted on a stool, who sung and sold an election ballad, much to their entertainment. He was brought back to Fisherton gaol in the evening, and is to undergo the remainder of his sentence the Thursday following.

At Congléton, in Cheshire, one Skelton,

Skelton, a journeyman saddler, after having been long in a state of despondency, cut his throat. Though he had entirely fevered his windpipe, he lived upwards of five hours in that deplorable state; during which time he made signs for a pen and ink, and wrote, in very legible characters, the following words: "I am to let you know, that I was not right when I did this: take care to serve God as you ought." He died in the greatest agonies.

A rule brought by the 10th. mayor of Cambridge to disfranchise near fifty honorary freemen of that town was argued in the court of King's-Bench, when Lord Mansfield, after hearing the several arguments, was pleased to discharge the rule with costs.

A countryman and his wife, who went to the bank to change a note of 50l. being observed by a sharper to be strangers, he clapped a pen behind his ear; asked them what they wanted; took the note; and, bidding them stay where they were till he brought the money, walked off with it.

At night, Drury Lane Theatre was closed, for the present season, with the comedy of the Wonder, in which Mr. Garrick made his last theatrical appearance in Don Felix, generously giving the profits of the night, as a second benefit this year, to the Charitable Fund for the support of the players, &c. belonging to that house, when out of employment, sick, or otherwise disabled. His performance was inimitable; never were the passions of love, jealousy, rage, &c. so highly coloured, or admirably set off; in short, he finished

his comic course with as high a theatrical climax, as he had done, the Saturday before, his tragic one.

At last, the play being ended, during which every performer seemed to exert his greatest abilities, came the awful crisis, when the Roscius of this country was to take leave of the town in his public capacity. The scene was too distressing to be described. Let the reader conceive this universal favourite, impressed with all those nicer feelings which his peculiar situation must call forth, advancing forwards, to bid farewell to that public, which seemed universally to lament that they should be the melancholy witnesses of their own great loss. Then, after a short pause, as soon as he recovered a little from the first shock, he thus addressed the audience.

'Ladies and Gentlemen,

'It has been customary with persons under my circumstances, to address you in a farewell epilogue. I had the same intention, and turned my thoughts that way; but indeed I found myself then as incapable of writing such an epilogue, as I should be now of speaking it.

'The jingle of rhyme, and the language of fiction, would but ill suit my present feelings.

'This is to me a very awful moment; it is no less than parting for ever with those from whom I have received the greatest kindness and favours, and upon the spot where that kindness and those favours were enjoyed.

[Here for a moment he was unable to proceed, until relieved, by a flood of tears.]

[K] 4

'Whatever

• Whatever may be the changes of my future life, the deep impression I have of your kindness, will always remain HERE [putting his hand to his breast] fixed and unalterable.

“ I will very readily agree to my successors having more skill and ability for their station than I have; but I defy them all to take more sincere, and more uninterrupted pains for your favour, or to be more truly sensible of it, than in your most obedient and grateful servant.”

Here he retired, crowned with never-fading laurels, amidst the blended tears and acclamations of the most brilliant theatre that ever was assembled.

As this retreat of Mr. Garrick's from the stage must ever be considered as an interesting epocha in the History of the British Drama, we have added, in our appendix, a short review of Mr. Garrick's theatrical reign, with some particulars of the former part of his life, as it seems to have been drawn up by an able and impartial hand.

Mr. Garrick, some months before this, sold his share of Drury-Lane Theatre for 3500*l.* to Dr. Ford, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Linley, and Mr. Richard Sheridan; when the new proprietors, of their own accord, stipulated, that Mr. Garrick should continue to keep that box which had of late years been set apart for the accommodation of his family. These particulars Mr. Garrick intimated a few days after, by answering in the part of Abel Dragger, on being asked if he had any interest at the theatre, “ I had some; I don't know what I ~~may~~ *have.*”

One Robert Knowles, 11th. confined in Newcastle gaol, for stealing a letter out of the post-office, in which were inclosed two bank notes, value 10*l.* found means to make his escape by a very simple stratagem. Being ill, he had been indulged by his keeper to sleep without irons; in the mean time the turnkey going in as usual to see that all was safe before he locked up, and observing a bundle in Knowles's cell, began to examine it; but while he was stooping with his back to the door, the prisoner slipped out and locked the door after him, leaving the turnkey prisoner, and setting himself at large.

A common wild duck was 12th. now sitting upon nine eggs, in an oak tree, near Mr. Newington's, at Etchingham, in Sussex, about twenty-five feet from the ground. Upon a person's getting up to the eggs, which are supported by some small twigs laid cross-wise, the old duck left them, but soon after returned with the mallard, both of which kept hovering about the tree till the man had quitted it; when the duck immediately dropped on her eggs, and has continued to sit very close ever since.

The famous cause of Mr. Bruckshaw came on before 13th. Lord Mansfield, when the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with five pounds damages; and the 21st following, the question respecting the rule, upon which Mr. Bruckshaw changed his venue from Lincoln to London, was argued in the same court, when Lord Mansfield declared, that the changing the venue did not entitle the defendant to a nonsuit.

14th, The

14th. The Coventry waggon going through Brick-Hill, in Northamptonshire, was set on fire by the friction of the axle-tree, and three barrels of gunpowder among the loading took fire, by which the goods were blown up in the air, and totally destroyed, to the amount of one thousand pounds.

15th. The crew of a mackerel boat, which by an accident started a plank in her bottom, had a most miraculous escape. As the only means of saving their lives they cut away the masts, &c. and had just got a raft of them knit together, when the boat sunk. On this raft they remained nine hours, without being observed by the boats with which they were surrounded, who all went away without affording them any relief; when providentially a ship at three miles distance descried them, and bearing down to them, took them on board. Happily the sea had been calm most part of the time; but, when they were taken on board, the weather altered.

His Most Christian Majesty has lately given orders to augment the pay of all the officers who were reduced in 1774, and to fill up the vacancies that may happen in the standing regiments with such of them as are found fit for immediate service.

17th. About Antwerp and its neighbourhood, there broke forth a most violent storm, with thunder, lightning, and hail of the size of a hen's egg, together with great pieces of ice, which not only broke all the windows to the south, but destroyed all the fruit on the trees. The hail was so violent, that men, horses, &c. were knocked down by it, and very

much hurt. This storm was also felt at Deschel, Rethy, Arendork, and Dieft, on the frontiers of the principality of Liege. Public prayers were soon after offered up to avert such calamities for the future.

There was a great sailing match on the Thames for a silver cup of twenty guineas, given by the Duke of Cumberland; and it filled the river like a second regatta.

A motion was made in a court of directors of the 19th East-India Company, that the company should indemnify Mr. Verelst for any damages he may have become liable to, on account of the action brought against him by Mr. Rafael and another Armenian; when, after some debates relative to forms, (for the court was almost unanimous in the propriety of indemnifying Mr. Verelst, it being evident that he acted merely in conformity to what he thought was his duty to the company, and from no motive either of interest or enmity to the Armenians), the matter was agreed to, and referred for confirmation to a general court, where it was accordingly proposed on the 27th following. Mr. Creighton now objected to the proposal, as a matter altogether unprecedented. The question being, however, put, it passed unanimously in the affirmative.

Extract from a letter, of this date, to General Howe, from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of the 2d battalion of the 71st regiment of foot, then at Boston, into which place he had been brought by sailing into the harbour for want of knowing that the place had been evacuated by the king's troops.

"Since our captivity I have the honour

honour to acquaint you, that we have experienced the utmost civility and good treatment from the people of power at Boston; inasmuch, Sir, that I should do injustice to the feelings of generosity, did I not give this particular information with pleasure and satisfaction."

24th. Being Midsummer-day,

a second contest between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Hopkins, for the chamberlainship of London, ensued at Guildhall. It was carried on, and terminated, in every respect almost, like the first. The voters amounted to 4542, of whom 2869 were for Mr. Hopkins, and 1673 for Mr. Wilkes; so that Mr. Hopkins had a majority of 1196. Mr. Wilkes was rather more bold and severe in his speech after the present election, than in that after the former. Among other things, he said, "By the late transactions, the moment seems at length arrived, so ardently wished by every arbitrary administration, when a majority of the livery appear to have sold and surrendered the capital to the ministry. By the creation of so many unnecessary lucrative offices, the division and subdivision of contracts, the threats of the opulent and insolent to the necessitous and dependent tradesmen, and all the captious promises of power, the greater number of the livery seem at present either lulled into supineness and a fatal security, or enrolled among the mercenaries of corruption and despotism. No longer worthy the name of freemen, they are sunk into tame, mean vassals, ignominiously courting, and bowing their necks to, the ministerial yoke. Such, gentlemen, it gives me pain to think, is the faithful, but melan-

choly picture of this once free and independent city. All public-spirit in the capital is visibly decaying, and that stern, manly virtue of our fathers, which drove from this land of freedom the last Stuart tyrant, is held in contempt by their abandoned offspring. A dissolution of the empire, ruin, and slavery, are, I fear, advancing with giant strides upon us. We are ripe for destruction. If we are saved, it will be almost solely by the courage and noble spirit of our American brethren, whom neither the luxuries of a court, nor the sordid lust of avarice in a rapacious and venal metropolis, have hitherto corrupted. Yet with some chosen friends, however few, I will, while I live, dare to oppose the alarming fatal progress of this deluge of corruption and court influence, and to protract at least the impending ruin, by continuing firm and intrepid in the cause of public virtue, and the independency of the capital."

Accordingly, on the 5th following, when the new chamberlain was to be sworn into office, Mr. Alderman Lee presented a protest (which, by the bye, would have equally militated against Mr. Wilkes) signed by about twenty liverymen, against Benjamin Hopkins, Esq; being sworn into the office of chamberlain. They founded their objection upon a by-law of the court of common-council, made in the year 1572, which says, "That the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and common-council of this city, should not have power to give away any office of honour or emolument in the city, to any person whatever, who is not a freeman by birth or servitude." Upon this protest being read, and a question being put by

by Mr. Alderman Lee, which was seconded by Sir Watkin Lewes, that Benjamin Hopkins, Esq; should not be sworn into his office, very warm debates commenced. Sir Watkin and Mr. Lee were the principal speakers, except a new alderman, Mr. Wooldridge, who took up the argument very fairly; objected to Mr. Lee's motion in terms that will ever do him great honour; and, in the course of the debate, fairly refuted the objection made by Mr. Alderman Lee; and shewed, that the bye-law, upon which the objection was founded, was made merely to prevent the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen from giving away the offices of the city, which the livery of London alone had a right to bestow.—Upon this Mr. Lee founded another objection; and attempted to prove, that the livery of London did not meet in common-hall for the purpose of elections prior to the year 1572. But in this he was also mistaken; the recorder declared, that the livery did elect all their officers before that time. Mr. Wooldridge then gave it as his opinion, that Mr. Hopkins would be entitled to such damages as he could prove to have suffered by the refusal of the Court of Aldermen to swear him in, when he had been declared by the presiding officer of that court duly elected; that the court were highly censurable if they did not; and that, although he should always wish to act with those who were the real friends of the constitution, yet he would never vote against his conscience for any man living. The whole court seemed to approve of his principles; and when the question was put, Aldermen Alsop, Kennet,

Plumbe, Rawlinson, Thomas, Peckham, Plomer, Bull, Hayley, Newnham, and Clark, voted with Mr. Wooldridge for swearing Mr. Hopkins into his office; and only Sir Watkin Lewes and Mr. Lee opposed it.

After Mr. Hopkins was sworn in, there were two processions from Guildhall to the London tavern. First an ass decorated with ribbons, &c. with a fellow in an antick dress riding upon it, and some other of the like stamp following him, with light blue cockades. Then a numerous company of Mr. Hopkins's friends with purple cockades, headed by several aldermen, &c. with music playing and colours flying, on one of which was inscribed, "A reward for honesty."

Judgment was given in the court of King's-Bench 25th. against Francis Newman, Esq; a Justice of Peace for the county of Somerset, upon an information prosecuted by the Rev. Mr. Bailly, for a misdemeanor in his office, whereof he was found guilty at the last Taunton assizes; when the court, after a severe reprimand for the prostitution of his office, was pleased to pronounce the following sentence: that he should pay a fine of 200l.: that application be made to the Lord Chancellor, to strike him out of the commission of the peace for the said county: that he should find sureties for his good behaviour for three years; himself to be bound in 500l. and his sureties in 250l. each; and to stand committed till the above fine is paid.

Came on in the court of Common-Pleas, before 27th. Lord Chief Justice de Grey, and a special

special jury, an action of damages brought by Stephen Sayre, Esq; against William Henry Earl of Rochford, for an illegal seizure of his papers, and false imprisonment of his person, for treasonable practices, upon the information of Adjutant Richardson, on the 23d of October last; when the jury, after a trial of six hours, gave a verdict for the plaintiff (subject to an after-determination, by the same court, of two questions) of one thousand pounds damages.

1st. Question: Whether an offer of bail, and refusal, was admissible evidence on the issue joined on the special plea?

2d Question: Whether the evidence was a sufficient proof of an offer and refusal of bail to make the subsequent imprisonment illegal?

Sir Peter Parker made 28th. an attack upon Sullivan's Island, the key to Charles-Town, the capital of South-Carolina; but was repulsed with great damage to his ships, and great loss of his men. Among the killed was the brave Captain Morris, commander of the Bristol man of war, the particulars of whose death are truly affecting. We shall therefore give them here, as communicated by the surgeon of the ship.—After having the two bones of his forearm shattered by a chain shot, and receiving a wound from a ball in his neck, he was taken into the cockpit, where he readily submitted to amputation, which was performed just above the elbow. During the operation a red hot ball went through the cockpit, which killed two of the surgeon's assistants, and wounded the purser. After the confusion which this circumstance occasioned was over,

Captain Morris insisted on being carried on the quarter-deck to resume his command; which being complied with, he continued the fight for a considerable time after, till he was shot through the body. A prodigious effusion of blood following, and his dissolution being apparently at hand, one of the officers asked him, if he had any directions to give with respect to his family, to which he heroically answered, "None! as he left them to the providence of God, and the generosity of his country!" His Majesty accordingly, immediately on receiving an account of this affair, sent the Captain's widow a handsome present, and settled a pension on her and her children.

The commotions in Virginia, where the governor, Lord Dunmore, had assembled a large body of black slaves, without previously providing for their subsistence, proved, about the same time, another very melancholy object of the public attention. His lordship was called upon to summon the house of assembly to meet, but he was afraid to trust them. He deserted his palace, and took refuge on board a ship; and was in the end driven from his government, after seeing most of the blacks who had repaired to him perish for want of food.

This morning a dreadful 29th. fire broke out at Mr. Booth's, one of the King's messengers, in Great Maddox-street, which entirely destroyed the same, and two houses adjoining, and greatly damaged several others, as no water could be got for an hour after it broke out. Mr. Booth, with his wife and family, were obliged to make their escape out of the garret windows, over the tops of several houses;

houses; and Mrs. Whitwell, sister to Sir John Griffin Griffin, and Lady Welderen, with her maid, unhappily perished in the flames. The latter lost her life by going into her bed-chamber to look for her lap-dog; who with two cats, was afterwards found burnt likewise to death by the remains of her body. This fire was near the back of the Lord-Mayor's house in New Burlington-street; and his Lordship attended the whole time, encouraging the people to work at the engine.

A fire likewise broke out in the house of the Rev. Mr. Thompson, at Cranfield, in Bedfordshire, supposed to have happened by his reading in bed, and falling asleep while the candle was burning. Mr. Thompson unhappily perished in the flames. Let this be a caution against so dangerous a practice.

MARRIED lately, his 30th. Royal Highness Don Louis, of Spain, to Donna Maria Teresa de Vallabriga e Rosas, descended from the ancient kings of Navarre. By this match, though contracted with the express leave of his brother, and without losing his favour, his Royal Highness forfeits for himself, and his issue by it, all pretensions to the crown of Spain; and is, moreover, forbid to bring his wife to court.

George Harding of Chester, aged 104, to Jane Darlington, of Mollington, aged 84.

DIED, the 10th instant, the Rev. Mr. Laithwaite, at Newington, formerly a Dissenting minister, aged 100 years and 2 months.

The 20th, A native of Gomofac, in Saintonge, in France, by trade a goldsmith, aged 140 years, at Saintes in the same kingdom. He

took a wife at 79, and had three children by her, all now alive. A few years before his death, he suffered a little weakness of sight, which was the only complaint he ever knew.

The 28th, Dr. John Well, an eminent physician at Worcester, and well known to the literary world.

Lately, Captain Gravener, who formerly commanded the York privateer; and in 1745 drove a fleet of flat-bottomed boats, designed for an invasion, on shore, off Calais, at Dover.

Mrs. Brooks, aged 100 years, all but one month, at Wickham, Kent.

Mr. Benjamin Price, aged 104 years, at Chelsea.

Thomas Allen, a pensioner, in the hundredth year of his age, in the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. He always enjoyed so good a state of health, as never to remember a day's illness. He has a daughter living aged 70.

Mrs. Sarah Brookman, widow, aged 106 years, at Glastonbury.

At Langres in Champagne, aged 106 years and some months, a soldier, named Du Mets, born at Marle, in Picardie, who served under Louis XIV. with great honour in the regiment of Royal Cravattes, as quarter-master, till the year 1712, when that regiment was dissolved. He afterwards lived on a very small income till he arrived at the age of 102, when he fell into the lowest indigence, and continued so till 1774, when he found a friend in the colonel of his former regiment, at whose recommendation the minister of war procured for him a pension of 300 livres, which was continued by order

der of the present king till his death.

At Westthorpe, near Southwell, in Northamptonshire, Mrs. Dorothy Clarke, aged 112 years; at the age of 102, she sheared wheat a whole day against a man, and performed her work with ease.

At Kill-James, near Thomas-Town, in Ireland, Martha Jackson, aged 127 years. She retained her senses to the last.

At Shiffnal, aged 128, Mary Yates.—She married a third husband at 92, and was hearty and strong at 120 years.

J U L Y.

1st. Lord Howe arrived off Halifax.

A poor woman, at Earls-Hilton, Leicestershire, that could scarce crawl, was cruelly plunged in a pond by way of trying if she was a witch; and might have lost her life, had it not been for the neighbouring gentlemen, merely because her suffering blood to be drawn from her body, and blessing another poor woman, who was thought to be bewitched by her, had not the desired effect.

2d. Mr. Kirkman, lately elected into the office of sheriff for London and Middlesex, sent a letter to the court of aldermen, wherein he pleaded the privilege of exemption, as a captain in the Warwickshire militia. It seems, that in a clause in the militia act of the second year of the present king, cap. 20. it is enacted, "That no person, during the time he shall be acting as an officer in the militia, shall be compellable to serve the office of sheriff." This

plea being wholly unexpected, threw the court into some surprize; the common serjeant was called upon, in the absence of the recorder, to give his opinion; but he declined doing it without the assistance of his learned brother. The court therefore referred the matter to their joint consideration; and within a few days Mr. Kirkman's excuse was admitted, and Alderman Plumbe chosen in his room.

The declaration of independence, issued by the Continental Congress, was read at the head of each brigade of the continental army, posted at and near New-York, and every where received with loud huzzas, &c. and the same evening the equestrian statue of his Majesty, which had been erected in the year 1770, was laid prostrate on the ground, and the lead of it destined to serve as bullets. The same declaration was read pretty much about the same time, in almost every other town of the united colonies, and every where received with equal demonstrations of joy.

The Swiftsure, a bomb man of war on a new construction, with two bomb-beds, and forty guns, was launched at Blackwall.

An action brought by Lord Bolingbroke against the printer of the Morning Chronicle, for a libel in the said paper, was tried before Lord Mansfield and a special jury in the court of King's-Bench, Westminster. The damages were laid at 5000l. but the jury, after having been out near two hours, gave a verdict for only 20l.

Another action, in which Mr. Hill of Tower-Hill, was plaintiff, and Mr. Pell, with other Middlesex justices of the peace, were defendants,

defendants, was tried before Lord Chief Justice De Grey, in the court of Common Pleas, Westminster. The action charged the defendants with forcibly entering the plaintiff's house, under the pretence of searching for a printing press, and certain papers reflecting on the proceedings of administration; shamefully ransacking his papers; damaging his furniture; alarming his family; and exposing himself as an obnoxious character, to the insults of a mob. Two respectable witnesses ascertained these facts; and several others were ready to confirm their evidence; but the Chief Justice was so clearly satisfied of the fact, that he waved all further examination of the matter. Not a single witness was called on the part of the defendants. Upon this, the Chief Justice observed with respect to the fact, that it stood uncontradicted; and that the defendants, therefore, acknowledged themselves conscious of having acted illegally; and only recommended to the jury to estimate the damages; which they accordingly did at ten pounds.

Came on to be heard, at Doctors-Commons, before Dr. Bettsworth, Chancellor of the diocese of London, a motion, on the part of the Earl of Bristol, against the Countess of Bristol, calling herself Duchess of Kingston, purporting that the court should decree a citation to be affixed on the Royal-Exchange, &c. for the said Countess to shew cause why the sentence pronounced against the Earl, forbidding him to boast himself to be the husband of the said lady, should not be declared null and void, as his lordship is now able to prove his marriage.

As there was no person to appear for the lady, the judge expressed his doubts in granting the motion. As the marriage with Lord Bristol had been determined by a verdict, he could not see the reason for coming to that court; and as every thing was new, he was apprehensive of collusion somewhere; and therefore was cautious how he proceeded. However, after hearing what Dr. Harris, as counsel, and Messieurs Major and Slade, as proctors for his lordship, had to offer, and no appearance being made by her ladyship, or any proctor for her, he ordered the citation prayed for, returnable the first session of next term, to pass under seal, and to be executed on one of the pillars of the Royal-Exchange, after the manner of citing peers and peeresses resident out of the kingdom.

Came on before the same gentleman, in the same court, a cause brought by a gentleman against his wife, for criminal conversation with a clergyman; when the judge, after hearing the evidence read, and the advocates on both sides, pronounced for a divorce. We have already mentioned the gentleman's obtaining a verdict for 3000*l.* damages in one of the civil courts of justice, on the same account.

The annual commemoration of founders and benefactors was celebrated in the theatre at Oxford. Among other gentlemen who received honorary degrees on this occasion, were, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq; late governor of Massachusetts-Bay, and Peter Oliver, Esq; late deputy-governor. The prizes given annually by the Right Hon. Lord North, Chancellor of the same university, were
this

this year adjudged to Mr. Lowth, son of the Lord Bishop of Oxford, and Mr. Cummings, jun. both Fellows of New-College.

Lieut. Col. Gordon was 6th. shot by a party of rebels, as he was taking the air on horseback near Chumblee.

A court of admiralty was held at the sessions-house in the Old-Bailey, before Sir George Hay, judge of the admiralty-court, and Mr. Justice Ashurst and Mr. Baron Perryn, when Alexander Kidd, late mate of the *Atlantic*, was tried for the wilful murder of Robert Jackson, a foremast man in the said ship, by throwing him overboard in the river Tagus, near Lisbon, whereby he was drowned: and Thomas King, late Captain of the *Soroy*, for the wilful murder of John Warren, a mariner in the said ship, on the coast of Africa, by kicking him in the side, whereof, it was alledged, he died. They were both acquitted.

Came on, in the court of Common-Pleas, before Lord Chief Justice De Grey and a special jury, a cause, wherein an engraver and printfeller was plaintiff, and an officer in the army defendant. The action was for the defendant's seducing the plaintiff's daughter, a girl of seventeen, from the plaintiff, and detaining her under a promise of marriage. The jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with 800*l.* damages.

On this and the next day 7th. General Howe, with the troops under his command from Halifax, landed on Staten-Island.

A very large body of 8th. journeymen carpenters having assembled in Stepney fields, for the purpose of raising their wages,

Mr. Justice Sherwood, who had had previous notice of such meeting, with two other magistrates, Mr. Blackmore and Mr. Curtis, attended by the high constable and peace officers, immediately repaired to the place of rendezvous, when the men drew up in a ring, and received the justices with great respect, acquainting them with their supposed grievances, &c. and of the occasion of their meeting. On this Mr. Sherwood told them, that if they would leave their case at his office, with any plan for the redress of their grievances, he, with the other gentlemen, would do all that lay in their power to forward it; though he feared nothing but a bill in parliament to regulate their wages would do, as in the case of the weavers. In the mean time, he recommended to them to have no more of these large meetings abroad, as they tended, notwithstanding their pacific intentions, to many mischiefs through inconsiderate drinking, and insisted on their immediately dispersing; which they instantly and cheerfully complied with, without the least indecent or irregular behaviour. We thought it our duty to insert this account, as it does honour to the magistrates, as well as to the poor men concerned in the affair; and may prove an useful lesson on similar occasions.

In obedience to the act passed in the last sessions of parliament, for building general workhouses, an order was served on the lord mayor, to issue out his precepts to the officers of the several parishes of London, to deliver in to the secretaries of state, an exact account of the number of poor in their respective parishes, who are either in the workhouses,

workhouses, or receive alms; and the same order is to be sent to every parish in the kingdom, in order that some regulations may be made for better providing for the poor, on the one hand, and easing the inhabitants of some part of the poor's rates with which they are now loaded, on the other; by putting a stop to the practice of farming out the poor, and all other impositions. As a specimen of the great good that may be expected from a closer inspection of the present modes of managing the poor, and the committing of them to honesty, or at least abler hands, we shall give the reader, in the Appendix to this part of the work, a very curious paper, published in the course of this year, and addressed to the inhabitants of St. Andrew, Holborn, above the Bars, and St. George, the Martyr, in the county of Middlesex, united.

A slight shock of an 10th. earthquake was felt at Venice; and a very strong one, of full fifteen minutes continuance, at Andreis, where its effects were proportionably terrible. Almost all the houses were thrown down, and those which remained standing, were so shattered, that they daily fell in ruins. The parish church, and that of St. Daniel, were split on all sides, and threatened a speedy fall. A number of persons were buried in the ruins; and those who escaped into the fields, had neither succour nor shelter to comfort them.

Came on in the court of Common Pleas, Guildhall, London, the cause between Lord Chatham, plaintiff, and Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall, printer of the Public Advertiser, defendant. The action was brought to recover some da-

mages for the very great injury his lordship had sustained by the defendant's printing a libel in his paper of the 22d of March, last, declaring the noble lord's sentiments and opinions to be hostile to the Americans, and such as totally coincided with those of the ministry. The plaintiff proved the printing of the piece by Mr. Woodfall; but, on the discovery of a variation of one letter between it and the record, he was nonsuited.

In the evening, a riotous mob of weavers, shearmen, &c. collected from the towns of Warminster, Frome, &c. assembled together, and proceeded to the town of Shepton-Mallet, with intent to destroy, under cover of the night, a machine lately erected by the clothiers, for the advancement and benefit of the manufactory, and to pull down the houses, and take away the lives of those persons who encouraged and promoted the use of it.

The clothiers, having notice of their intentions, applied to three neighbouring magistrates, who, for the conservation of the peace, assembled at a public inn. After waiting there till two o'clock next morning, without any alarm, two of the three returned to their respective homes, but the other remained, lest assistance might be wanted. The justices who left the town were scarcely out of it, when the mob, who had remained at a little distance from the town, restrained by the fear of their power, thinking there was no magistrate left to command the military, assembled, made an attack on the poor-house, where the machines were worked; and before the soldiery could be had to oppose them, broke into the same; and not only destroyed the particular objects of

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their.

their resentment (the machines,) but committed other injuries, to a very considerable amount. They had scarcely effected their purpose, when the military, preceded by the remaining magistrate, advanced, and secured five of the ring-leaders; but in conveying them to the prison, they were attacked by the whole body with an intention to effect a rescue.

The proclamation was then read by John Strode, Esq; who very humanely advanced to the mob, accompanied by a principal clothier, and endeavoured, by all the arguments prudence could suggest, to convince them of the impropriety of their conduct, and persuade them to disperse; but they, with the utmost effrontery, declared they would not leave the town till their companions were discharged. To save the effusion of blood, even this demand was on the point of being granted them, on condition they would promise never to molest or disturb the town again, when some of the most daring, at the instigation of the women, began most cruelly to stone the soldiers, who bore the attack with uncommon fortitude and moderation, first discharging two rounds over their heads, to deter them, if possible, from proceeding to greater extremities. This lenity had not the desired effect, for they continued the attack with redoubled vigour, and very much wounded seven of the soldiers. Upon this, no alternative being left, the command to level their pieces was given, and one man fell, and six were wounded. This struck such a terror into the rioters that they retired with the utmost precipitation; upon which the magistrate immediately ordered the men to cease firing,

and no further mischief ensued. The Coroner sat on the body of the man that had been killed, the next night, and brought in a verdict of accidental death by the military, under the command of the civil power.

At night, a man, in attempting to rob a gentleman's garden at Hampstead, was caught by the leg in a trap, which tore it in so terrible a manner, that it was supposed he would lose it. It were to be wished, that these machines could be so contrived, as to secure the offender, without disabling him, and thereby rendering him not only an useless, but a burthensome, member of society.

Mr. Foote, at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, appeared in the character of Lady Pentwistle, with a head-dress stuck full of feathers in the utmost extravagance of the present mode, being at least a yard wide; and, to heighten the ridicule, the whole fabric of feathers, hair, and wool, dropt off as he waddled off the stage. Their majesties, who were present, laughed immoderately at the sight, as well as the rest of the audience: but the elegant, becoming manner in which her majesty's head was dressed, was universally allowed to be the justest as well as the severest satire on the present filthy fashion.

A fire-bail fell at Oxford, which alarmed the whole city, but happily burst without mischief.

Lord Howe, with the fleet and transports under his command, joined the army under General Howe, at Staten Island; and, the day following, a flag, with letters from Lord Howe for General Washington, was met by the adjutant-general of the provincial

vincial army; but his letters were refused, on account of their not giving the General the title of Excellency; and the General's conduct on the occasion was soon after approved of by the Continental Congress. Their contents, however, containing the powers by which the commissioners were authorised to treat, and the terms on which they were empowered to accept submission, were received by the Congress, and by their orders circulated throughout America, but universally rejected.

The sessions ended at the 15th. Old Bailey, when four prisoners received judgment of death, viz. three, for housebreaking; and the fourth, for robbing a warehouse of raw-silk, to the amount of 130 l. One of the house-breakers was executed the fourth of August; and the last of the capital convicts, sent to Ireland to be tried for murder; nineteen were sentenced to three years hard labour, in some service useful to the navigation of the river Thames; eleven were branded in the hand, eight of whom were to be imprisoned six months; and three, three months, in Newgate; seven ordered to be whipped and imprisoned; three, for three years in Bridewell; and two, for two months, in Newgate; four branded in the hand, and discharged; ten ordered to be whipped; and twenty-five discharged by proclamation.

Among those acquitted, was one for the coining of shillings, &c. who had been tried and acquitted three times before for the same offence. His trial this time lasted four hours.

The court took down the age, strength, &c. of those convicted of such crimes as were not of a ca-

pital nature; and the recorder, in passing sentence on such of them as were condemned to hard labour in some service useful to the navigation of the river Thames, told them that the punishment, though very severe, nevertheless left them an opportunity to mitigate its heaviness; because, if they manifested signs of real contrition, and appeared truly desirous of becoming useful members of society, their conduct would be reported to the government by proper officers, and the term of their servitude abridged. Whereas, on the contrary, if they were incorrigible, they would be worked without remission to the utmost of their strength. The term of their servitude would be doubled upon the first attempt to escape; and upon the second, they would be liable to suffer death without benefit of clergy.

The law for sentencing the convicts to work upon the Thames is indeed severe, but we trust it will be salutary. They are to be employed in as much labour as they can sustain, to be fed with legs and shins of beef, ox-cheek, and such other coarse food; to have nothing for drink, but water or small beer; to be clad in some squalid uniform; never to be visited without the consent of the overseers; and whoever gives them the smallest relief, incurs a penalty of forty shillings. The expence of keeping and maintaining them is to be paid by government, and not out of the county rates.

The first vessel launched for the above purpose was constructed on a plan approved of by his majesty in council. It cannot be called a ship or tender, neither is it so flat or open as a lighter; it is calculated to hold twenty-seven tons of

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ballast; on the larboard side, the gunwall is considerably broader than in the common lighters; on the starboard side, is a flooring about three feet broad, for the men to work on, and a machine called a david, with a windlass, for raising the ballast. Part of the vessel is decked-in abaft, for the convicts to sleep in; and another, in the fore-castle, is formed into a kind of cabin for the overseer. Her outward appearance differs very little from that of a common lighter. On the 5th of August, the convicts, chained by the leg, two and two, began to work in her, about two miles below Barking Creek, under the direction of Duncan Campbell, Esq. who has been appointed the governor of this new kind of Bridewell. Their behaviour, in general, since they came on board her, and other lighters employed in the same service, has been very becoming; the clause in the act, which says, that the time for which they were sentenced to work may be shortened, on a representation of their good behaviour, having operated very powerfully.

A few of them, indeed, employed a little below Woolwich, attempted to get off their chains, and were guilty of some slight outrages to their commander; when a severe flagellation ensued on their being again properly secured.

Eight others, a short time after, found means to seize on the arm-chest; and, presenting pistols to the heads of their keepers, threatened to blow their brains out, if they did not immediately go down into the hold, which they were obliged to comply with; upon which the villains jumped into a

boat, which had been designedly brought along-side by some of their friends, and got clear off.

This day twelvemonth, a 16th. theatre was opened at Madras, with an ingenious and elegant introductory prologue, written by Mr. E. J.

Some shares of the Royal Bank at Edinburgh, sold at the rate of 215 l. being 14 l. higher than was ever paid before, owing to the great plenty of money now circulating in Scotland. Above half a million, sterling, it was computed, was now lent out in Edinburgh alone, at three per cent. and more money, besides, was ready to be lent on bond security, in Scotland, than was ever known at any former period.

Her Imperial Majesty of 18th. Russia dined on board Admiral Greig's ship in the harbour of St. Petersburg, at a table of one hundred covers; and in the afternoon reviewed her fleet; and even sailed with it for some time; the whole under repeated salutes from the ships and batteries, especially those of Cronstadt, mounting nine hundred guns.

In a letter lately received by the committee at the London Tavern appointed to conduct the voluntary contributions in favour of the soldiers serving in North America, their wives and children, from the committee of officers appointed by General Howe, to conduct it on the spot, is the following paragraph:

"This board, as well as the officers and soldiers in general, are sensible of the great attention which their countrymen have shown them on this occasion; and we flatter ourselves that the future operations of the army, in reducing the deluded inhabitants of this country

country to a just sense of their duty, will merit their approbation. The society may be assured that the board will exert themselves to render their benevolent designs as beneficial as possible. As we are convinced that you are desirous of contributing to the utmost of your power towards the relief of the soldiers, &c. we beg leave to suggest to you, that the following articles will be particularly useful, to wit, soap, leather for mending of shoes, combs, chalk or whitening for cleaning cloaths, leggings, horse-radish, ground ginger, awls, wax, and cobblers ends for shoe-makers."

The grand Duke of Russia, being on a visit to his Prussian Majesty, made his public entry into Berlin, accompanied by Prince Henry of Prussia, in the following order. First, appeared twenty-four postillions, sounding their horns, commanded by six secretaries of the post, all in uniform; after these came the company of butchers, then that of archers, after them a considerable body of merchants, distinguished by the beauty of their uniform: after these companies came three superb state coaches, in which were the Lieutenant-General Lentulus de Buddenbrock, Count Werthern, minister of state, the Major-Generals Sobeck and Prittwitz, with some other gentlemen: a detachment of life-guards, followed by a running footman, immediately preceded one of the king's coaches, with eight horses, in which were the Grand Duke of Russia, and Prince Henry of Prussia. This was one of the most superb carriages ever seen, and was followed by three others, in which were the general field marshal Count Ro-

manzow, Sadiomiskoy, General Count Soltikow, and the chamberlain and gentlemen of his Imperial Highness. The procession was closed by one hundred men of infantry, being the guard of honour. All the magistracy of the city received the princes under a triumphal arch, where upwards of seventy young maidens, dressed like nymphs and shepherdesses, presented the grand duke with verses and a garland of flowers. The cannon fired, and the trumpets and other music sounded from the beginning, till the king embraced the grand duke in his apartments. The grand duke, at the king's approach, said, "Permit me, O mighty monarch, to signify my reasons for having travelled from the extremities of the North to these happy dominions: it is to assure you, myself, of the everlasting tie of friendship and alliance which henceforth shall reign between Russia and Prussia; to meet Russia's future empress, who will be dearer to myself and the whole nation for my having received her from your hands; and lastly, and chiefly, to view with my own eyes Europe's greatest hero, the admiration of the age, and the astonishment of posterity!"—Here he was interrupted by the King, who replied, "Instead of which you behold, O Prince, a hoary-headed Valetudinarian, who could never have wished for a superior happiness than that of welcoming within these walls the hopeful head of a mighty empire, and the only son of my best friend, Catherine the Great!" Turning to general Romanzow, he added, "Welcome conqueror of the Ottomans! I find

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a great

a great likeness between you and my General Winterfeldt." "Sire, (replied the General) I am ambitious to resemble, even outwardly, a General who distinguished himself so much in your Majesty's service." The King made answer, "You have far more reason to be proud of your own glorious deeds, which will hand down, to the latest posterity, your immortal fame!"

Prince Henry of Prussia, in the name of the Empress of Russia, made the demand of the Princess of Wirtemberg Stutgard, in marriage for the Grand Duke; and the ceremony of the contract took place the same day. On the 3d of August, his Imperial Highness took leave of the Royal Family, when the King made him the following magnificent presents: a desert-service, and a coffee service, with ten vases of China, of the manufacture, of Berlin; a ring, with his Majesty's portrait, covered with a diamond valued at 30,000 crowns; a set of Prussian horses; and four pieces of rich tapestry.

After this there was an extraordinary court, at which were present all the foreign ministers, and every person of distinction. The whole august company, supped with the Queen in great magnificence, and the next day dined with her Majesty.

At night, some rogues broke into the house of a gentleman in Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, all whose family happened to be then in the country; and carried off plate to the amount of above 300l. We insert this by way of caution to such of our readers, as leave their town houses for the summer season, to lodge

their plate at a banker's, and their household furniture with an upholsterer, as the best way to secure whatever goods, &c. they may not think proper to take along with them.

The first stone of an observatory on Calton-hill, 22d, near Edinburgh, was laid with great solemnity, in the presence of the Lord-Provost and magistrates of that city, accompanied by the heads of the university.

At a court of common council held at Guildhall, 23d, the thanks of that court were unanimously voted to Sir Watkin Lewes, for his endeavours to support the rights and liberties of the freemen of Worcester in the late election for representatives for that city.

The body of a coachman, found without any of 24th, the common signs of life, in a stable at Fulham, to which he went a few days before, in a seeming state of good health, to put up his horses, was buried at that place. But when the funeral was over, a person insisting that, during the performance of the service, he heard a rumbling and struggling in the coffin, the earth was removed, and the coffin taken out of the grave; when, on opening it, there appeared evident proofs, that the unhappy man, though then absolutely dead, had come to himself, as his body was very much bruised in several places, some of which were still bleeding; and there appeared besides a quantity of blood in the coffin. Surely, it is high time to put the office of searchers into better hands; and who so fit for the purpose, as the gentlemen of the faculty belonging

ing to the Society for the recovery of persons apparently drowned, &c. who might be allowed a suitable reward for their trouble, payable by the parish when the friends of the supposed deceased were too poor to pay it; and a still greater reward, in case they should bring to life any person given over as dead by those they belonged to.

Sir Basil Keith, Governor of Jamaica, issued a proclamation to put martial-law in force in that island, in order to prevent the spreading of what the proclamation styles a rebellion of the negroes, in one of its parishes; and, next day, he issued another proclamation, to stop the departure of the ships bound for Europe, as it appeared that the negroes depended greatly on the island's being thereby thinned of whites, to carry their point. By this means, the insurrection was suppressed; and, the ringleaders being discovered, thirty were executed; when, all things being made quiet and easy again, both the martial-law and the embargo were taken off the 7th of August following. [For some fine thoughts on the condition of the poor negroes in the West-India islands, &c. and a fine poetical address, to his wife, put into the mouth of one of them on the point of being burnt alive for asserting the natural rights of mankind, we beg leave to refer our readers to the second part of this volume.]

Here, in the mean time, it is proper to remark, that, in these islands the whites themselves were now on the point of being starved, in consequence of their not receiving the usual supplies from North-America; so that, perhaps, every

thing attempted by the slaves, on the above occasion, may be attributed to that almost general innate desire of prolonging even the most wretched existence. The condition of the West-India islands about this time, may be judged from the following picture of that of Barbadoes, as laid before his Majesty, last May, in an address on the occasion from the inhabitants of that island:

"We have, Sir, near fourscore thousand black, and twelve thousand white people daily to support. Our ground provisions (the internal resource) have failed for the want of seasonable rains; and the stock of salt provisions on hand will not last many weeks, and we are without the hope of future foreign resources."

Sir Thomas Rich, in his Majesty's ship *Enterprize*, 25th. met with a French fleet, of two ships of the line, and several frigates, commanded by the Duke of Chartres. The French bore down upon her, and the Admiral hailed the *Enterprize*, and desired the Captain to come on board immediately; to which he replied, that, if the admiral had any thing to communicate to him, he might come on board the *Enterprize*, as he should not go out of his ship. The Duke insisted that he should, or he would sink him; and the French ships accordingly pointed their guns at the *Enterprize*; but Sir Thomas Rich, regardless of their hostile threats and preparations, declared, that he never received any orders but from his *own* Admiral, and that they were at liberty to fire whenever they pleased, as he positively would not go on board; upon which the Duke of Chartres,

Chartres, admiring his spirited conduct, begged it as a *favour* that he would do him the honour of coming aboard, as he wished much to be acquainted with him. Sir Thoma. immediately went, and was received with the utmost respect by the Duke and all his officers.

The magistrates of the city and liberty of Westminster met at their Guildhall, to hold the adjournment of their quarter session, received the picture of Lord Percy, which they had requested of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, to place in the council chamber of their hall, as a testimony of their respect towards that young nobleman, and as a just sense of their approbation of his spirit and perseverance in the service of his King and Country in America.

30th. A poor widow, immediately after being cleared at St. Margaret's Hill, in the Borough, by the Insolvent Act, was arrested by a Borough-Clink Officer in her way home, and carried to the Borough jail. But, upon notice being sent to Sir Joseph Mawbey, he gave orders for the woman to be again brought into court, discharged her from the arrest, and sent the officer, who arrested her, to the above prison for three months, as the act of parliament directs that no person, coming to be cleared, or going home when cleared, shall be taken under arrest.

About ten minutes after ten at night, began one of the greatest eclipses of the moon, that has happened these twenty-six years past; and a greater than will happen for many years to come. It was visible to all Europe and Africa, the Island of Madagascar, all the lesser islands of the Indian Seas, the Atlantic Ocean, Iceland, Greenland, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, the Caribbee Islands, Terra Firma, South America; to every place, in short, above whose horizon the moon then happened to be; and the weather here in London proved favourable enough to render it a most grand and awful spectacle; whereas out of six, total eclipses of the moon, that could be visible in this part of the globe for thirty-nine years past, three only are remembered to have been seen, the sight of the other three having been intercepted by clouds. At the time of the present eclipse, the moon was computed to be upwards of 222,000 English miles from the earth's surface; the diameter of the earth's shadow, in that part where the moon passed through it, about 6000 miles; and the moon's motion through this shadow, to have been at the rate of between thirty and forty miles a minute. The other particulars of this grand event in the history of nature, were, for London, and all other places at no great distance from it, nearly as follows:

	H.	M.
Beginning of the eclipse, 30th of July	- 10	10 at night.
Beginning of the total darkness	- 11	8
Middle of the eclipse	- 12	55
End of the total darkness, 31st of July	- 0	42 in the morning.
End of the eclipse	- 1	41
Digits eclipsed	- 19°	2

DIED,

1820, the 1st instant, Richard Hare, Esq. an eminent brewer, remarkable for his son's having carried porter brewing to the highest perfection in Philadelphia.

The 7th. Mr. Jeremiah Markland, senior fellow of Peter-House, Cambridge, and one of the most learned critics of his age, aged 82 years. See the second part of this volume, for a farther account of this gentleman.

Lately, Mr. James Ashley, aged 78, master of the punch-house on Ludgate-hill, which he had kept forty-five years. He was the first to introduce the selling of punch in small quantities, by which he not only made a large fortune, but greatly promoted the interest of the

British islands, and the increase of the revenue.

AUGUST.

A light was exhibited on a cluster of dangerous rocks 1st, between England and Ireland, called the Smalls; but on such an improved plan, as to be seen and distinguished at nine leagues distance.

By the report of the committee directed to enquire into the city cash, and the probable expences attending the mayoralty, the receipts and payments of the last five gentlemen who served that office, stand, pursuant to accounts delivered in by themselves, as under, viz.

	Receipts.			Payments.		
Samuel Turner, Esq; -	£.5731	5	10	—	7349	12 4
Brafs Crosby, Esq; -	4251	11	6	—	6685	10 11
James Townsend, Esq; -	3896	0	0	—	7592	16 9
Frederick Bull, Esq; -	5647	13	8	—	9292	10 0
John Wilkes, Esq; -	4889	0	6	—	8226	13 0
And Mr. Beckford's first mayoralty	5578	17	0	—	6896	19 10

The committee having compared the said accounts together, and having likewise had laid before them a fair copy of the account of monies received by the Mayors for twenty-six years past, viz. from 1750 to 1775, both inclusive, for the sale of offices, places, &c. came to the following resolutions, viz.

1. That it appeared to the committee, that the annual income of the office of Mayor of this city amounts to about 4000l.

II. That the probable receipts arising from the sale of offices, places, &c. for twenty-six years past amounted upon an average to 531l. 6s. 1d. per annum, and for the last ten years to 670l. per annum. And,

III. That the probable expences attending the mayoralty of this city, amounted to 7600l. per annum.

The committee therefore recommended, that, in future, the sums arising from the sale of all officers places of this city whatever, should be paid into the chamber of London, and that the court do allow the future Mayors 1000l. per annum, in lieu of the said places.

At a court of common council, Mr. Saxby having given notice, that he intended at the first court of common-council to be held after the recess, to revive the motion for the compliment of a piece of plate to be presented to Sir Watkin

kin Lewes on the same score that the thanks of the court had been lately voted him, Mr. Deputy Judd gave notice, that he should, at the same time, make a motion for reducing the salary paid to the recorder to 750*l.* the sum which was paid to his predecessor. From these bickerings, the political temper of the city of London may be pretty well estimated.

2d. At Cuckfield in Suffolk, there happened in the afternoon, a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which threw the inhabitants into great consternation. The new work belonging to the spire of the church, which had been almost destroyed by a violent storm the beginning of the hard weather the last winter, and was nearly repaired, was beat down, and the inside set on fire at three or four different places; where it was, however, though with great difficulty, extinguished.

3d. Baron Deide Furtenstein, late Ambassador from Denmark, having received his letters of recall, and previously taken leave of their Majesties, set out on his return home.

A fire broke out in the dwelling-house of Mr. Wallace, biscuit-baker, in Cinnamon-street, Wapping, by which that and six adjoining houses were burnt to the ground.

This morning, about six o'clock, a melancholy accident happened on board his Majesty's ship Marlborough, Capt. Hood, which had come into Portsmouth harbour the day before to be docked, by the explosion of some gunpowder in the fore part of the ship, which tore and much damaged her inside works, and

ripped up part of her decks; twelve seamen, three women, and three children, were killed; and upwards of fifty wounded, who were sent to the hospital. And, on the 15th, at a court martial held on board the Centaur man of war, on the captain, officers, &c. of the Marlborough, to enquire into the cause of the above unhappy accident, the Captain and Lieutenant were cleared of any breach of duty, but the gunner was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and rendered for ever incapable of serving his Majesty; and one of the gunner's yeomen was condemned to receive three hundred lashes. It seems that the latter, on removing the powder, had, through the negligence of the former, made a reserve of some powder unknown to the rest of the ship's crew. Two or three days after, another court-martial was held on two sailors, for theft committed on board the said ship in the height of the confusion after the explosion; when they were both convicted, and sentenced to receive three hundred lashes each; which sentences, both on them and the gunner's yeoman, were the next morning carried into execution.

At Evercreech, in Devonshire, a farmer and two 6th. of his men running under an oak for shelter during a thunder-storm, a flash of lightning struck the tree, killed the farmer dead upon the spot, and greatly hurt the two labourers. We cannot too often put our readers on their guard against the danger of standing under trees during thunder-storms. It is seldom that persons are much hurt in open fields.

There was growing in the garden

den of Messrs. Perfect, in Pontefract, a curious cucumber, called the Snake Cucumber, (the seed of which was sent in a letter from abroad) which at first sight struck terror into the beholders, as it exhibited the appearance of several snakes, twisted in various serpentine figures; among the plants, of which there were a great number, several of them measuring upwards of three feet, and one in particular four feet four inches in length, and of a proportionable circumference.

The trade of the northern part of Europe appears, as it was expected, to have thriven greatly by the decay of the North-American trade, as, on this and the next day, no fewer than one hundred and seventy-three ships, from the Baltic, passed the Sound. Some people, however, alledge another reason for the augmentation of the commerce of the northern powers, which is, the passage the Russians have opened to the Levant and Italy.

One of the first acts of the new Prince de Conti, since his accession to his father's possessions in the isle of Adam, has been to give orders, that the game thereon should be mostly killed, on account of the damage done by it to the corn in that district, of which the inhabitants had for a long time complained; and given to the poor. Some time before this, when the general extirpation of rabbits in France happened to be on the carpet, it was found that the smell of lobsters, or craw-fish, would entirely destroy them in their burrows; and it has since been discovered, that lobsters have another property very useful to the farmer

and corn-facter, which cannot be too universally known.

Mons. de Broffes, first President of the parliament at Dijon, finding that the weevils had got among some wheat at one of his farms, tried almost every method to get rid of them, but in vain, for his granaries still continued infested by this voracious insect. At length, being informed of a method to destroy them, quite simple, and no ways expensive or dangerous, and which it is said had been practised in the province of Poitou, with equal success, he went to work, in the following manner. He got some live lobsters, which he threw on the wheat that was infested; and, in four hours time, the weevils came out from all parts of it, (for the fish were still alive) and dispersed themselves all over the walls in such great numbers, that in many places they were quite black with them. At length, after endeavouring to escape by the chinks in the wall they all perished.

The smell of this testaceous fish, particularly if left to stink, always proves fatal to these insects, yet will no wise affect the corn. This remedy should be used, as soon as there is reason to suspect that the weevils begin to make their nests.

A new road from Huntingdon to Godmanchester, 10th. being nearly completed, was a few days since opened for carriages. It is a very noble addition to the pleasure of travelling that way, as well as an entire security against the floods which sometimes overflowed the fine meads through which it passes; not to speak of other advantages; it being shorter by

by several miles than the old road, and as safe for travellers as any road in England.

Being the birth-day of the Prince of Wales, the same was observed at Windsor with unusual splendor. At six in the morning the festivity was announced by the ringing of bells. At seven some small guns were fired as a signal to prepare. Before nine, the prince, with his attendants, came to the King's apartments. At ten o'clock, the King, Queen, and children, attended by the Duke of Montague, Lord Bruce, Lady Effingham, Lady Weymouth, Lady Charlotte Finch, &c. went in procession to the cathedral; the Princess Royal and her two sisters walked after their Majesties; the Prince of Wales and his six brothers (all dressed in blue and gold) following, with their attendants on each side. When they came to the church-door, the Provost, Prebends, Canons, and Poor Knights, received them; and as soon as they entered the cathedral, the organ struck up and continued till the Royal family were seated. His Majesty, the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, and the Duke of Montague, before the service began, went to the altar and made their offerings of gold and silver; Doctor Bollock and Doctor Lockman receiving the same in a gold dish.

The arrangement of the Royal Family, when in the choir, was thus: the King sat in the Dean's seat, the Queen under the Duke of Gloucester's banner, with the Princesses standing at her side; the Prince of Wales, and his brother the Bishop, under their own banners; the rest of the children, with

the ladies of quality, and other attendants, in the upper stalls on the right hand of the choir. The Duke of Montague took his seat under his own banner.

The service then began, and was read by the Provost; Mr. Kent's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* were sung; and Doctor Green's anthem, "God is our hope and strength, &c." concluding with the grand chorus from the Messiah; the whole of which took up an hour and an half. The procession from the cathedral was in the following order, viz. Poor Knights, two and two; Prebends, Canons, Provost, their Majesties, the Princess Royal with her sisters, and their attendants, the Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnaburgh, the rest of the royal brothers, two and two; Duke of Montague, Lord Bruce, Ladies Effingham, Weymouth, Charlotte Finch, &c. on each side. The gentlemen of the cathedral took leave of them at the door: their Majesties and the children then went into the castle, and afterwards upon the terrace. The party belonging to the 25th regiment was drawn up in the Park, upon a spot called the Bowling-Green; and, as soon as the children appeared at the Terrace, they gave three volleys. The King and Queen, Princes and Princesses, went afterwards into their own apartments to dinner, and at half past six o'clock, the Prince of Wales and the three eldest brothers returned to Kew.

There are now in circulation a number of counterfeit sixpences, an imitation of the Lima money of George the Second, well executed, date 1746, not differing from the Tower money, but by a flatness

flatness on one part of the edge instead of being round.

19th. The son of a wealthy inhabitant of Grails, in Voightland, having lately hanged himself, when delirious in a fever, the unhappy father petitioned the King, and easily obtained leave, to bury him in the church-yard. But, when the corpse was brought to the grave to be buried, a great mob assembled to obstruct the putting of it into the ground; they even attacked the guards which were sent to quell the riot with so great fury, that they were obliged to be reinforced to the amount of 600 men before they could reduce the mutineers, which was not done at last without much bloodshed on both sides.

20th. A powder-mill blew up in the province of Picardy, and several persons were destroyed by the explosion. Happily the Royal Arsenal did not suffer, though near the spot where the accident happened.

21st. One of the Grand Signior's ladies was safely delivered of a Prince, who was immediately named Sultan Mehemet, to the very great satisfaction of the Grand Signior and his subjects. The Porte communicated the news in form, the same day, to all the foreign ministers, intimating, that as illuminations would be ordered throughout the city for seven nights, it was hoped they would not omit to demonstrate, as usual in such cases, their friendship, by doing as others did, which request was complied with. The illuminations began on the 26th, and were followed by three nights superb fire-works on the canal

opposite to the Grand Signior's seraglio.

A bell was erected in the centre of Smithfield, on a 22d. high pyramid, consisting of four posts. It is to be rung at twelve o'clock on Sunday nights, for cattle to be brought in; and at three o'clock in the afternoons of Monday and Friday, for the market to cease; and, in failure of obedience to this signal, the cattle are to be sent to the Green-yard.

A regatta was celebrated on the river Thames between Richmond and Kew in honour of the Prince of Wales's birth-day. Their Majesties, and all the rest of the Royal Family, with their attendants, were present, and received by all ranks with the greatest marks of affection and respect; but, excepting the number of boats, and the crowds of people, the shew afforded very little diversion. In the evening some very curious fireworks were displayed on an aite on the river Thames, which had a fine effect.

The army under General Howe, after he had made, on the 18th, some further proposals to the provincials, but without effect, being previously joined by a large body of Hessians, made good their landing on Long Island; and, on the 27th, part of the Provincial army, commanded by General Sullivan, was totally routed; upon which the whole body, the next day, quitted their entrenchments on Long Island, and retreated to New York.—On this occasion, the Generals Sullivan, Stirling, commonly called Lord Stirling, and Udell, with more than 1000 men, were made prisoners; the killed and

and wounded were supposed to be about 2300.

As the name of the above-mentioned Lord Stirling is not in the list either of English, Scotch, or Irish peers, the following account of him may be acceptable to our readers. His father, Mr. Alexander, (for that is his real name) went over to America many years ago, where he acquired a considerable estate, and where the present Lord Stirling was, it is believed, born. Upon the death of Lord Stirling, a Scotch peer, whose name was Alexander, either the late or the present Mr. Alexander, came over to England, and laid claim to the title; when the cause was tried by the house of Lords, and the claim rejected; the Lords forbidding him to assume the title on pain of being led round Westminster-Hall, libelled as an impostor; but ever since, by the courtesy of his countrymen, he has been distinguished by the title of Lord Stirling. The first Lord Stirling obtained a grant of Long Island; was the first that settled it with British inhabitants; and was at a great expence in supporting them. He died in 1640.

There is a very remarkable plain in Long Island, about twenty-eight miles long, and between four and five broad. Not a single tree grows upon it, and none of the natives can remember there ever were any; a thing which cannot be said of any other known spot of ground in all North America.

At a general diet of the Polish nobility, held at Warsaw, the members were obliged to sign the following act of confederation, which the Poles think, if strictly

adhered to, would certainly be a blessing to their ruined country:

1. To preserve the Roman church as predominant.—2. For the person of the King, and the dignity of his throne.—3. For the laws and liberties of both nations (Poland and Lithuania) which are guarantees to each other by many convention compacts.—4. To erect a free and independent republican government, which has a power of legislation at its diets, and a power to enforce its acts between one diet and another.—5. To fulfil and observe all the treaties hitherto concluded with foreign powers.—6. To introduce an harmony between the different courts of judicature throughout the whole kingdom, and to preserve a due subordination among them.—7. To take such measures as would lessen the taxes and imposts, and to abolish, or at least to confine, all unnecessary and extravagant expences.—8. That justice and right be administered to each individual subject, against the violations of the feudal lords.—And, 9. That every member of this diet be zealous to adopt such measures as would establish the public tranquillity, and tend to the happiness of this kingdom in general, and every subject in particular.

Some persons abroad having made it a practice to counterfeit British passes, and thereby give room to the piratical states of Barbary to complain, that Great Britain screened the property of their enemies; his Majesty has been pleased to issue a proclamation of this date, requiring all passes, formerly granted to ships and vessels trading in the way of the cruisers belonging to the said states, to be returned

returned into the office of the admiralty of Great-Britain, and other passes of different forms to be issued.

A lady and her servant riding in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, were stopped by a man on foot, very genteely dressed in white cloaths, and a gold laced hat. He demanded the lady's money, which she gave him, amounting to 26 guineas; when, having put the cash into one of his pockets, he took from the other a small diamond hoop ring, which he presented to the lady, desiring her to wear it for the sake of an extraordinary robber, who made it a point of honour to take no more from a beautiful lady than he could make a return for in value. He then, with great agility, vaulted over the wall, and disappeared.

About half past ten at 31st. night, a violent hurricane, accompanied with a vast torrent of rain, happened at Shepton-Mallet, and did considerable damage, by filling with water most of the cellars, and some dwelling-houses in the lower part of the town, and spoiling or carrying off the furniture, &c. But what renders this event very extraordinary, is, it was followed the next night but one, by another storm nearly as bad, which laid the flat lands adjacent to the town all under water, and did besides very considerable damage.

They have a custom at Rome of solemnly crowning extraordinary poetical geniusses in the capitol; nor is the honour confined to the men. Petrarch and the Chevalier Persetti were the last Italian poets who obtained it. This day it was conferred on a young lady of the

name of Morelli Fernandez, called Corilla Olimpica by the academy of the Arcades, who had long gained the admiration of Italy by her extempore verses on any subject proposed. After undergoing the necessary literary examinations preceding that ceremony, the last in the presence of more than twenty ladies of the first distinction, twenty-five foreigners of rank, and three hundred persons of known erudition, with the greatest applause, she was this day, at length conducted to the capitol, by the Countesses Cardelli, Dandini, and Gionasi: when she entered, she kneeled to the conservators, who were sitting under a canopy; and after the usual Latin forms, the Chevalier Jean Paul de Cinque placed the laurel crown upon her head; after which the Chevalier John Baptist Conci registered the act of her coronation in the public registers, under the discharge of 100 pieces of cannon. Several members of the academy of the Arcades read pieces of their compositions, and three questions were proposed to Corilla, who answered in verse, with an eloquence and vivacity which surprized all who were present.

The weather has been so excessively hot this summer in Sweden, as to occasion many distempers, and among them putrid fevers, which have carried off great numbers of people.

The 12th instant, the wife of Capt. Pettington, at Rotherhithe, was delivered of two sons and a daughter, all, at their birth, likely to live.

Some time ago, Mr. Powell, of Clearwell-hall, Gloucestershire, married Miss Elizabeth East, being the

the fourth wife he has married of the same name.

DIED, the 2d instant, Matthew Maty, M. D. principal librarian of the British Museum, and secretary to the Royal Society; a very learned and ingenious gentleman; and well known, as such, in the literary world.

The 25th, the celebrated David Hume, Esq. at Edinburgh. He had been ailing a long time, but never complained, nor was confined to his bed, till a day or two before his death. He appointed his brother his heir by testament, but has left some small legacies to several of his friends, viz. to a servant 20l. per ann.; to Dr. Smith 200l.; to Dr. Ferguson 100l. or 200l.; and 100l. to erect a monument to his memory, with an express prohibition not to put any thing on it but the day of his birth and the day of his death. The reader will find some memoirs of this great, however in some respects mistaken, genius, in the second part of this volume.

Lately, at Glastonbury, Mrs. Sarah Brockman, widow, aged 106 years.

Mrs. Mary Yates, of Shiffnal, aged 128 years. She walked to London after the fire in 1666, married a third husband in her ninety-second year, and was hearty and strong at 120.

S E P T E M B E R.

The lord-mayor, sheriffs, and city officers, proclaimed Bartholomew fair in the usual manner; but strictly forbid all in-

terludes, &c. Accordingly, none were exhibited, through the vigilance of the city-marshal and their assistants, who have besides cleared that noted spot of sharpers and pickpockets on market days, and introduced such order among the horse riders, as to prevent their trampling on passengers, which heretofore but too often happened.

Extrait of a Letter of this date from Palma, the Capital of Majorca.

"Forty-six captives who were employed to draw stones from a quarry some leagues distance from Algiers, at a place named Genova, resolved, if possible, to recover their liberty, and yesterday took advantage of the idleness and inattention of forty men, who were to guard them, and who had laid down their arms, and were rambling about the shore. The captives attacked them with pickaxes and other tools, and made themselves masters of their arms; and, having killed thirty-three of the forty, and eleven of the thirteen sailors who were in the boat which carried the stones, they obliged the rest to jump into the sea. Being then masters of the boat, and armed with twelve muskets, two pistols, and powder, &c. they set sail, and had the good fortune to arrive here this morning, where they are performing quarantine. Sixteen of them are Spaniards; seventeen, French; eight, Portuguese; three, Italians; one, a German; and one, a Sardinian."

About two o'clock in the morning, the most dreadful 5th. fire that ever happened at St. Kitt's, began in one of the back rooms of John Gardner, Esq; in what is called the Pasture, in the town of Basseterre, which for want of timely assistance

assistance at first, spread with unconquerable fury, conflagration succeeding conflagration, till the most valuable part of the town was reduced to ashes—so reduced, that not a stick of timber remained unconsumed. This fire was succeeded, the next day, by a hurricane, attended with a deluge of rain, which did nearly as much damage to the island as the fire did to the town. The damage to the shipping was likewise immense. Seven ships put out to sea; three foundered; two more drove on shore; and only one rode out the gale. This terrible hurricane was equally felt at Antigua, Montserrat, St. Kitt's, Martinico, Guadeloupe, and Marigallante; but, in the first of these islands, the rain providentially did as much good, as the wind had done harm.

6th. The lord-mayor of London was robbed near Turnham-Green, in his chaise and four, in sight of all his retinue, by a single highwayman, who swore he would shoot the first man that made resistance, or offered violence.

At the fair held in Bristol this week, there was as great a demand for the articles in the cloathing trade, as had been known for some years past, especially those of a coarser sort, of which there was not a sufficient supply brought to town. It was universally acknowledged by the clothiers from the various parts of the country, that they had a sale for whatever goods they could make; but they grievously complained of the exorbitant price of wool.

A Russian house of trade, with a capital enabling them to serve their

friends agreeably to their wishes, and let them partake of great advantages, independent of the house's transacting the affairs of the Russian government, has been lately opened at Constantinople, under the immediate protection of the empress, in order to take advantage of all the cessions made to her imperial majesty by the last treaty of peace between her and the Porte.

A system of toleration lately adopted by the empress of Russia, has proved an amazing source of population in her dominions. It is computed that twelve foreign colonies have settled upon the Wolga, which altogether make 6001 families of different religions. A similar system, we have seen, had been lately adopted by the empress queen, with proportionable good effects.

Arrived in the river, the Queen East-Indiaman; which, though she had been out twenty months, had lost but one man. [For the methods of preserving the health of seamen, &c. in long voyages, please to turn to our second part.]

About eleven in the 10th. morning, as Joseph Wright, a pilot, Joseph Totry, and — Melville, were sailing in a boat opposite Dawpool, in the port of Chester, about a mile from shore, a violent storm arose, which over-set the boat. Wright got upon an oar, and stripped himself, by which he reached the shore, after swimming about an hour and three quarters. How, in such a situation, he was able to disengage himself from his wet cloaths, is a matter of surprize, but an undoubted fact. He was so weak when he reached the shore, that he could give no

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account

account of the matter. The other two, although they were excellent swimmers, being unable, through the violence of the current, to make land, were unfortunately drowned. Wright heard Melville shriek for assistance near an hour, which his father, who was a spectator of his dreadful situation, was unable to afford him. We insert this as a proof of the great advantage which may be expected, in such terrible situations, from the assistance of light bodies.

The runner to a set of sharpers, who had for the purpose of defrauding honest tradesmen of their property, under specious pretences, hired a great house in Grosvenor-square, at the rent of 500*l.* a year, was convicted at the sessions at Westminster, and sentenced to three years hard labour on the Thames. The rest of the gang were lucky enough to escape for the present.

A sudden fire broke out 12th. in the dead of the night, at the Goat alehouse, in Shire-lane, and burnt so furiously, that the mistress of the house, who was just ready to lie in, attempted to save herself by getting out of the one-pair of stairs window, but fell upon the stones in the lane, and was miserably bruised. A Mr. Tudor, who lodged in the house, being deaf, could not be waked till the stair-case was on fire; when it is supposed, being involved in the smoke, and not knowing which way to turn, he perished in the flames. The rest of the inhabitants were happy enough to escape over the tops of the neighbouring houses. A great many other houses were damaged; and, considering the closeness of that neighbourhood, it

is very surprising that the conflagration was so soon got under.

A few days since, as two gentlemen, who live on the 14th. road between Dublin and Milltown, a village in the neighbourhood of that capital, were returning home, they were accosted by a genteel man, gravely dressed, resembling a clergyman, who begged they would step with him into an adjacent public-house, as he had something of moment to communicate to them. This being complied with, he asked one of the gentlemen whether he was ever possessed of a gold watch; and being answered in the affirmative, he then enquired whether he could recollect the maker and number; the gentleman replied, that a space of upwards of twenty-two years had intervened since he was robbed of his watch and some cash by five men, and could not possibly know it again; but the other saying he remembered its construction, the stranger produced the watch, which proved to be the same the gentleman had been robbed of, and also 25 guineas, the sum taken from him. The owner of the watch then asked the restorer of it how he came by these articles, as they were confident he only acted in an official capacity: he desired to be excused giving a direct answer; but added, that three of the men who robbed him were now in opulent circumstances, and the other two had died since. Happy are they, said he, who, having the misfortune in their younger days to despoil their neighbour unjustly of his property, make ample restitution in their riper years: this shews their principles are not entirely vitiated, and that their repentance

penitance is sincere; but thrice happy they who have no need of this repentance.

This night, being the eve of a Sunday, on which a general communion was to be at the cathedral church of Zurich, in Switzerland, called Munster Kirk; and many thousands were expected there to partake of it; the wine was prepared and brought to the church, to be ready against morning; but, in the mean time, an incarnate devil dared to lay hands on the sanctuary of the Lord, and poisoned all the wine. In the morning, when the sacrament was administered, there was a horrid confusion; several fainted away on the spot, several vomited; several were taken with a violent cholera; and, in short, the whole city was thrown into the utmost consternation. Upon this, an experiment was tried, and the poison discovered. About eight had died of the poison when this account came away; and had not the bad taste of the wine given early notice of the intended mischief, many more must have perished: still some hundreds were dangerously ill. After a strict examination, it was discovered, that one Wirtz, a gravedigger, was the perpetrator of this diabolical deed, with a view to promote his business, which had been slack for some time. The villain was immediately apprehended; but what is become of him, we have not as yet learned.

The King's troops under General Howe, landed at Kepps-bay, in order to attack New-York; but, on their approach, found the city abandoned, and the Provincials fled; upon which they took possession of the

city, after a slight skirmish with the rear of the provincial army, with the loss of six or eight men killed and wounded.

A fire broke out at the corner of Rood-lane, in Fenchurch-street, which burnt three houses in front, and damaged several others. Two men were killed, and one miserably bruised, on the occasion.

This morning a highwayman was shot dead on 16th. Finchley-Common, in attempting to rob the Derby machine.

At the meeting of the three choirs at Worcester, the collection amounted to 506l.

The sessions ended at the Old-Bailey, when eleven 17th. convicts received sentence of death, viz. one for coining; four for house-breaking, one of them while the family of the house was in the country; two women for shop-lifting; one for horse-stealing, of which he made a practice, in order to kill them, and boil their flesh, &c.; one for street-robbery; one for forgery; and one for returning from transportation; thirty-four were ordered to hard labour for three years on the river Thames, among whom were nineteen capital convicts, who had received his Majesty's pardon on that condition; five were ordered to be sent to the house of correction; twelve to be imprisoned in Newgate for different terms; three to be branded in the hand; fourteen to be whipped; and forty-eight were discharged by proclamation.

At this sessions a gentleman was tried for perjury, in polling twice for Mr. Wilkes at the late election for chamberlain; but it appearing that what he did was the effect of an habitual intoxication, or rather

permanent stupidity thereby produced, he was acquitted. At this sessions were likewise convicted two more of the fellows concerned in the murder of the custom-house officer (see May 25th) and executed the 16th. At the place of execution, they owned being of the company, but denied having any hand in the murder; and behaved with great composure of mind. Most of the other criminals were pardoned; some of them, on condition of working on the Thames; and the rest were executed some weeks after.

19th. Lord Howe, and General Howe, caused a declaration to be circulated, promising, in his Majesty's name, a revision of all such instructions as might be construed to lay an improper restraint on the freedom of legislation in the colonies; and also to concur in the revival of such acts as they might think themselves aggrieved by, &c. And soon after the issuing of this declaration, the people flocked in great numbers to his head-quarters, and made their submission.

20th. The greatest and finest part of the handsome town of Gessle, the capital of the province of Gestricia, in Sweden, was burnt to ashes.

A perfect rainbow was seen at Lower-Halston, in Kent, about nine at night.

Between this and the 23d. next day, at midnight, a most horrid attempt was made by a number of wretches to burn the town of New-York, in which they succeeded so well, having set it on fire in several places with matches and combustibles that had been prepared with great art and ingenuity, that about one

quarter of the town was consumed; and the rest must have suffered the same fate, had it not been for the exertions of Major-General Robertson, the officers under his command in the town, and the brigade of guards detached from the camp.

A few days ago Capt. Don Daval, a young and gallant sea-officer in the Spanish service, in a frigate of 34 guns, in company with another Spanish frigate of 28 guns, fell in, near Tetuan, with four Moorish zebees, when a bloody scene was exhibited. The barbarians boarded the Spaniards nine times, and, although superior, almost three to one in number, were every time repulsed with great loss. At length, after an engagement of six hours, the Moors were obliged to strike to the Spanish flag. The loss of the barbarians, in killed and wounded, was upwards of 260; and that of the Spaniards, 38 seamen and 3 officers killed, and 90 men and officers wounded; amongst the latter was Capt. Daval.

Lord North, in taking an airing in Bushy-Park, 23d. had the misfortune to be flung from his horse, and break one of his arms, which put a stop to some very material parliamentary business till he recovered. In the mean time, his Majesty did his Lordship the honour to send daily to enquire after his health; and even frequently to go in person to see him, but without ever speaking of business to him, lest any application of mind should retard his cure.

The Aldermen Plumble and Thomas were chosen 25th. sheriffs; and Alderman Halifax lord-mayor, for the year ensuing.

The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel has returned the contribution which his

his subjects had paid to the military chest, and declared that he would do so as long as the Hessian troops continued in the British service; and the hereditary prince, his son, willing to follow so good an example, published an ordonnance, by which he declared, that all the parents of soldiers, and the soldiers themselves, of the regiment of Hesse-Hanau, (the territory settled on his electoral highness, as an establishment during his father's life) gone to America, shall be free from any duty, either in money or product, upon any land they may possess in that landgraviate, from the day that regiment set out till its return. Moreover, by the indulgence of the court of London, all the letters written by the officers or soldiers of the German troops employed in the service of Great-Britain, in North America, to their friends in Europe, and to them from such their friends, are to be exempted from postage.

General Howe issued a 30th. proclamation, promising a full pardon to all deserters from the British troops in America, who should surrender themselves on or before the 31st of the next month: and, towards the end of November, upwards of forty of those who had surrendered in consequence of the said proclamation, arrived in London, in their way to the coast of Africa, to make part of the corps lately Colonel O'Hara's on that station.

The French king has just received the collection of ancient medals, which the Sieur Pellerin had been so many years making for his majesty, whose cabinet before this acquisition was celebrated throughout Europe, but now may

very truly be said to be the richest and most useful; especially for the assistance it may lend by throwing new lights on ancient history.

DIED, the 7th instant, Eric Gustavus Queckford, Knight of the Sword, and a lieutenant-general in the Swedish service, aged 88. He was the last surviving officer who attended Charles XII. at Bender.

Mrs. Kennedy, in the 110th year of her age, at Dumfries, in Scotland.

The 17th, Capt. Thomas Forbes of the royal navy, aged 102, at Harwich.

The 22d, Monsieur Lewis Chambaud, author of several useful works in French and English; particularly a French Dictionary in folio.

Master Chivers, of Rotherhithe, of the bite of a mad dog. He had drank the salt water; been bathed in it; returned seemingly well; and continued so for more than a month; but, on the 17th instant, he was seized with the hydrophobia, for which no cure could be had.

William Dale, aged 101, at Austry in Warwickshire.

The 27th, Francis Marth, Esq; at Lambeth, aged 84 years. At the age of 60 he had his coffin made, and kept it by him ever since.

The 29th, Alderman Ogden, of Leicester, aged 96.

Lately, at Chichester, Mr. George Smith, landscape-painter, and surviving brother of three, who all cultivated that enchanting art. He gained the premiums given by the society for the encouragement of arts, &c. in 1760, 1761, and 1763.

Mr. Robert West, father of Mr. West, historical painter. He was born

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born at Long-Crandon, Bucks, in 1690; went in 1715 to Pennsylvania, where he had three brothers settled, who went there with William Penn; married and raised a family of ten children in that province; and came over in 1764 to visit his native country, and see his son, where he has continued ever since. He was one of the people called Quakers, universally esteemed.

Josiah Van Rochle, Esq; who had made nine voyages to the East Indies.

At Chelsea, Edward Northorpe, Esq; worth 40,000*l.* of which he has left 5000*l.* to portion ten maidens, in the choice of his executors.

In Spitalfields, Mr. James Point-house, who served with King George I. in the allied army, previous to that Monarch's swaying the British sceptre.

At Greenwich, Thomas Randall, aged near 100, who was cabin-boy on board Admiral Ruffel's ship, in the famous battle with the French, under Tourville, in 1692, and continued in the service of his country from that time to the conclusion of the last war.

Mr. Buck, aged 105, at Dublin.

Near Nancy, in Lorraine, M. Lancelot Chambellan, in his 109th year; a few days before his death, he walked upwards of ten miles.

Mrs. Dorothy Clarke, aged 112, at Westorp, in Nottinghamshire.

Mrs. Sarah Mendes Furtado, aged 109.

SUMMER ASSIZES.

At Dorchester, one was capitally convicted, but afterwards reprieved. At these assizes, Mr. Sykes, the late member for Shaftesbury, was convicted of bribery, and Mr. Mortimer, the present member, reco-

vered penalties to the amount of 11,000*l.* This is the most decisive cause ever yet determined in favour of the landed interest.

The following point of law was argued at the said assizes: "Whether the setting out of grafs in cocks, from the swath, without tending, was or was not a good setting out of tythes?" After a full hearing, the question was determined in the affirmative, and a verdict given against the rector for not taking his tythe away.

At Cambridge, one was capitally convicted of horse-stealing, but afterwards reprieved.

At Stafford, two were capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Nottingham, one, but reprieved.

At Buckingham, one for murder.

At Litchfield, one for forgery.

At Horsham, for the county of Sussex, an old woman, aged 74, was found guilty of murdering her husband, a butcher, at Brightling, in that county, and sentenced to be burnt. She was generally supposed to be insane; but from the clear, artful answers she gave, and the defence she made, Lord Mansfield was clearly of a contrary opinion.

At the assizes for the county of Devon, three were capitally convicted.

At Guildford, eleven; six of whom, viz. four women for a robbery, and two horse-stealers, were afterwards reprieved; the other five were executed.

At Durham, two, one of whom, for a burglary, was executed.

At Newcastle, two, one of whom, for stealing two bank notes out of a letter, was executed.

At the assizes for the county of Northumberland, four, one of whom,

whom, for a highway robbery, was executed.

At Bridgewater, one.

At Bodmin, one, who was afterwards reprieved.

At Bristol, only one cause, of a very trifling nature, was tried.

At York, two were capitally convicted, but reprieved. In the trial of one of them, John Sutcliff, for the murder of his wife and child, the Rev. Mr. Atkinson deposed, the reason Sutcliff gave for murdering his wife, was, that, as she was in a miserable situation, he thought it was proper to put her out of misery. When asked, why he murdered his child, being in no misery? he said, he gave it in sacrifice to God, in return for some blessings he had received a few days before. The jury brought in their verdict insane.

At Maidstone, four were capitally convicted, two of whom were reprieved, but the others for murder were executed.

At Shrewsbury, one, but reprieved.

At Salisbury assize, Mary Bower was charged, on the oath of her sister, with taking from her bank notes to the amount of 990*l.* It appeared to be a family affair.

At Norwich, two were capitally convicted.

At the assizes for the county of Norfolk, five; but all reprieved.

At Bury, two were convicted, but reprieved.

At Gloucester, one.

At Carlisle, one; but reprieved. At the above assizes was tried, before Mr. Justice Ashurst, the long-depending cause between Sir James Lowther, Bart. plaintiff, and his Grace the Duke of Portland, defendant, relative to the soccage lands of Ingleswood forest; when

a verdict was given for the defendant.

At Lincoln, three were capitally convicted, but reprieved.

At Appleby, one; but reprieved.

At Chelmsford, ten; eight of whom were reprieved.

At Oxford, two brothers, but reprieved.

At Abingdon, three, and reprieved.

At Northampton, one, for murder; and another for a burglary, but were both reprieved; and the jurors verdict on the former referred to the opinion of the twelve judges.

At Worcester two, but reprieved.

At Brecon assizes, one for wilfully and premeditatedly firing a loaded pistol at an intimate acquaintance, in a fit of jealousy, on account of a young woman whom they both courted, and dangerously wounding him in the hip.

At Lancaster, two of burglary, but both reprieved.

At Chester, four, and all executed.

The assizes at Bedford, Warwick, Coventry, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Cowbridge, and Winchester, proved maiden.

At the last of the above assizes, an action was brought by farmer Maskall, plaintiff, against a neighbouring farmer, defendant, for debauching one of his daughters, under the common pretence of marriage. Many learned arguments were used by the plaintiff's counsel, in relation to the nature, criminality, and consequence of the offence; and the evidence being impartially summed up by the learned judge, the jury, without hesitation, found a verdict for the plaintiff, with 250*l.* damages, and all costs.

OCTOBER.

3d. Was tried at Guildhall, before the Recorder, in the Mayor's court, an action brought against a lottery-office-keeper, to recover the chances arising upon the insurance of lottery tickets, amounting to the sum of 99l. After much investigation, and argument of the counsel on both sides, a verdict was given for the defendant, agreeable to the opinion of the Judge, who held, that, though there appeared, in the course of the evidence, an acknowledgment of the debt; yet, as the contract was illegal, and in violation of the Gaming Act, the plaintiff had no remedy against the defendant. The courts of law, he said, had been so strict for the suppression of that species of traffick, so highly detrimental to commerce, that he remembered an instance, wherein the money paid for insurance was returned.

4th. The delegates of the several North-American colonies and provinces, to the Continental Congress, not excepting those of New York, though actually in the King's hands, signed articles of confederation and perpetual union; which the reader will find among our State Papers.

A cause was tried in the county court of Corke, in Ireland, before Mr. Justice Henn, between Mr. Godfrey Gerard Fehrman, plaintiff, and Mr. William Falkner, Surveyor of Robert's Cove, Charles McCarthy and Samuel Phillips, revenue-boatmen, defendants. The action was brought for unlawfully detaining at Kinsale, last January, Mrs. Fehrman, the plaintiff's wife, three hours under pretence of her having some India goods about

her, she refusing to admit herself to be searched; and, after a full hearing, the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff of sixty guineas damages, and full costs of suit. Mr. Fehrman, last summer assizes, obtained a verdict for sixty pounds, from another revenue-officer, for unlawfully entering his cellar, under pretence of his having unlicensed beer in it.

By letters from Liverpool, the Duke of Bridgewater had already cleared in one year, 950l. by carrying passengers betwixt Runcorn and Manchester; and 12,500l. by carrying goods betwixt Manchester and Liverpool; all which the public must allow his Grace richly deserves, when they are assured that his inland navigation has already cost him 220,000l.

The ceremony of marriage between His Imperial 7th. Highness, the Grand Duke of Russia, and the Princess of Württemberg Stutgard, was performed, with great pomp, at Petersburg, by Her Imperial Majesty's confessor; but not till the Princess had been solemnly baptized into the Greek church, by the name of Maria Fesdorowna.

The collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, was 9th. opened for divine service, after having been long shut up, to erect a new choir, and make several other necessary repairs, of which the following short description of that most venerable part of the building, in its present state, will give the best idea. Upon entering the front gate of the choir, you ascend three steps, the marble pavement, or floor, having been raised upwards of two feet. The seats belonging to the Dean and Sub-Dean are brought several feet forward,

forward, in order that those who sit them may hear the preacher without being obliged to leave their places, as was the case before this alteration took place. The picture of Richard the Second is removed from the place in which it was hung, into the Chapter-house, and the pulpit is placed on the opposite side of the choir. The stalls for the clergy and singing men are not materially altered, but the places appointed for the gentlemen of Westminster school, though plain and neat, are better constructed than the old ones.

This day and the 13th, 11th. a fleet fitted out by the Provincials on Lake Champlain was entirely defeated, two of their vessels taken, and ten burnt or destroyed, by another fleet partly built and rebuilt there, and partly carried there some miles over land. The provincials, on the news of their fleet being defeated, quitted Crown-Point, having first set fire to all the houses and buildings within it, and returned to Ticonderoga.

A few days ago, as Major Balfour, of the first or royal Scots regiment, and his brother, were out a shooting, near Fort George, in Scotland, the Major, having fired his piece at some birds, desired his brother to fire also, when, unfortunately, as he was preparing to do so, the Major stepped forward before the muzzle of the gun, received the charge in his head, and expired a few hours after. The Major was universally esteemed. No words can express the agony of his brother upon this melancholy catastrophe.

Thirty-two convicts, who had lain six months on board a transport in Limehouse-hole, without

knowing where they were to be taken, some days ago found means to put an end to a state of uncertainty, too bad in a manner for most crimes, by making their escape.

The Pope, though a great friend to the Ex-Jesuits, has been obliged, notwithstanding, to banish them his capital, on pain of having the Spanish ones left on his hands by the stoppage of their pension from the court of Madrid.

An ancient piece of painting, by Holbein, representing an interview between King Henry VIII. and Francis I. of France, at Guines, near Ardres, and containing upwards of four thousand faces, which had been hitherto kept in the private apartments in Windsor Castle, was, by their Majesties command, placed for public inspection in the Royal Picture Gallery; as was likewise another ancient picture, a sea-piece, representing the return of Henry VIII. and his nobility, from the said interview. The reader will find an account of the first of these pictures in our last volume.

In consequence of two declarations lately issued by Lord Howe and General Howe, one, on the 14th of July, purporting, that his Majesty was desirous to deliver his American subjects from the calamities of war, and other oppressions; and to restore the colonies to his protection and peace: the other, on the 19th ult. the purport of which the reader may see against that date; upwards of nine hundred persons, of respectable characters, inhabitants of the city and county of New York, presented their Excellencies with an address, in which, after the warmest expressions

House well knew, (Mr. Wool-
dridge, who had last year spoken
at their bar) objecting to it.

The Bishop of Ely took posses-
sion of an house in Dover-street,
erected by act of parliament for the
future town residence of the Bishops
of that see, and to be called Ely-
house for the future, in lieu of the
old palace, on Holborn-hill.

The sessions ended at the
21st. Old Bailey, when seventeen
capital convicts received sentence
of death, viz. three, for coining;
one, for forgery; two, for horse-
stealing; one, for sheep-stealing;
one, for burglary; one, for a
robbery in a house of ill fame;
and eight, for various footpad and
other highway and street robberies.
Five more convicts were sentenced
to hard labour on the Thames;
and seven, to hard labour in Bride-
well; seven, to confinement in
Newgate; four, to be whipped;
eight were branded in the hand;
and twenty-two were discharged by
proclamation.

And, on the 11th of December,
two of the coiners, the forger,
and five of the other capital con-
victs, were executed at Tyburn.
The unhappy man, for forgery,
having been once a tradesman in
great credit, both for honesty and
industry, was indulged with a
mourning-coach. He made a very
affecting speech to the populace,
at the place of execution, of near
a quarter of an hour's continuance,
in which he attributed his unhappy
fate, not so much to any extrava-
gancy, as an indiscreet desire of
being able to carry on a great
trade. Before his death, he sa-
tisfied all his creditors to the ut-
most of his power, though by so
doing he left his family in the
most wretched circumstances.

During the mayoralty of the
present Lord-mayor, John Saw-
bridge, Esq; eighty-eight per-
sons received sentence of death,
and thirty-nine were executed; six
of them, for murder.

The Grand Duke of Tufca-
ny, by an edict of this date, has
brought several places under the
immediate dependence of his
crown, which were formerly under
that of the Camadule Hermites.
The question is under which ju-
risdiction the inhabitants of these
places are likely to be happiest.

His excellency the Mar-
quis de Noailles, Amba- 25th.
sador from France, had his first
private audience of his Majesty,
to deliver his credentials.

The Marquis de Bernard 27th.
Tanucci, who, for a great
number of years past, had been
Prime Minister, and chief or sole
favourite, to the present and the
late King of Naples and Sicily,
was dismissed his employments,
but in the most honourable manner.
He is succeeded by the marquis
Della Sambacca, the son of Prince
De Campo Reale, Counsellor of
State, and President of the junto
of Sicily.

The Registers of the Court of
Chancery, and their clerks, took
possession of their new office in
Chancery-lane; and, next day, an
elegant bust, in marble, of the
present Lord Chancellor, executed
by Mr. Nollekin, was put up in
the said office, with the following
inscription: "The Right Hon.
Henry Earl Bathurst, Lord High
Chancellor of Great-Britain,
1776."

About a quarter before 28th.
eleven o'clock, a sudden
shock of an earthquake was felt all
over

over the town of Northampton, and in many adjacent villages, attended with a noise much like the violent jolt of a cart, which very apparently jarred the houses, and threw the windows into a noisy agitation for about two seconds; and a ball or balls of fire were seen at the same time by many persons in the same town and neighbourhood. The like phenomena were felt and seen at Harborough, and as far as Loughborough, in the county of Leicester, about the same time. The concussion did not appear so great in those parts; but the light, from various descriptions, seems to have been equal.

His Majesty was pleased, 30th. by two several proclamations, to order that a public fast and humiliation should be observed throughout England, and the kingdom of Ireland, upon Friday the 13th of December next, for the purposes, besides the other usual ones, of imploring the intervention and blessing of the Almighty, speedily to deliver his loyal subjects within his colonies and provinces in North America, from the violence, injustice, and tyranny, of those daring rebels, who had assumed to themselves the exercise of arbitrary power; to open the eyes of those who had been deluded, by specious falsehoods, into acts of treason and rebellion; to turn the hearts of the authors of these calamities; and finally to restore his people in those distracted provinces and colonies to the happy condition of being free subjects of a free state, under which heretofore they had flourished so long, and prospered so much.

His Majesty went to the 31st. House of Peers, and open-

ed the session of parliament with a most gracious speech; which, with the addresses in return from both houses, and his Majesty's most gracious answers to them, the reader will find among our State Papers.

The following humane order has been sent from the war-office, to General Howe, in America.

"State of Allowances and Regulations.

If a wound shall be received in action by any commissioned officer, which shall occasion the loss of an eye or a limb, he shall receive a gratuity in money of one year's full pay, and be further allowed such expences relating to his cure (if not performed at the King's charge) as shall be certified to be reasonable by the Surgeon General of the Army, and Inspector General of regimental infirmaries, upon examination of the vouchers which he shall lay before them.

If the wounds received shall not amount to the loss of a limb, the charge of cure only shall be allowed, certified as above. When any commissioned officer shall lose an eye or a limb as aforesaid, the Commanding Officer of the corps in which he serves, shall deliver to him a certificate, specifying the time when, and the place where the said accident happened; a duplicate of which certificate shall likewise be transmitted with the next monthly returns.

When any commissioned officer shall be killed in action, his widow and orphan children (if he leaves any) shall be allowed as follows:

The widow, a full year's pay according to her husband's regimental commission; each child under

under age and unmarried, one third of what is allowed to the widow; posthumous children to be included.

All persons dying of their wounds, within six months after battle, shall be deemed slain in action.

The commanding officers of the corps in which the slain officer served, shall, on demand, give a certificate of his being killed in action to his surviving wife and orphans respectively, specifying the time when, and the place where, the said accident happened; a duplicate of which shall likewise be transmitted with the next monthly returns."

His Majesty has besides been graciously pleased to order 100 l. to each of the masters, and 50 l. to each of the men of the undermentioned transports, who bravely exerted themselves in their country's cause in the late affair at New-York island; viz. Robert Koughhead, of the Good Intent; Rickman Fowler, of the Symetry; John Randall, of the Grand Dukes of Russia; Thomas Brown, of the Saville; John Chambers, of the Mercury; and James Stuart, of the America.

In the course of this month, the Continental Congress resolved to borrow eight millions of dollars, at four per cent. interest, and issued a proclamation accordingly.

In the course of this month, likewise, a great revolution happened in the government of Madras; some of the gentlemen of the council there having thought proper, by their own authority, to depose and imprison Lord Pigot the Governor, and confer the government on Colonel Stuart.

DIED, the 3d instant, Mr. Etheridge, a celebrated architect, who, among other public works, built Watton bridge.

The 4th, Mrs. Roslanley, the widow of Mr. Wells Roslanley, an ingenious designer in Oxford-street, who died the 1st instant; Mrs. Roslanley having refused to take any manner of sustenance, after his death, till she expired.

The 26th, the Rev. Dr. Pierre Francois Le Courayer, in the 95th year of his age, in Downing-street, Westminster.

The 18th, John Ellis, Esq; F. R. S. Agent for the Province of West Florida, and for the island of Dominica; but better known, as the first discoverer of the properties of those curious substances, called corals and coralines, and still better, for his public-spirited endeavours to promote the study, and extend the benefits, of natural history; at Hamstead.

The 25th, Mr. Levy Marks, principal scribe of the Jews synagogue, and a gentleman of unblemished character, aged 96.

Lately, Sir William Yorke, late Chief Justice of Ireland, after retiring on a pension. His death was owing to a mistake of his servant. Sir William was grievously afflicted with the stone, and in his severe fits he used to take a certain quantity of laudanum drops. On calling for his usual remedy, during the most racking pains of his distemper, the drops could not be found; whereupon the servant was dispatched to his apothecary; but, instead of laudanum drops, he asked for laudanum. A quantity of laudanum was accordingly sent, with a special charge not to give Sir William more than twenty-four drops.

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drops. But the fellow, forgetting the caution, gave the bottle into his master's hand, who in his agony drank up the whole contents, and expired in less than an hour after. For the great efficacy of coffee, in counteracting the power of opium, &c. see the last article of our Projects for this year.

The very celebrated Dr. Thomas Townsend, alchymist to his Majesty; at his lodgings in Southwark.

Mr. Carey, of Dartford, Kent, who lost both his legs, and one arm, in an engagement in the rebellion of 1745.

Mrs. Ann Simpson, widow, aged 101, at Sunbury.

Joseph Dobyns, a shepherd, aged 102, at Rickmanworth, in Herts.

that Great Britain had now a fleet of one ship, of one hundred guns; five, of ninety; one, of eighty-four; seven, of seventy-four; four, of seventy; and ten, of sixty-four; in all, twenty-eight capital ships, ready to put to sea at a very short notice.

An elegant picture painted by Mr. Gainborough, of Lord Folkestone in his coronation robes, was put up in the great room of the Society for the encouragement of Arts, &c. as a just tribute of gratitude to his lordship, for his having been the first nobleman, both by his purse and his personal attendance, to patronize that most useful institution.

An appeal to the House of Lords, from the court of session in Scotland, and of great consequence to trade, in which Campbell, Robertson, and company, merchants in Glasgow, were the Appellants; and William Shepherd, and others, merchants in London, were the respondents, was this day determined by their lordships. The contest was for payment of a large sum of money for thirty-five bags of cotton sold by the respondents to one Rt. Valance, which cotton was afterwards seized at Glasgow by the appellants for money due to them from Valance. The Lords affirmed the decree of the court of session in favour of the respondents Shepherd, &c. with 100l. costs.

The entertainment given at Guildhall, this day, being Lord-mayor's Day, when Sir Thomas Halifax was sworn into that office, was honoured with the presence of the Lord Chancellor, four of the Judges, several of the principal officers of state, many of the

NOVEMBER.

1st. A motion being made

by Mr. Saxby, at a court of common-council at Guildhall, that an additional salary should be allowed the Lord-mayors, to enable them to support that office with dignity, without expending any part of their own fortunes, after some warm debates, it was, at length, carried by a majority, that 1000l. per annum be added to their salary; on condition that the money arising from the sale of all places be, for the future, paid into the chamber of London, the Lord-Mayors still to retain the benefits of the Cocket-office. See the 1st of August.

By a list of ships already in commission, and put into commission this day, it appears,

the nobility, and an extraordinary number of other persons of distinction, for the first time since the spirit of party took place in the city.

17th. David Hartley, Esq; member for Kingston upon Hull, made the sixth and last public trial of his method of preserving buildings from fire. But, as this is a matter not to be skimmed over, and too long, if treated at length, as it deserves, for this part of our work, we shall reserve what we have to say of it, for our Appendix.

13th. The state-lottery began drawing at Guildhall.

14th. Their Majesties went to the Earl of Derby's house, in Grosvenor-square, and stood sponsors, in person, with the countess of Carlisle, to his Lordship's new-born daughter, who was baptized by the name of Charlotte.

15th. Mr. Dunning moved the court of King's-Bench for an information against two justices of the peace for Middlesex, for refusing to compel two persons, charged with being Roman Catholics, to take the oaths; when Lord Mansfield refused Mr. Dunning's motion; and, at the same time, expressed his disapprobation of this attempt to revive the severities of those very penal laws.

Not many years ago, the government of Ireland thought proper to free, in a great measure, the Roman Catholics of that kingdom from the galling yoke of the penal laws there, by framing a new oath for them, by which they might sufficiently express their loyalty and allegiance, yet without injury to their religious principles; and, accordingly, all the Roman Catholics of that country cheer-

fully took it. Indeed, the spirit of toleration and humanity, improvement and discovery, seem to be now abroad. Of this we have already had occasion to give some instances, and hope to be able to give more. Here let us add, that the court of Vienna has abolished the use of the torture in her tribunals of justice, and the state of villainage in her demesnes; and growing every day more and more sensible of the advantages arising from the spirit of toleration, [see p. 146.] has published an edict, which gives permission to all Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Jacobites, and other subjects of the Ottoman empire, to trade in the archduchy of Austria, provided they settle there with their families. The king of Sardinia has forbidden any person to be imprisoned by order of the inquisitors, till the matter has been made known to his Majesty, and one or more of his privy council have examined the accused person, and sifted the accusation to the bottom; as likewise to put any man to death in the prisons of the inquisition. The Empress of Russia, besides effectually beginning to make several of her rivers navigable, and join them, and of course the seas bordering her vast dominions, by canals, and pushing her discoveries towards Japan and North America, has planted several villages in the road to China, in order to render the long journey there less dangerous, dreary, and uncomfortable. The emperor of Morocco treats some of his captives more like prisoners of war than slaves. And the Spaniards have begun to adopt inoculation. In 1771, Don Timothy Escanlan, principal physician

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fician to the department of the marine, introduced it into Galicia, and inoculated 115 children in the city of Corogui; among others, the sons of Don Emanuel de Flores, Vice-roy of Santa Fe, and those of Don Joseph Anthony d'Armina, Intendant of Galicia, all of whom have done very well.

16th. Fort Washington, and next day, Fort Lee, the only places on New York island which still remained in the hands of the Provincials, surrendered to his Majesty's arms.

19th. A motion was made in the court of King's-Bench for a money-broker to shew cause why an information should not be granted against him, at the suit of Lord Mountstuart. The money-broker, it seems, had made very free with his Lordship's name, to procure, without his orders, or even knowledge, two sums of 2,100*l.* each, on annuities, at six years purchase, thinking that his Lordship greatly wanted the money, and therefore, when it was ready, would be glad to accept of it, and on the above terms. But in this he found himself greatly mistaken. Lord Mountstuart, however, might have forgiven the affront, had not the affair reached Lord Bute's ears, and given him the greatest concern, though his Lordship had too much delicacy to take any notice of it to his son. The rule was immediately granted.

At a court of aldermen at Guild-hall, at which several aldermen were present, besides the Lord Mayor, the two Sheriffs, and the Recorder, John Sawbridge, Esq; late Lord Mayor, received the unanimous thanks of the court, for his diligent and faithful discharge of the

duties of that important office, for his steady and impartial administration of justice, his zealous defence of the rights and franchises of this great city, and the constant protection he gave to all its inhabitants, by refusing the sanction of his authority to pre*ss*-warrants; and for his politeness, deference, and attention, to the members of this court, during the whole course of his mayoralty.

This night and the two following days there blew the greatest storm of any that had happened for some time past, in the Low Countries, some part of France, and all over England. On the night of the 20th, it demolished the vane of the cathedral of Ely, and all its appurtenances, with part of the stone-work of the turret upon which the vane was fixed; broke down a dyke at Delfhaven, in Holland; and, being at north-west, drove the water through the streets like a river; so that, had it not been for the wise measures taken by those who had the direction of the dykes, and the indefatigable labour of the workmen, the whole town must have been overwhelmed. In other places, many lost their whole substance, which consisted in cattle; and some, their lives. Part of the city of Rotterdam was overflowed; and the water rose there half an inch higher than last year; and continued rising full four hours and an half longer than usual. By these instances, the damage done to houses and ships, in the above and other places, may be easily computed.

His Majesty went to the 20th. House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to a bill entitled, An Act for granting to his Ma-
jesty

jeſty a Land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound.

25th. A new baſon, thirteen hundred yards broad, and ſhut in with a large lock, was opened at Oſtend; when ſeveral ſhips entered it with the morning tide.

About a quarter paſt 27th. eight in the evening, the ſhock of an earthquake was felt at Canterbury, Sandwich, Aſhford, and all over Eaſt Kent, particularly on the coaſt. Its direction was from ſouth to north; it laſted about eight ſeconds, and was attended by a diſtant rumbling noiſe. The morning was gloomy and perfectly calm, wind ſouth, Fahrenheit's barometer (at Sandwich) 29. 8. thermometer, within doors, at the ſide of an eaſt window on a ſtaircaſe, 37. 3. Some china on a cheſt of drawers at Folkeſtone was moved an inch or two, each piece; and two bits of wood were ſhaken from under the feet of a table. The ſhock cauſed a bell in the church, at Dover, to ſound, as likewise a hand-bell on St. Martin's Hill, near Canterbury. The ſame ſhock was ſtill more ſenſibly felt at Calais, where it threw the loaves in the bakers ſhops from off the ſhelves, to the no ſmall conſtetation of the inhabitants.

30th. Lord Howe and General Howe iſſued a proclamation; inviting all ranks of people in the North-American colonies and provinces to receive a general pardon, on their ſurrendering themſelves to any of his Maſteſty's General Officers, Admirals, &c. commanding any armed veſſels or ſhips in his ſervice, in any of the different ports, and, at the ſame time, teſtifying their obedience to the laws, by ſubſcribing a declaration

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in words to the following effect, viz. "I, A. B. do promiſe and declare, that I will remain peaceable and obedient to his Maſteſty and his government, and will not take up arms againſt either, nor encourage others to take up arms, in oppoſition to his authority."

Sir Robert Ainslie, his Britannick Maſteſty's Ambaſſador to the Porte, went in great ſtate, accompanied by the gentlemen of the ſactory and the drugomen, and had an audience of the Grand Vizir, who received him with all poſſible marks of eſteem and friendſhip. The next day he went in the ſame ſtate, and had an audience of the Grand Signior, who was ſeated on a magnificent throne, attended by his great officers of ſtate, and received him with politeneſs, expreſſed great friendſhip and reſpect for his Britannick Maſteſty, and was pleaſed to ſay, by the Grand Vizir, that his Maſteſty's ſubjects ſhould be protected in the enjoyment of all the articles of the capitulations between the two ſtates.

Came on, in the court of King's-bench; the affair of John Tubbs, an impreſſed ſeaman, whoſe diſcharge was claimed, as one of the Lord-mayor's watermen, by the city of London. But, as this is a matter of too public and intereſting a nature not to be taken notice of in the Hiſtory of Europe, we ſhall refer our readers for an account of it, (as likewise, of the trial between Lord Rochford and Mr. Sayre, and for the ſame reaſons) to that part of this work.

At the anniversary meeting of the Royal Society, their Preſident, Sir John Pringle, Bart, after an

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elegant discourse on the occasion, presented, in their name, James Cook, Esq; Captain in his Majesty's navy, with the gold medal, called Sir Godfrey Copley's medal, for his useful paper on the means of preserving the health of seamen in long voyages, &c. which the reader may see in our second part, with some interesting extracts from Sir John's discourse. The Society afterwards re-elected Sir John for their President; and Samuel Wegg, Esq; for their Treasurer; and elected Samuel Horsley, LL. D. for their first, and John Planta, Esq; for their second Secretaries.

In the course of this month there happened a dreadful fire at Brest, in which a great number of poor sick in the hospital, and upwards of fifty galley-slaves, perished; and several more of the galley-slaves made their escape. To prevent the rest from doing so, they were all ordered into a large court under the guard of five hundred soldiers, and there to lie down on their bellies, on pain of the first man's being shot who should attempt to lift his head. This method having the desired success, every thing was afterwards carried on with all the tranquillity that the natural confusion of such an accident would admit of; and by very great labour the progress of the flames was at length stopped.

DIED, the 11th instant, the Rev. Doctor George Wigan, Rector of Old Swinford, Warwickshire, and Athbury, Berks; both which livings he had enjoyed fifty-four years; in the 86th year of his age.

The 16th, Mr. James Ferguson, lecturer in natural philosophy and

astronomy; an excellent mechanic, and no bad miniature-painter, at his house, in Bolt-court, Fleet-street. He was a man, who, by mere force of genius, made a considerable progress in the mathematical arts and sciences; wrote several useful works; and both projected and executed a great number of ingenious instruments and machines. [The reader will find a further account of this truly self-taught philosopher, in our second part.]

Lately, Mr. Brice, commander of a squadron of armed ships fitted out by the Continental Congress, and styled Admiral; at Boston.

William Owagan, Esq; senior alderman of Corke, in Ireland, aged 93. He was one of the pages who attended King James II. in 1689, when entertained by that city.

Read Peacock, Esq; senior alderman of Huntingdon, as he was coming to London in the diligence. Mr. Matthias Vento, a celebrated master of music.

Mr. Edward Shuter, the celebrated comedian, in Windmill-street.

Mr. John Chesmeare, who, in the reign of George the First, had an annuity of 100*l*. settled on him from Monsieur d'Ibberville, the French minister to the court of London, for having protected him from an English mob.

Mary Thompson, at South-Bensfleet, Essex, whose death was occasioned by a piece of gristle sticking in her throat. She lived fourteen days after the accident, in the most miserable condition, not being able to swallow any thing whatever, every attempt to remove the gristle, particularly by a piece

of whalebone repeatedly applied, having proved fruitless.

D E C E M B E R.

2d. His Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the following bills, viz.

The bill for continuing the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry.

The bill for punishing mutiny and desertion.

The bill for better regulating his Majesty's marine forces while on shore.

And also to fix road, inclosure, and private bills.

The Lords proceeded to hear and determine a cause of appeal from Ireland, the merits of which turned on the words of a clause, in the will of a Mr. Jackson, who, after mentioning a particular bequest in land to his mother Mary Jackson, in a subsequent clause gives her all the residue of his effects real and personal. The heirs at law set up a claim to the landed estate of the testator, except that part of it which was particularly bequeathed to the devisee; and the courts in Ireland determined in their favour. But the courts in England reversed the decree of the Irish courts; and this day the House of Lords confirmed the verdict of the English courts.

3d. Came on to be tried before Lord Mansfield and a special jury, a cause, wherein Mr. Bell, deputy town-clerk of Worcester, was plaintiff, and Sir Watkin Lewes defendant. The action

was brought for a further payment to the plaintiff for his time in attending the House of Commons on the trial of the contested election of Worcester. He laid his expences at upwards of 1col. and the jury gave a verdict for 36l. 19s.; 20l. of which had been previously paid.

The payment for coals to the bringer without a 4th. receipt from the seller, was this day determined in the court of King's-bench to be an improper payment; and a buyer, who had made such a payment, was obliged to pay for his coals a second time.

The commissioners for victualling his Majesty's navy contracted with Mr. Mellish for 2400 hogs, to be killed at the victualling-office, London, between this and the 31st instant, at 42s. per hundred weight.

Came on before Lord Mansfield, at Westminster. 5th. Hall, a cause wherein Mr. Legge, an attorney, was plaintiff, and — Legge, Esq; an American governor, defendant. The cause of action was, the plaintiff's serving the defendant as secretary, and being maltreated by him. The jury found 450l. damages, and full costs.

Came on to be tried before Lord Chief Justice De Grey, a cause wherein Mr. Thorn was plaintiff, and Mr. Lowndes defendant. The plaintiff claimed an estate, as heir at law of Mr. Selby, son of Serjeant Selby; and the defendant, as devisee at will. The family of the Selby's could be traced no higher than the late Serjeant; nor could the kindred be traced higher, on the Thorn side, than the plaintiff's grandfather having married a

Selby,

Selby, *sister of the Serjeant*. The jury, after withdrawing some time, brought in a verdict for the defendant.

At a general court of the directors of the humane society, instituted for the recovery of persons apparently drowned, gold medals were distributed to the gentlemen who had been instrumental in forming the society, and most active in promoting its views; among whom were Alderman Bull, James Horsfall, F. R. S. Dr. Cogan, Mr. Hawes, and Dr. Warkinson. Silver medals were at the same time ordered to be prepared for those gentlemen who had been the happy instruments of restoring life. [The reader will find a full account of this most laudable institution, with several instances of the most surprising recoveries, and the means by which they were effected, &c. &c. in the second part of our last volume; to which, as the case of all persons apparently dead is equally pitiable, and prevention is better than cure, we shall here subjoin the following benevolent advice:]

As many persons meet fatal periods in pursuing their subterraneous vocations, be pleased to publish (for their benefit) the under simple but certain preservative:—When a well, vault, or drain, has been inclosed a considerable time, to disperse and rectify the suffocating air at first opening, throw down six or more pails of water, and after waiting a quarter of an hour, any one may safely venture down. The like method should be observed in sinking new wells, especially if the work has been discontinued any length of time, and is now constantly used

by one whose profession subjects him to accidents of the like kind.

Between nine and ten at night departed this life, at Northumberland-House in the Strand, on her birth-day, just as she had completed her sixtieth year, her Grace Elizabeth Duchess of Northumberland, &c. &c. &c. who with a most princely fortune, devolved to her from her ancestors, sustained her exalted rank through her whole life with the greatest dignity, generosity, and spirit. Her extensive charities to the poor; her encouragement of literature and the polite arts; and her generous patronage of every kind of merit; her warm attachment to her friends; her goodness to her servants, not to mention her tender affection for her family, make her death a public loss, which will be long lamented. Her Grace's remains were interred, the 18th, in Westminster-Abbey, in as decent and solemn, though, by her own repeated desire, as private a manner, as her rank would admit; notwithstanding which, the crowd to see the funeral was so great, that it was with much difficulty the dean and chapter, with the choir, could convey the body from the west-door of the abbey, where they had been to receive it, to St. Nicholas's chapel, where it was to be deposited. And then, when they had passed St. Edmund's chapel, adjoining to St. Nicholas's, but about three minutes, the whole front of the former, supposed to have been built between four and five hundred years ago, consisting of heavy oak, brick, and iron work, weighing, in the whole, above three tons, with part of the stone work, being overloaded by the men and boys who

who had climbed upon it to see the shew, came tumbling to the ground. The confusion and uproar that ensued may be more easily conceived than described. Numbers had their limbs broke, or were otherwise most terribly hurt; it is indeed surprizing, that any of those upon the front, or under it, should escape with life. This accident put an effectual stop to the ceremony; the dean and his attendants, after resting the body in St. Edmund's chapel, were obliged to withdraw for some time; upon which the crowd, thinking no more was to be seen, thought proper to disperse, so as to give the dean, &c. an opportunity of going through the service between one and two o'clock, about two hours and a half after the body had entered the abbey; and even now, it was interrupted by the frequent cries of murder, raised by such of the sufferers as had not been removed.—Next day, the Duke of Northumberland, hearing of the great mischief which had been done, with his usual spirit, sent a gentleman of his household to enquire if any of the officers of the cathedral, attending in their places, had received any hurt; and, if they had, to acquaint them, that in consideration of the manner in which they had received it, they should be provided for by his Grace, and all indemnifications they might demand be allowed by him: but happily none of the gentlemen belonging to the cathedral had received any injury.

At or about the same time, his Grace ordered 600*l.* to be given away in charity; 500*l.* of it to the poor of the several parishes of Westminster; and the remainder to such as resided near the family

seats and castles in the country; with a desire, that those who partook of it, should consider it as the donation of their late most generous benefactors.

Came on in the court of 6th. Common-Pleas, before Lord Chief Justice De Grey, and a special jury, a long depending cause between the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the overseers of the poor for the parish of Lambeth, in Surrey, relative to a demand of poor-rates by the latter on his Grace, as an inhabitant of the said parish. The jury went out, and, after staying about five minutes, found a verdict for the Archbishop; it having been fully proved, in the course of the trial, that the palace, with all its appurtenances, were extra-parochial.

Came on, in the court of King's-Bench, before 7th. Lord Mansfield, the trial of the printer of the Whitehall Evening-Post, for printing and publishing in the same, on the 10th of June, 1775, an advertisement from the Constitutional Society, respecting the payment of 100*l.* (subscribed by that society) to Dr. Franklin; when the jury, of which Sir James Esdaile, Knt. Alderman, was foreman, after withdrawing for about five minutes, found the defendant guilty. See the 17th.

Ended the sessions at the Old-Bailey, when twelve capital convicts received sentence of death; viz: two for coining, one of them a woman; five, for highway or field robberies; two, for house-breaking; two, for theft within doors; and one, for a crime not to be named; not to mention several, as usual, sentenced to less punishments for less crimes: And,

on the 29th of January, 1777, one of the highway robbers, the two burglars, and the two in door thieves, were executed at Tyburn; as likewise the last-mentioned convict, who just before he and his fellow-sufferers were turned off, threw a paper among the crowd, to the same purport with the following words, which he spoke with an audible voice: "I am as innocent as the child unborn of the crime which I am about to suffer for: however, as I hope to receive mercy from my gracious God, I forgive my prosecutors, and pray God to do the same."

The infernal ingenuity of James Aitken, alias John the painter, began to display itself by a fire in his Majesty's yard at Portsmouth: but, as he made other attempts, and these, with the tracing of him, his trial and voluntary confession, make up but one object, too important to be slightly passed over, and too long for this part of our work, and most of which moreover falls to the share of next year, we must take another opportunity to speak of it.

8th. A detachment of his Majesty's forces, under Lieutenant General Clinton, from the grand army at New-York, escorted and supported by Sir Peter Parker's fleet, took possession of Rhode-Island, without meeting with the least opposition.

9th. Came on to be heard, before the Right Worshipful Sir George Hay, Knt, Doctor of Laws, Dean of the Arches Court of Canterbury, at Doctor's Commons, the admission of a libel in a cause of nullity of marriage promoted by Frances Mary Harford, falsely called Morris, spinster, a minor, (natural daughter of the

late Lord Baltimore) acting by Hugh Hamersley and Peter Provost, Esqrs. her curators or guardians, lawfully assigned against Robert Morris, Esq; formerly of Lincoln's-Inn, but now of Swansea in the county of Glamorgan; which cause was commenced, in the Arches Court, in virtue of letters of request from the Chancellor of the diocese of St. David's, in which libel were pleaded two marriages between Mr. Morris and Miss Harford, the first in May 1772, when she was only twelve years and an half old, by the chaplain to the Dutch garrison at Ypres, one of the barrier towns of the Austrian Netherlands belonging to the Empress Queen; and the other, in Danish Holstein, in 1773, in virtue of a special licence from the King of Denmark: both of which marriages it was pleaded in the libel were null and invalid, according to the laws and customs of the places where they were solemnized, on account of the minority of Miss Harford, without the consents required by law; and the opinions of several eminent civilians in those countries were exhibited and annexed to the libel, in supply of proof of facts therein pleaded. The judge, after having heard counsel on behalf of Mr. Morris against the admission of the libel, and four in behalf of the young lady in favour of it, was pleased to reject the whole thereof, and dismiss Mr. Morris from the suit, saying, that this was not a marriage provided against by the marriage-act; there being a proviso in that act, which says, that nothing therein contained shall extend to that part of Great-Britain called Scotland, nor to any part beyond the seas. The judge even dropped a hint, that he

be looked upon the marriage by the Dutch minister at Ypres, as a good marriage.

Came on, in the court of King's Bench, Westminster, before Lord Mansfield and a special jury, the trial of Samuel Foote, Esq; for an assault on John Sangster, his coachman, &c. when Lord Mansfield, after hearing the evidence and counsel on both sides, got up and descanted on the nature of the crime alledged, the consequences which would follow a conviction, and the duty of the jury to protect the innocent from unjust accusations of such a dreadful nature. His Lordship then went into the evidence, pointed out the inconsistencies in Sangster's story, and shewed that several of the circumstances stated by him were, if true, supportable by the testimony of various witnesses, not one of whom were called on the part of the prosecution. His Lordship then examined the evidence of another evidence with equal nicety, and as forcibly marked its palpable defects. Lastly, his Lordship, after fully arguing upon the face of the whole matter sworn in support of the prosecution, took a view of that given on the side of the defendant, and shewed its clearness, its close relation, and its great credibility; inferring from the whole, that, if the evidence on the part of the defendant was to be believed, it was the most providential assistance to detect one of the foulest prosecutions that ever was set on foot, and which had been carried on in a manner uncommonly oppressive. Mr. Foote was most honourably acquitted.

10th. The Continental Congress, finding that the British troops were advancing to Phi-

ladelphia, and that the soldiers of the American army were leaving their standards, on the plea of having served the time for which they had enlisted, published a manifesto, exhorting their countrymen to the support of the cause of liberty; and assuring them, among many other things which time has not verified, that essential services had already been rendered them by foreign states; and that they had received the most positive assurances of further aid.

No fewer than seven country parish churches in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Nottinghamshire, were robbed, or attempted to be robbed, within less than a fortnight past.

A monument was opened in Westminster-Abbey, to the memory of the late Dr. Pearce, Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of that cathedral.

Being the day appointed for the observation of a solemn fast and humiliation, the same, it may be said, was kept with uncommon marks of devotion, by people of all ranks and religions, not only throughout the cities of London and Westminster, but England in general; at least, it does not appear that the ministers and churchwardens of any but two adjoining parishes near Portsdown-Hill, Hants, have been called to an account for not attending their duty on the occasion.

Was tried before Lord Mansfield at Guildhall, an action of Trover, brought by the assignees of a bankrupt against two former sheriffs of London, to recover the household goods and stock in trade of the bankrupt; valued at 2000l. the sum levied upon an execution issued by the defendants,

at the time the bankrupt was alleged to be in insolvent circumstances. The decision of the cause, on the part of the plaintiffs, depended upon a single proof of the bankrupt's distressed situation when the writ was executed. Among several witnesses, who were examined, one was a creditor, who calling, as he said, upon the bankrupt for a demand, was informed by him of his tottering state of credit, and appointed to call at a future hour, when he would certainly be at home, and pay the debt. The creditor accordingly attended, and was told that the bankrupt was not at home. This answer not satisfying him, he made use of a stratagem, which shews he thought that he had been imposed upon. To appearance he went away, but, in fact, secreted himself without the door, but so as to have a full command of the shop: in this situation he had not remained a minute, before he heard a servant call up stairs, "he is gone;" when the master immediately came down stairs. But Lord Mansfield did not hold this to be effective evidence of an act of bankruptcy; and, as to the confession of the bankrupt, it was, he remarked, totally out of consideration, and could not be received; for a man could not legally be permitted to prove himself a bankrupt; so the plaintiffs were nonsuited.

The cleansing of the basin of Cherbourg, destroyed by the English during the last war, being at last effected, a ship entered it this day.

An action upon a breach of promise of marriage, in which Miss Ellis was plaintiff, and Mr. Cock, an attorney, defendant,

was tried before Lord Mansfield, and a special jury, in the court of King's-Bench, London. The declaration stated, that the defendant, before the death of his father, late a very considerable auctioneer, being then an indented clerk to Mr. Ellis, the plaintiff's father, paid his addresses to her, obtained her affections, and the consent of her friends, and promised to marry her upon the death of his father, which contract he ever since that event refused to comply with. On the part of the defendant it was urged, that his father, being a man of considerable property, indented him to her father, in order to make him competent to the protection of his own fortune, which chiefly consisted of houses in London and Middlesex; that he was then but a boy under sixteen years of age; that he being discovered to have too great an affection for the plaintiff's younger sister, it was insisted by his father that the young lady should be sent into the country, which was accordingly complied with; that she was no sooner removed, than the defendant made his professions to the present plaintiff, which, it was urged, her father, and, after his death, her brother, connived at, and encouraged; that being at age, he requested a private meeting, in order to consider of their situations; at which time, without his knowledge, and contrary to his expectations, the plaintiff's brother, Counsellor Ellis, appeared, and that he was, by the artifice of the parties, tricked into the promise upon which the action was grounded. Lord Mansfield, in his charge, opened the whole of the laws respecting such contracts, civil and ecclesiastical;

cal; observed that the young man's non-compliance seemed to be the consequence of his father's dying injunction; and that any promise antecedent to his full age was contrary to the law of the land. The jury, after consulting near two hours, returned with a verdict for the plaintiff, and 100*l.* damages.

About a quarter past eleven o'clock, Sir John Fielding, with the high-bailiff, &c. assembled on the hustings in Covent-Garden. When they had sat there till twelve, silence was proclaimed, and the high-bailiff declared a seat in parliament for Westminster to be vacant, by Earl Percy's becoming a peer in his own right, in consequence of the death of his mother, the late Duchess of Northumberland; on which Lord Peterham, now in America, was nominated a candidate, and, no other candidate appearing, declared duly elected.

About ten minutes after the election was over, Sir Watkin Lewes appeared on the hustings, and was received with great applause. He declared himself a candidate, and demanded a poll, which being refused on account of his not appearing at the declaration, a warm dispute arose in respect to the time allowed by act of parliament, before they proceeded to elect.

Sir Watkin afterwards invited such of the electors as were desirous of bringing this business before the House of Commons, to the Swan in New-street, for the purpose of drawing up and signing a protest against the proceedings of the day.

Came on before Lord Mansfield, and special juries, in the court of

King's-Bench, Guildhall, the trials of Messieurs Miller, Wilkie, Randall, and Baldwin, printers of some morning and evening papers; for publishing, in the middle of the year 1775, an advertisement from the Constitutional Society, signed by Mr. Horne, respecting the payment of 100*l.* subscribed by that Society to Dr. Franklin. The Attorney-General, in opening the charge against each of them, expressed his abhorrence of the libel, and his judgment of the probable consequences; said, that it contained great encouragement to the most audacious and unnatural rebellion that ever disgraced the annals of history, and charged those heroic leaders, who, at the peril of their lives, were asserting the liberties of the constitution, and the law established by king and parliament, with the worst of all offences—murder! He said, he hoped the jury would therefore in justice permit the laws to operate against the ostensible persons with whom so foul and ungrateful an offence originated. On the part of the defendants, their counsel quoted several elevated periods, when the liberty of the press was unrestrained; said that all our present immunities were derived from those sources; and ended with a quotation from ancient history, to shew, that, as long as the Romans were allowed to speak and write without restraint, their liberties remained, and no longer. They extenuated the accusation in favour of the defendants, who, they said, were not accountable for what came to them in the way of common advertisements. To this the Attorney-General replied; and Lord Mansfield explained the law respecting



speeling libels in general, and said, whatever opinion the defendants might have entertained of the fact which was proved against them, they were most certainly, under the law, criminal and accountable. His Lordship also remarked upon the consequences of the libel in question, as it related to the sentiments of the people of America; and recommended a verdict against the defendants, which was complied with; but the sentence put off till next Term. The counsel for the prosecution were, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Wallis, and Mr. Bearcroft; for the defendants, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Harding. See the 7th.

Mr. Miller's attorney had received, on the preceding Sunday, the following letter from Mr. Horne.

"S I R,

"In answer to your letter, which I this moment receive, informing me that—'The gentlemen under prosecution for printing and publishing my advertisement, beg the *favour* of my attendance on the first trial at Guildhall, on Tuesday next, at nine in the morning'—I must request you to assure them, that I will most certainly do them the *justice* of attending. I have always been ready to avow that advertisement; and it was my advice from the beginning, that the press should throw the weight of this prosecution where it ought to fall, upon the author.

"Sir James Esdaile's verdict has not changed my sentiments.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN HORNE."

A grocer in Edinburgh has lately made such improvements in the Diving-Bell, that the persons in it may lower themselves with the machine from the surface of the water to the bottom, independent of all other assistance, and reascend at pleasure. The dangers of being overturned by rocks, stumps of wrecks, &c. are hereby avoided. Besides, except in rapid currents, or on a very unequal bottom, the men in the machine can proceed with it to a considerable distance from the line in which they go down. It is thought this improvement will be of great utility in lakes and rivers, as well as at sea, for the discovery of marble, mines, &c. And, accordingly, the society in London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, have testified their approbation of it by an handsome bounty to the ingenious improver.

A plot to kill the Pope and his attendants, by loading the guns of the Castle of St. Angelo with the best powder, and chain shot, and pointing them down a street, through which his Holiness usually passes every evening at seven o'clock, was discovered by mere accident, and of course frustrated; but the persons concerned in it have not as yet been found out.

Being Christmas-Day, 25th. was every where observed as usual. Particularly, their Majesties went to the Chapel Royal; and, after sermon, received the holy sacrament, and made their offerings.

Three battalions of Hessians, polled at Trenton, 26th. with six field pieces, were attacked by a body of Provincials, and all made

made prisoners, except a few, who escaped by a timely retreat, or cut their way through the enemy. The loss on this occasion, in prisoners and missing, was found, a few days after, to amount to about seven hundred, not to mention the field pieces, which the Provincials likewise carried off.

The crew of the *Hope-31st*. well, of Whitehaven, bound to Jamaica, were some time ago reduced to such distress, that, after killing their cat and dog, they had cast lots who should be put to death for a supply of food for the rest, when providentially a ship came in sight, and let them have provisions enough to reach Lisbon in quest of a further supply.

The shock of an earthquake has been lately felt at Mannheim, Worms, Spiers, and the neighbourhood of Mentz; but though rather violent, it happily did no damage. Its direction was from the north-west to the south-east, and lasted fifteen seconds.

In a list of all his Prussian Majesty's forces, lately laid before him at Potzdam, the totals were as follow:

Horse, —	76,000
Foot, —	152,000
Artillery, —	7,500
Militia, —	36,000

271,500

Children marked, 87,500

The annual revenues of the Russian empire now amount to the annual sum of 17,130,618 roubles; and the annual expences, including pensions, presents, &c. to 24,208,557.

By an authentic list of the hop duty for the year 1776, it appears to amount to 125,691 13s. 7½d.

In the course of this year, 4773 ships have been cleared at the custom-house of Newcastle, of which 4343 were coastwise, and 430 for foreign parts, being, upon the whole, however, 270 less than last year.

If we have not, in the course of this our Chronicle, taken any notice of the various engagements between the ships of Great Britain and her North-American colonies, with the captures and recaptures on both sides, it was because a detail of them would fill a volume; and still more, because, the importance of these transactions, considering the nature of the quarrel, the condition of the parties, and their interesting relation to one another, cannot but engage the able writer who favours the Public with the historical part of this work, to take such a general survey of the matter, as must more than supersede any thing that could come from our feeble pen on the occasion.

DIED, the 10th instant, Mr. John French, painter and artist, long known for his beautiful scenery at Drury-lane Theatre.

The 11th, Mr. John Robertson, formerly mathematical master at Christ's-Hospital; afterwards head master of the Royal Academy at Portsmouth; lastly, for several years past, librarian to the Royal Society; and author of several ingenious mathematical pieces.

The 12th, Miss Margaret and Miss Judith Hodges, two maiden twin sisters. They died, as they were born, within a few minutes of each other, at the age of 53.

The 26th, Mr. Joshua Platt, of Oxford, well known to naturalists by his *Treatise on the Belemnite*, published

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published in the Philosophical Transactions, in his 88th year. His manners gained him the respect and esteem of all who knew him; and he died universally regretted.

The 31st. Lately, in the South of France, Eglin Powes, Esq; who, when Sir Robert Walpole impeached Lord Bolingbroke of high treason, impeached also the Earl of Oxford.

In Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Mr. Nathaniel Carden, aged 98, servant to the Duke of Marlborough during his last campaign in Flanders.

Mr. Dahl, first painter and scene director of the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden.

William Pavorth, a tenant of the Hon. Mr. Dawney, at Hatton, near York; a village remarkable for the longevity of its inhabitants. Had he lived to the 27th of this month, he would have completed his 99th year. There were now in the same town, two widows; one, in her 96th; the other, in her 103d or 104th year; she was not certain to a year. About four years ago, — Wright, of Merston, in the same parish, died at the age of 102.

— Pattison, Esq; in the hundredth year of his age, near Edinburgh.

Marie Magdaleine, at Brache, near Mondidier, in France, aged 103. She had a sister who died at the age of 104.

Marguerite de Coeg, of Trouleville, near Dieppe, in France, aged 104.

Mrs. Cahier, a relation of the late Duke of Ormond, in the 108th year of her age, in Charles-Street, Westminster.

A General Bill of all the Christenings and Burials, from December 12, 1775, to December 10, 1776.

Christened.		Buried.	
Males	8859	Males	9499
Females	8421	Females	9549
In all 17280		In all 19048	
Decreased in the Christenings this year 51.		Decreased in the Burials this year 1466.	
Last year's Christenings 17629.		Last year's Burials 20514.	

Of those who died this year, there were,

Under two years of age	6857
Between 2 and 5	1670
5 and 10	592
10 and 20	688
20 and 30	1350
30 and 40	1615
40 and 50	1893
50 and 60	1673
60 and 70	1325
70 and 80	960
80 and 90	367
90 and 100	50
100	1
101	1
102	2
104	2
105	1
106	1

The kind and manner of *casualties* among the foregoing deaths, were as follows:

Bit by a mad dog	—	1
Broken limbs	—	2
Bruised	—	2
Burnt	—	13
Choaked	—	—
Drowned	—	112
Excessive drinking	—	5
		Executed

Executed	—	—	16
Found dead	—	—	3
Killed by falls and several other accidents	—	—	60
Killed themselves	—	—	32
Murdered	—	—	6
Overlaid	—	—	8
Poisoned	—	—	3
Scalded	—	—	5
Smothered	—	—	1
Stabbed	—	—	
Starved	—	—	3
Suffocated	—	—	5
Total			277

We pay no regard to the accounts of the kind and number of diseases given in the yearly Bills of Mortality, for the reasons assigned in our last volume.

We cannot conclude this article without heartily wishing, that the great number of the drowned, among the above casualties, may awaken the zeal of our readers to promote the views of the Beneficent Society instituted for the recovery of persons apparently dead by drowning, &c. See p. 196.

BIRTHS for the year 1776.

Jan. 18. The Lady of Governor Verelst, of a daughter, in St. James's Square.

15. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester, of a Prince, at Rome. See the Chronicle.

Lady Shelly of a daughter, at Putney.

16. The Lady of Sir John Smith, Bart. of a daughter, in Pall-Mall.

31. The Lady of Sir Joseph

Mawbey, Bart. of a daughter, at Vauxhall.

Lately, the Duchess of Buccleugh, of a son.

Feb. 1. The Lady of the Hon. — Achmoody, Esq; Judge of his Majesty's high court of Admiralty, in North America, of twins, in the Hay-market.

13. The Lady of Sir Edward Deering, Bart. of a son, in Mansfield-street.

26. The Countess of Carlisle, of a daughter.

Mar. 2. The reigning Duchess of Deux-Ponts, of a Prince.

9. The Grand Duchess of Tuscany, of a Prince.

10. The Princess consort of Duke Charles, of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, of a Prince, at Hanover.

The Lady of the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, jun. of a son, in Cleveland-Court, Saint James's.

11. Lady Bolton, of a daughter, in Grosvenor-Square.

12. Lady Mahon of a daughter, in Harley-Street, Cavendish-Square.

29. The Lady of Noel Hill, Esq; member for Salop, of a daughter, in Cleveland-Court, St. James's.

31. The Lady of the Hon. Thomas Mostyn, Esq; of a son, at Upton-Court, near Reading, Berks.

Lately, Lady Bagot, of a son, in Upper Brook-Street.

Lady Stormont, of a son and

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- and heir, at Lord Stormont's hotel, in Paris.
- Apr. 6. Lady Lincoln of a daughter, in Arlington-Street.
25. Her Majesty, of a Princess. See the Chronicle.
30. Lately, The Lady of the Hon. Richard Walpole, of a daughter, in Great George-Street.
- May 7. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Digby, of a son, at the Deanry, Westminster.
- The Lady of the Right Hon. Philip Yorke, of a son, in Great George-Street, Hanover-Square.
- Lady Tankerville, of a son.
- 15 The Lady of Sir John Thorsold, Bart. of a son, in Cavendish-Square.
26. The Countess of Galloway of a daughter, in South-Audley Street.
- June 8. Lady Algernon Percy, of a daughter.
11. The Hon. Mrs. de Grey, of a son.
12. The Lady of Sir Hungerford Hoskyns, Bart. of a son and heir.
30. The Lady Mayores, of a daughter, in New Burlington-Street.
- The Lady of Commodore Charles Douglass, of a son.
- July 6. The Princess of Nassau Weilbourg, of a Princess, at Kirchheim, Poland.
13. The Princess Amelia Frederica, consort of the Hereditary Prince of Baden, of two Princesses.
29. The Lady of Commodore Fielding, of a daughter.
- Aug. 1. The Lady of Sir Richard Sutton, Bart. of a son.
4. Her Royal Highness the Countess of Artois, of a daughter.
5. The Lady of the Hon. Mr. Acheson of a son, in Somerset-Street, Portman-Square.
14. The Princess, consort of Prince Charles of Hesse, Governor of Holstein, of a Prince, at Sleswic.
20. The Lady of Sir James Cockburn, Bart. of a son, in Soho-Square.
31. The Lady of Sir James Langham, Bart. of a son.
- One of the Grand Signior's favourite Sultanas, of a Prince. See the Chronicle.
26. The Hon. Mrs. Johnson, of a son.
31. The Countess of Essex, of a son.
- Sept. 4. The Lady of Monf. Alexander, a near relation to the Prince of Condé, of a daughter, in David-Street, Berkley-Square.
6. The Marchioness of Carmarthen, of a daughter, in Grosvenor-Square.
12. The Lady of Col. Ogle, of a daughter, in Queen-Anne-Street, Cavendish-Square.
24. The Lady of Sir Thomas Mills, of a daughter, at his house on the Adelphi Terrace.
30. Lately, The Lady of Col. Pigot, of a daughter.
- Lady

- Lady Drogheda, of a daughter.
 The Countess of Cowper of a son, at Florence.
 The Countess of Rosberry, of a daughter.
 The Hon. Mrs. Beauclerk, of a daughter.
 3. Lady Brownlow, of a daughter, in Bond-street.
 8. The Countess Dowager of Dumfries and Stair, of a son, at Rookville, in Scotland.
 18. The Countess of Derby, of a daughter, in Grosvenor-Square.
 31. Lately, the Lady of the Bishop of Worcester, of a daughter.
 The Lady of the Bishop of Peterboro', of a daughter.
 The Lady of Sir Roger Mostyn, Baronet, of a son.
 Nov. 12. The Marchioness of Granby, of a daughter.
 The Lady of Henry Seymour, Esq; member for the borough of Evesham, of a son and heir.
 The Marchioness of Lothian, of a son, at Newbottle Abbey, in Scotland.
 16. Lady Ashbrook, of a son, at Shillingford, in Berkshire.
 25. Lady Milington, of a son, in Somerset-Street, Grosvenor-Square.
 29. Her Royal Highness the Princess Ferdinand of Prussia, of a Prince, at Fredericksfeldt.

30. Lately, the Lady of the Hon. Charles Vane, of a daughter.
 Dec. 15. Lady Grimstone, of a daughter, in Grosvenor-Square.
 22. Her Royal Highness the Princess of Brazil, of a Prince.
 26. The Duchess of Gordon, of a son, at Fochabers, in Scotland.

MARRIAGES, 1776.

- Jan. 2. The Right Hon. Sir John Blaquier, Knt. of the Bath, at Dublin, to Miss Elinor Dobson, heiress of Robert Dobson, of Ann Grove, in Yorkshire, Esq.
 4. Sir Martin Folkes, Bart. of Hillington-hall, to Miss Turner, youngest daughter to Sir John Turner, Bart.
 Sir John Abdy, Bart. of Hanover-street, to Miss Gordon, of Brewer-street.
 6. Mr. Mackenzie, of the Exchequer, at Edinburgh, to Miss Pennel Grant, daughter of the late Sir Ludovick Grant, Bart.
 Feb. 4. Nigel Bowyer Gresley, Esq; only son to Sir Nigel Gresley, Bart. to Miss Gresley, of Drake-low, in Derbyshire.
 3. Edward Cary, Esq; of Tarmohan, in Devonshire, to Miss Camilla Fleming, daughter of Governor Fleming.

13. The

13. The Hon. Charles Vane, of Mount Ida, in Norfolk, to Miss Wood, eldest daughter of Richard Wood, Esq; of Red-lion-square.
 18. Charles Warwick Bampfylde, Esq; eldest son of Sir Richard Bampfylde, Bart. and member of parliament for Exeter, to Miss Moore, eldest daughter of Sir John Moore, Bart.
 20. Sir James Harrington, Bart. of Bourton on the Water, Gloucestershire, to Mrs. Moore, relict of William Moore, Esq; of Newton, in Somersetshire.
 22. Lord Erne, to Miss Hervey, eldest daughter of the Bishop of Derry, and niece to the Earl of Bristol.
- Mar. 7. Governor Blackett, of Plymouth, to Miss Brownjohn.
20. The Hon. Thomas Foley, Esq; to the Right Hon. Miss Stanhope, fourth daughter to the Earl of Harrington.
 21. Geo. Goslin, jun. Esq; one of the registers of the Pre-rogative court of Canterbury, to Miss Lydia Newcome, daughter of the late Dean of Rochester.
 22. Robert Lee Doughty, Esq; of Hanworth, in Norfolk, to Miss Powis, sister of Thomas Powis, Esq; one of the Knights of the shire for the county of Northampton.
 26. ——— Croffe, Esq; of Golden-square, to Miss Newly, eldest daughter of Sir John Newly, Knight.
- Apr. 7. Gore Townsend, Esq; of Honington-hall, in Warwickshire, to the Hon. Lady Elizabeth Windsor, sister to the Earl of Plymouth.
13. Capt. Geo. Handfield, to Miss Smyth, only daughter of Sir William Smyth, of Hill-hall, Essex, Baronet.
 18. John Prestwich, Esq; only son of Sir Elias Prestwich, of Holm-hall, Lancashire, Bart. to Miss Margaret Hall, eldest daughter of the late Alderman Hall, of Dublin.
 20. John Wilmot, Esq; eldest son of the Rt. Hon. Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knight, to Miss Saint-hill, the only daughter and heiress of the late Samuel Sainthill, Esq.
 22. Colonel Morgan, of the guards, to the Right Hon. Lady Frances Sherard, only daughter of the late Earl of Harborough.
 24. Paul Cobb Methuen, Esq; son of Paul Methuen, Esq; of Cornham-house, Wilts, to Miss Gooch, daughter of Sir Thomas Gooch, Bart.
 25. Richard Metcalfe, Esq; to Miss Stephenson, daughter to the Right Hon. the Lord-mayor of York.
 30. Lately, Joseph Dimdale, Esq; M. D. son of Baron

ron Dimsdale, to Mrs. Mary Beck, relict of the late Mr. Joseph Beck, merchant of Bristol, at Bristol.

May 5. Lord Stormont, nephew to Lord Mansfield, his Majesty's Ambassador at the French court, to the Right Hon. Miss Cathcart, third daughter to Lord Cathcart.

7. The Hon. Mr. Talbot, nephew and heir to Earl Talbot, to Lady Charlotte Hill, youngest daughter to Lord Hillsborough.

9. Edward Winnington, Esq; only son of Sir Edward Winnington, Bart. to Miss Ann Foley, youngest daughter of Thomas Foley, Esq; Knight of the shire for the county of Hereford.

18. Robert Shuttleworth, Esq; of New Burlington-street, to Miss Ann Desaguliers, daughter of General Desaguliers.

20. James Bruce, of Kinnaird, in Scotland, Esq; to Miss Mary Dundas, eldest daughter of Thomas Dundas, of Fingask, Esq;

22. Lord Beauchamp, eldest son of the Earl of Hertford, to Lady Isabella Ann Ingram Shephard, daughter of Lord Irwin.

24. Sir George Howard, K. B. and member for Stamford, to Lady Dowager Effingham.

John Tryton Fuller, Esq;
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to Miss Elliot, daughter of Lieutenant-General Elliot.

Henry Cecil, Esq; nephew to the Earl of Exeter, to Miss Vernon, daughter of — Vernon, Esq; of Worcestershire.

Col. Edmunds, of the footguards, to Miss Kelly, of Queen-street, Westminster.

June 3. Sir Roger Newdigate, Bart. member of parliament for the University of Oxford, to Miss Hester Mundy, second daughter of the late Edmund Mundy, Esq; of Shipley, in Derbyshire.

4. Robert Robinson, Esq; son of Admiral Robinson, to Miss Kirby, at Eltham, in Kent.

6. John Newton, of Staffordshire, Esq; to Miss Kitty Seymour, daughter of Lord Francis Seymour, Dean of Wells, and niece to the Duke of Somerset.

10. Nicholas Smith, jun. Esq; of the Middle Temple, to Miss Anderson, daughter of the late Sir Edmund Anderson, of Kildwick, in Scotland, Bart.

13. Richard Vere Drury, Esq; an officer in the army, to Miss Vandeput, of Queen-square, daughter of Sir George Vandeput, Bart.

14. Thomas Wood, Esq; eldest son of Thomas Wood, Esq; of Littleton, to Miss Williams, daughter

ter of Sir Edward Williams, Bart. of Langoid Castle, South Wales.

18. Lord Maynard to Mrs. Norton; of Oxford-street.

25. The Hon. Henry Laws Luttrell, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Horse Blues, in Ireland, to Miss Boyd, daughter of George Boyd, Esq; of Abbey-street, Dublin.

July 9. The Earl of Warwick, to Miss Vernon, daughter of Richard Vernon, Esq; member for Oakhampton, and brother-in-law to Earl Gower.

10. Sir William Gordon, Knight of the Bath, and Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of Brussels, to Lady Mary Phillips, of Gerington Park, in the county of Leicester, widow.

25. Edward Smythe Stafford, Esq; eldest son of Hugh Stafford, Esq; of Maine, in Ireland, to Miss Palmer, sister of Roger Palmer, Esq; of Palmerstown, in that kingdom, and niece to the late Countess of Derby.

Thomas Eyres, Esq; of Hassop, in the county of Derby, to the Hon. Lady Mary Belasyse, sister to Lord Fauconberg.

The Hon. and Rev. James Hewett, eldest son of the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, to Miss Pomeroy, daughter of Arthur Pomeroy, Esq; one of the representatives in par-

liament for the county of Kildare.

31. Lately, William Aked, Esquire, of Lincoln's-inn, to Miss Fawcett, daughter of Col. Fawcett, of the guards.

Aug. 1. Count Charles of Bentheim Steinfurt, at Glucksbourg, in Denmark, to the youngest sister of the reigning Duke of Holstein Glucksbourg.

William Codrington, Esq; son to Sir William Codrington, Baronet, of Dodington, to the Hon. Miss Ward, daughter of the late Hon. William Ward.

Ambrose Goddard, Esq; one of the representatives for the county of Wilts, to Miss Williams.

15. Thomas St. George, Esq; member of parliament for Clogher, to the Hon. Miss Acheson, daughter of Lord Gosford, at Gosford Castle, in the county of Armagh, Ireland.

16. The Hon. Charles Marsham, to Lady Frances Wyndham, daughter of the late Earl of Egremont.

25. Hugh Cane, Esq; Lieutenant-Colonel of the fifth regiment of dragoon guards, to Lady Blackiston, relict of the late Alderman, Sir Matthew Blackiston, Bart.

30. Thomas Maitland, Esq; of Hants, to Miss Jane Matthew, eldest daughter of

- of General Matthew, and niece to the Duke of An-caster.
- Sept. 7. Sir William Bowyer, Bart. to Mrs. Baker, relict of the late Capt. Baker.
14. The Hon. Charles Dillon, to Miss Mulgrave, daughter of the late, and sister to the present, Lord Mulgrave, at Brussels.
- George Maxwell, Esq; to Miss Lucy Gage, daughter of Sir Thomas Gage, Bart. of Coldham Hall, Suffolk.
20. Sir Robert Smyth, Bart. of Bere Church-Hall, in the county of Essex, to Miss Blake, of Hanover-square.
- Oct. 1. John Rogers, Esq; of Penrose, in Cornwall, member for West Looe, to Miss Bassett, eldest daughter of the late Francis Bassett, of Tehidy, Esq; and niece to Lady Moleworth, and the late Sir John St. Aubyn, Bart.
2. William Eden, Esq; of Downing-street, Westminster, Secretary to the Earl of Suffolk, to Miss Elliot, daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart.
3. William Preston, Esq; of Moreby, in Yorkshire, to Miss Ann Foulis, second daughter of the late Sir William Foulis, of Ingleby Manor, in the North Riding of the same county, Bart.
4. The Rev. Mr. Charles Shuttleworth, youngest brother of Robert Shuttleworth, Esq; of Forcett, in Yorkshire, to the Hon. Miss Mary Cockburne, youngest daughter to the late George Cockburne, Esq; and Lady Forrester.
7. Sir Rowland Hill, of Hawkstone, in Salop, Bart. to Mrs. Powys, of Hardwick, in the same county.
- Sir Thomas Tancred, Bart. of Brampton, in Yorkshire, to Miss Penelope Asheton Smith, of St. Mary-le-Bone.
15. Maurice Trent, of Pitcullo, in Scotland, Esq; to Miss Nancy Colquhoun, daughter of Sir George Colquhoun, Bart.
- The Hon. James Ruthven, only son of Lord Ruthven, to Lady Mary Elizabeth Leslie, second daughter to Lord Leven.
17. William Chafin Grove, Esq; member for Weymouth, to Miss Elizabeth Grove, of Ferne, near Shaftesbury.
18. George Pochin, Esq; of Bourn, in Lincolnshire, to Miss Dixie, eldest daughter of the late Sir Wollstan Dixie, Bart. of Bostworth Park, in Leicestershire.
21. Archibald Menzies, of Culdairs, Esq; one of the commissioners of the customs in Scotland, to Miss Fanny Rutherford, only daughter of John Rutherford, Esq; of North-Carolina.
- Capt. Lutwyche, of the guards, to Miss Thomas,

- only daughter of Sir Noah Thomas.
- Nov. 1. Sir William Lorraine, Bart. to Miss Hannah Algood; and Lambton Lorraine, Esq; brother to Sir William, to Miss Bell Algood; daughters of Sir Launcelot Algood, of Nunwich, near New-castle.
22. Abraham Elton, Esq; only son of Sir Abraham Isaac Elton, Bart. to Miss Durbin, daughter of John Durbin, jun. Esq; at Bristol.
30. Lately, Sir William Milner, Bart. to Miss Sturt, eldest daughter of Humphry Sturt, Esq; member for Dorsetshire.
- Dec. 4. George Paterfon, Esq; to the Right Hon. Miss Ann Gray, daughter of Lord Gray, at Kinfauns, in Scotland.
16. The Bishop of Cloyne, to Miss Benson, of Dublin.
- John Weir, Esq; his Majesty's Commissary General, in Dominica, to Miss Elizabeth Bowman, daughter of John Bowman, Esq; of Ashgrove, near Glasgow.
- James Templer, jun. Esq; to Miss Mary Buller, niece to Earl Bathurst.
20. John Lindefay, Esq; late Lieutenant-Colonel of the 53d regiment, to Miss Margaret Halkett Craigie, second daughter to the deceased Colonel Charles Halkett Craigie, of Lawhill.
23. The Hon. Thomas Onflow, Esq; son and heir of Lord Onflow, to Miss Elliker, only daughter of — Elliker, Esq;.
26. The Earl of Radnor, to Miss Duncombe, daughter of Thomas Duncombe, Esq; member for Downton, in Wiltshire.
- William Smelt, Esq; of Hanover-square, to Miss Stanhope, sister to the Earl of Chesterfield, at York.
- George Mercer, Esq; of the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, to Miss Henderson, daughter of Sir Robert Henderson.
- John Thomas Foster, Esq; a member of the Irish parliament, to Miss Hervey, daughter of the Bishop of Derry.
31. Lately, The Earl of Castlehavens, to Mrs. Cracraft, widow of the late William Cracraft, Esq;

Principal PROMOTIONS for the Year 1776, from the London Gazette, &c.

- Jan. 1. Count Frederic Marie Giovanelli, elected Patriarch of Venice.—He was born in that capital the 26th of December, 1728; and created bishop of Chiozza the 12th of July, 1773.
- 13. The Hon. John Bathurst, Esq; to be Clerk of the Faculties and Dispensations in Chancery, in the room of Thomas Lawrence, Esq; resigned; and Will. Philips, Esq; to be Clerk of the Briefs, in the room of Mr. Bathurst.

Jan.

Jan. 16. Sir David Lindsay, to be Col. of the fifty-ninth regiment of foot.—Lieut. Cbl. Henry St. John, to be Aid de Camp to the King.—Captain-Lieutenant James Eliot, to be Town-Major of Berwick.—Lieutenant-General George Augustus Elliott, to be Governor of Gibraltar, in the room of Edward Cornwallis, deceased.

—24. Lord Dunmore was unanimously chosen one of the Sixteen Peers for Scotland, in the room of Lord Cassilis, deceased.

—31. Lately, The Rev Dr. Tarrant, to be a Prebendary of Rochelle.—Pennel Hawkins, Esq; to be one of his Majesty's Principal and Serjeant Surgeons; and his son George Edward Hawkins, Esq; to be Surgeon of his Majesty's Household in Ordinary.

Feb. 5. This day, in pursuance of the King's pleasure, the following Flag Officers of his Majesty's Fleet were promoted, viz.

Sir James Douglas, the Right Hon. George Lord Edgcumbe, Samuel Graves, Esq; William Parry, Esq; the Hon. Augustus Keppel, Vice-Admirals of the White, to be Vice-Admirals of the Red.

John Amherst, Esq; His Royal Highness Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland, Sir Peter Dennis, Bart. Matthew Buckle, Esq; Robert Man, Esq; Vice-Admirals of the Blue; Clark Gayton, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Red, to be Vice-Admirals of the White.

John Montagu, Esq; Sir Robert Harland, Bart. James Sayer, Esq; Rear-Admirals of the Red; Right Hon. Richard Lord Viscount Howe, Right Hon. Washington Earl Ferrers, Hugh Pigot, Esq; Molineux Shuldham, Esq; Rear-

Admirals of the White, to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue.

John Vaughan, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the White; John Lloyd, Esq; Robert Duff, Esq; Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.

John Reynolds, Esq; Sir Hugh Palliser, Bart. Rear-Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear-Admirals of the White.

—10. Henry Earl Bathurst, Chancellor of Great-Britain, to be High-Steward of Great-Britain, for the trial of Elizabeth, calling herself Dutchess Dowager of Kingston, upon an indictment of bigamy found against her by the grand jury of the county of Middlesex.—David Ross, Esq; to be one of the Lords of Session of Scotland, in the room of Lord Alemoor, deceased.

—15. James Wallace, Esq; Captain in his Majesty's royal navy, created a Knight.—Earl Falconberg, to be a Lord of the Bed-chamber.

—27. Dr. Robert Knox, from half-pay, to be Physician to the forces in North-America.—Dr. Hugh Kennedy, from half-pay, to be ditto.

—29. Lately, Dr. Pepys, to be Physician extraordinary, and Mr. Gunning and Mr. Hunter, to be Surgeons extraordinary to the King's person.

March 4. The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate for Scotland, and Andrew Stuart, Esq; of Craighorn, to be Keepers of his Majesty's Signet in Scotland.

—13. The Hon. Henry Frederick Thynne, Esq; to be Bailiff of the island of Jersey.—Valentine Morris, Esq; to be Governor of

the island of St. Vincent, in America.

— 26. Major-General Guy Carleton, to be General in America only. Major-General William Howe, to be ditto. Major-General Henry Clinton, to be Lieutenant-General in America only. Major-General John Burgoyne, to be ditto. Major-General Hugh Earl Percy, to be ditto. Major-General Charles Earl of Cornwallis, to be ditto. Colonel Eyre Massey, to be Major-General in America only. Colonel John Vaughan, to be ditto. Colonel Robert Pigott, to be ditto. Colonel Valentine Jones, to be ditto. Colonel James Grant, to be ditto. Colonel William Phillips, to be ditto. Colonel Richard Prescott, to be ditto.

— 31. Soame Jenyns and Bamber Gascoyne, Esqrs. the Hon. Robert Spencer, Esq; commonly called Lord Robert Spencer, William Jolliffe, and Whitshed Keene, Esqrs. the Hon. Charles Greville, Esq; and William Eden, Esq; to be his Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.—Edward Earl of Derby, to be his Majesty's Lieutenant of the county of Lancaster.—Admiral John Montagu, to be Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the island of Newfoundland, and of the islands of Madelaine in the gulph of St. Laurence.—Fletcher Norton, Esq; to be one of the Barons of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Scotland, on the resignation of George Winn, Esq.—John Mackenzie, of Delvin, Esq; to be one of the Six Ordinary Clerks of Session in Scotland; and John Mackenzie, of Dolphington, Esq; to be one of the four Commissioners of Edinburgh; both places vacant by the promotion of David

Ross, Esq; to be one of the Lords of Session.—Walter Sharp, Esq; to be his Majesty's Consul-General in all the ports of the Russian empire, in the room of Samuel Swallow, Esq; deceased.—Dr. Proby, to be Dean of Litchfield.—The Earl of Radnor, to be Recorder of the City of New-Sarum, Wilts.—Vincent Matthias, Esq; to be Treasurer to the governors of Queen Ann's bounty, in the room of Sir Jeffery Elwes, deceased.

April 2. Lieutenant-Colonel Gabriel Christie, to be Quarter-Master General, in Canada.

— 5. Richard Perryn, Esq; on his late promotion to be one of the Barons of his Majesty's Exchequer, in the room of Sir John Burland, created a Knight.

— 30. Lately, James Wallace, Robert Pett, Esqrs. Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bart. Jonas Hanway, Alexander Chorley, Thomas Colby, and Joab Bates, (Private Secretary to Lord Sandwich) Esqrs. to be Commissioners for victualling his Majesty's Navy.—Trevor Corry, Esq; to be Commissary at the city of Dantzick.—Horace St. Paul, Esq; to be his Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles, during the absence of Lord Stormont.—Doctor Harris, of the Commons, to be Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester.—John Maddock, Esq; to be one of the King's Counsel.—The Rev. Dr. Porteus, by option from the late Archbishop, to be Master of St. Cross.—Gerard Levinge Van Henthuyfen, of the Chancery-Office, Esq; to be a Commissioner of Bankrupts, in the room of Delme Van Henthuyfen, Esq; resigned.—William Boscawen, of the Middle Temple, Esq; to be a Commissioner

of

of Bankrupts.—The Rev. Dr. John Carne, to be President of Trinity College, Oxford, in the room of Dr. Huddesford, deceased.

May 6. Major Thomas Pigott, to be Chief Engineer of all his Majesty's forts and garrisons in Ireland.

—7. Richard Lord Viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and the Hon. William Howe, Esq; Major-General of his Majesty's forces, and General of his Majesty's forces in North-America only, to be his Majesty's Commissioners for restoring peace to his Majesty's colonies and plantations in North-America; and for granting pardon to such of his Majesty's subjects there, now in rebellion, as shall deserve the royal mercy.—Henry Strachy, to be Secretary to the above commission.

—10. The Rev. James Bannell, B. D. of Jesus College, Oxon, to be Public Orator of that University, in the room of the Rev. Dr. Nowell, resigned.

—11. Sir John Dalrymple, Bart. to be one of the Barons of his Majesty's court of Exchequer in Scotland, in the room of William Mure, Esq; deceased.—Richard Moor, M. A. to be Dean of Emly, in Ireland, void by the death of the Rev. William Evelyn, Doctor of Divinity.

—14. Francis Osborne, Esq; commonly called Marquis of Carmarthen, summoned up to the House of Peers, by the stile and title of Baron Osborne, of Kiveton, in the county of York.—The Duchess of Argyll, to be a Baroness of Great-Britain, by the title of Baroness Hamilton, of Hameldon, in the county of Leicester, with the

dignity of a Baron to her heirs male. And the dignity of a Baron of Great-Britain was granted unto the following gentlemen, and their heirs male, viz.

Alexander Hume Campbell, Esq; commonly called Lord Polwarth, by the title of Baron Hume, of Berwick.

John Stuart, Esq; commonly called Lord Mountstewart, by the title of Baron Cardiff, of Cardiff Castle, in the county of Glamorgan.

The Right Hon. Sir Edward Hawke, Knight of the Bath, by the title of Baron Hawke, of Towton, in the county of York.

The Right Hon. George Onslow, by the title of Baron Cranley, of Ember Court, in Surry.

The Right Hon. Sir Jeffery Amherst, Knight of the Bath, by the title of Baron Amherst, of Holmesdale, in Kent.

Sir Brownlow Cust, Bart. by the title of Baron Brownlow, of Belton, in Lincoln.

George Pitt, Esq; by the title of Baron Rivers, of Stratfieldsay, in the county of Southampton.

Nathaniel Ryder, Esq; by the title of Baron Harrowby, of Harrowby, in the county of Lincoln.

Thomas Foley, Esq; of Great Witley, in Worcestershire, by the title of Baron Foley, of Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester.

On the 17th, by a warrant for the order of precedence of the said new-created Peers, and Peerefs, signed by the King, the Marquis of Carmarthen is first; the Duchess of Argyll, second; Lord Polwarth, third; and Lord Mountstewart, fourth. The patents were all

dated the 20th; and, on the 22d, the Peers took their places in the House of Lords.

Major Gen. Simon Frazer, to be Colonel of the 71st regiment of foot.

—18. Walter Croffer, Esq; to be Comptroller of the duties of excise in Scotland.

—20. Thomas Daws, Esq; to be Secretary to Lord George Germaine, in the room of John Pownal, Esq; who resigned; and soon after, Mr. Pownal was appointed a Commissioner of the excise.

—28. The Earl of Holderness, Governor to the Prince of Wales and Bishop of Osnaburgh; the Bishop of Chester, Preceptor; Leonard Smelt, Esq; Sub-governor; and Charles Jackson, Esq; Sub-preceptor, resigned their respective offices. Lord Bruce was immediately appointed Governor; but resigned within a few days.

—29. Trevor Corry, Esq; Commissary and Consul to the republic of Dantzic, created a Knight.

—31. Lately, Sir David Dalrymple, Bart. to be a Lord Justice in Scotland, in the room of Lord Colston, resigned.—Francis Garden, Esq; to be a Lord Justice in Scotland, in the room of Lord Pittfour, resigned.—George Hamilton, Esq; to be a Baron of Exchequer in Ireland, in the room of William Scott, Esq; deceased.—Jacob Reynardson, Esq; to be a Clerk of the Privy Seal, in the room of William Fleming, Esq; deceased.

June 1. John Eliot, M. D. created a Knight.—The Rev. Joseph Chapman, to be President of Trinity College, Oxford.

—8. The Duke of Montagu,

to be Governor; Richard, Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, Preceptor; Lieutenant-Colonel George Hotham, Sub-Governor; and the Rev. William Arnold, B. D. Sub-Preceptor to their Royal Highnesses George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Prince Frederick, Bishop of Osnaburgh.—The Right Hon. Thomas Bruce, created an Earl of Great Britain, by the name, stile, and title of Earl of Ailesbury, in the county of Buckingham.—The Right Hon. Thomas Lord Hyde, the same, by the name, stile, and title of Earl of Clarendon.—The Right Hon. Robert Lord Trevor, created a Viscount of Great Britain, by the name, stile, and title of Viscount Hampden, of Great and Little Hampden, in the county of Buckingham.

—13. The Earl of Eglington was chosen one of the sixteen Peers for Scotland, in the room of John Earl of Strathmore.

—30. Lately, The Right Hon. Lord Bruce, to be of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.—Christopher D'Oyly, Esq; to be Commissary-General and Chief Muster-Master of all his Majesty's forces.

July 2. The following dignities were granted, viz. The dignity of an Earl of the kingdom of Ireland, to them and their heirs male, unto.

Wilmot Lord Viscount Lisburne, of the said kingdom, by the title of Earl of Lisburne, in the county of Antrim.

Edward Lord Viscount Ligonier, by the title of Earl Ligonier, of Clonmell, in the county of Tipperary.

Lord

Lord Viscount Clanwilliam, by the title of Earl of Clanwilliam, in the county of Cork.

Robert Lord Viscount Clare, by the title of Earl Nugent, with remainder to George Nugent Grenville, Esq; of Wotton under Barnwood, in the county of Buckingham.

William Lord Viscount Crosbie, by the title of Earl of Glandore, in the county of Corke.

The dignity of a Viscount of the kingdom of Ireland, to them and their heirs male, unto

The Right Honourable Thomas George, Baron Southwell, by the title of Viscount Southwell, of Castle Mattres, in the county of Limerick.

The Right Hon. Thomas Baron Knapton, by the title of Viscount de Vesce, of Abbeyleix, in the Queen's county.

The Right Hon. William Willoughby, Baron Mount Florence, by the title of Viscount Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh.

The Right Hon. Francis Baron Orwell, by the title of Viscount Orwell.

The Right Hon. John Baron Baltinglafs, by the title of Viscount Aldborough, of the palatinate of Upper Ormond.

The Right Hon. William Henry Baron Clermont, by the title of Viscount Clermont, of Clermont, in the county of Louth; with remainder of Viscount and Baron unto the Right Hon. James Fortescue, of Ravensdale Park in the county of Louth, and brother to the said Lord Clermont.

The dignity of Baron of the kingdom of Ireland, to them and their heirs male, unto

The Right Hon. Sir Thomas

Maude, Bart. by the title of Baron de Montalt of Hawarden, in the county of Tipperary.

The Right Hon. Sir George Macartney, by the title of Baron Macartney, of Liffanoure, in the county of Antrim.

The Right Hon. Sir Archibald Acheson, Bart. by the title of Baron Gosford, of Market-hill, in the county of Armagh.

The Right Hon. Ralph Howard, by the title of Baron Clonmore, of Clonmore Castle, in the county of Carlow.

Sir Richard Philipps, Bart. by the title of Baron Milford.

Sir Thomas Wynn, Bart. by the title of Baron Newborough, of Newborough.

Sir Charles Bingham, by the title of Baron Lucan, of Castlebar, in the county of Mayo.

Sir Alexander Macdonald, by the name of Baron Macdonald, of Slate, in the county of Antrim.

Sir William Mayne, Bart. by the title of Baron Newhaven, of Carrick Mayne, in the county of Dublin.

James Agar, Esq; by the title of Baron of Clifden, in the county of Kilkenny.

William Edwarder, Esq; by the title of Baron Westcote, of Balamare, in the county of Longford.

Robert Henley Ongley, Esq; by the title of Baron Ongley, of Old Warden, in Ireland.

Molyneux Shuldham, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Majesty's fleet, by the title of Baron Shuldham.

John Bourke, Esq; of Palmerstown, in the county of Kildare, by the title of Baron Naas, of Naas, in the said county.

Senileger

Sentleger Sentleger, Esq; by the title of Baron Doneraile, of Doneraile, in the county of Corke.

Clotworthy Upton, Esq; by the title of Baron Templetown, in the county of Antrim.

Hugh Maffey, Esq; by the title of Baron Maffey, of Duntrylergue, in the county of Limerick.

—6. Guy Carleton, Esq; Captain-General and Governor in chief of his Majesty's province of Quebec, General and Commander in chief of all his Majesty's forces in the said province, and on the frontiers of the provinces bordering thereupon, created a Knight of the Bath.—John Hamilton, of Marlborough-House, Portsmouth, in the county of Southampton, Esq; Captain of his Majesty's ship Hector, created a Baronet of Great Britain.

—9. Captain Charles Lyons, to be Town-Major of Halifax.—Lieutenant William Spaight, to be Assistant Deputy Quarter-Master General in North America.—Lieutenant-Colonel James Paterson, to be Adjutant-General in North America.—Doctor Jonathan Mallet, to be Chief Surgeon to the Hospital in North America.

—16. John Udney, Esq; to be Consul at Leghorn, in the room of Sir John Dick, Bart. and Robert Richie, Esq; Consul at Venice, in the room of Mr. Udney.—Lieutenant-Colonel George Clerk, of the 43d Foot, to be Barrack-Master-General, in North America.—Lieutenant John Bowen, from half pay, to be Fourier to the army, in North America.—William Cunningham, Gent. to be Provost-Marshal, in North America.

—31. Lately, John Bourke, John Beresford, John Monck Maffon, Richard Townsend, James Agar, Hercules Langrishe, and Robert Waller, Esqrs. to be Commissioners of revenue, in Ireland, —Henry Loftus, Edward Tighe, St. John Jefferyes, Richard Haly Hutchinson, and Edward Bellingham Swan, Esqrs. to be Commissioners of accounts, and also Commissioners of stamps for that kingdom. — William Chapman, Esq; Clerk of the Crown; and Ponsonby Moore, Thomas et. George, Thomas Tisdall, Hugh Henry Mitchel, William Burton, James Cavendish, and William Hardwicke, Esqrs. to be Commissioners of barracks.

Aug. 24. The dignity of a Baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain, to them and their heirs male, was granted unto

George Winne, of Little Warley, in the county of Essex, Esq; and late one of the Barons of his Majesty's court of Exchequer in Scotland.

Herbert Mackworth, of the Gnoll, in the county of Glamorgan, Esq;

James Laroche, of Over, in the parish of Almonbury, in the county of Gloucester, Esq;

Henry Peyton, of Doddington, in the Isle of Ely, Esq;

George Baker, Doctor of Physick, and Physician in Ordinary to her Majesty.

Mr. Robert Halifax and Mr. Edward Holditch, to be joint Apothecaries to his Majesty's household.—Benjamin Wheeler, D. D. to be Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, together with a Canonry of Christ Church

Church in the said University, in the room of Doctor Edward Ben-
tham, deceased.

Sept. 10. Robert Eden, Esq; Governor of Maryland, &c. created a Baronet, with remainder to him and his heirs male.—William Dalrymple, Esq; to be Captain Commandant of a corps of infantry.

—13. The Rev. Mr. Bowyer, to be upper Grammar-Master of Christ's Hospital, in the room of Mr. Whalley, resigned; and Mrs. Field, to be under Master.

—20. The Right Hon. Henry Flood, Esq; to be of his Majesty's Privy Council.—The Right Hon. Hans Stanley, to be Cofferer to his Majesty's household, in the room of the late Right Hon. Jeremiah Dyson, deceased.—Dr. Thomas Bray, to be a Prebendary of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the resignation of Dr. King, promoted to the Deanry of St. Ennau, in the diocese of Raphoe, in the kingdom of Ireland.

—30. Lately, the Rev. Dr. Jones, of Windsor, to be Bishop of Kilmore, in Ireland.—William Hewitt, Esq; a Commissioner for settling the differences in the late sales of lands at the Grenades.—Samuel Black, Esq; to be Recorder of Leeds.—Lord William Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon, to be Lord Vice Admiral of Scotland, in the room of the Earl of March.—John Clark, Esq; to be Governor General of the province of Senegambia, and Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the African corps at Senegal, in the room of Colonel Charles O'Hara, who resigns.—Edward Byam, Esq; to be Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Antigua, in the room of Robert Chris-

tian, Esq; deceased.—Capt. Henry Bowyer, of the 19th regiment, to be Deputy Adjutant-General in Ireland, in the room of Lieutenant-Colonel Paterfon.—The Marquis of Lothian to be Colonel of the 2d troop of horse-guards, in the room of Lord Cadogan, deceased.—The Right Honourable Charles Jenkinson, Clerk of the Pells in Ireland, to be Master-worker of the Mint, in the room of the Hon. Sloan Cadogan, now Lord Cadogan.

Oct. 8. Lieutenant-General Lord Robert Bertie, to be Captain and Colonel of the second troop of horse-guards, in the room of Lord Cadogan, deceased.—Col. William Faucitt, to be Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury.—Major Henry Caldwell, to be Lieutenant-Colonel in America only.—Captain William Pawlett, to be Captain of an independent company of invalids at Jersey.

—11. John Home, Esq; of the county of Berwick, was served and returned heir male to the Earl of Dunbar, before the Sheriff and a respectable jury. This title had lain dormant for a great number of years.—The Marquis of Lothian, created a Knight of the order of the thistle, in the room of the late Lord Cathcart, deceased.

—13. The Hon. Sir William Howe, Major-General of his Majesty's forces, and General of his Majesty's forces in North America, created a Knight of the Bath, in the room of Lord Onslow, deceased.

—18. Lord Mansfield, created Earl of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, with remainder to the heirs male of his father.

—31. Lately, Morton Eden, Esq;

Esq; to be Minister Plenipotentiary to the Elector of Bavaria, and Minister to the Diet of Ratisbon.—James Harris, jun. Esq; to be Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Empress of Russia.—Hugh Elliot, Esq; to be Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary, to the court of Berlin.—Horace St. Paul, Esq; to be Envoy Extraordinary to the court of Sweden.—George Cook, Esq; to be Agent and Consul-General at Tripoli.—Lord Onslow, to be Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum of Surrey.—William Matthew Burt, Esq; to be Governor in Chief of the Leeward and Caribbee islands, in the room of Sir Ralph Payne, Knight of the Bath.—The Earl of Breadalbane, to be Vice-Admiral of Scotland.—The Earl of March, to be Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, and first Lord Commissioner of the Police in Scotland, in the room of Lord Cathcart, deceased.—Alexander Kincaid, Esq; to be Lord Provost of Edinburgh.—Robert Donald, Esq; to be Lord Provost of Glasgow.—The Rev. Dr. Horne, to be Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in the room of the Rev. Dr. Fothergill, resigned.—Wellsbore Ager, Esq; to be a Commissioner of customs.—Heneage Legge, Esq; to be a Commissioner of excise.—Henry Bunbury, and Thomas Bowlby, Esqrs. to be Comptrollers of the army accounts.—Mr. Benson, to be Clerk of the journals of the House of Commons, in the room of Mr. Speed, deceased.—Edward Bayntun, Esq; now his Majesty's Consul General at Tripoli, to be his Agent and

Consul General at Algiers.—William Cornwall, Esq; Member for Leominster, in the room of Thomas Hill, Esq; deceased.—Dr. Cadogan, to be Inspector-General of the mad-houses.—Thomas Evance, Esq; Barrister at Law, of the Middle Temple, to be Recorder of Kingston, in the room of Elliot Bishop, Esq; deceased.—Lord Powis, to be Recorder of the town and borough of Ludlow, in Salop.—His Excellency the Marquis de Noailles, Ambassador from France to this court.—Henry Pelham, Esq; a Commissioner of the Victualling-Office, in the room of R. Pett, Esq; deceased.

Nov. 14. The Earl of Cassilis, to be one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland, in the room of Lord Cathcart, deceased.

—19. Major Nevinston Poole, to be Lieutenant-Governor of Pendennis-Castle.—Richard Prescott, to be Colonel of the seventh regiment of foot.

—22. The Earl of Buckinghamshire, to be Lieutenant-General and General-Governor of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

—30. Lately, John Clavering, Esq; Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces, to be a Knight of the Bath.—Dr. Charles Morton, to be Principal Librarian to the British Museum, in the room of Dr. Maty, deceased.—Wyrriot Owen, Esq; to be Governor of Milford Haven, and all the forts dependent thereon.—Lord Cathcart, Secretary to Lord Stormont at the Court of Versailles, appointed Ambassador to the court of Russia, in the room of Sir Robert Gunning.—John Collet, Esq; to be his Majesty's Consul at Genoa, in the room of James Holtford, Esq;

Esq; deceased.—Lord Powis, to be Lord Lieutenant of the county of Montgomery.—The Rev. Mr. Evans, to be Master of the Holy Ghost Chapel, near Basingstoke, Hants.

Dec. 19. The Rev. William Cooper, D. D. to be Archdeacon of the cathedral church of St. Peter, in York, and Prebendary of Northwell, in the said cathedral, both in his Majesty's gift, by the death of the Archbishop of York.

—21. The Right Rev. Dr. William Markham, Bishop of Chester, to be Archbishop of York, in the room of Dr. Robert Drummond, deceased.

—31. Lately, the Rev. Dr. Beilby Porteus, Bishop of Chester, in the room of Dr. Markham, translated to the see of York.—The Right Rev. Dr. Shute Barrington, Bishop of Llandaff, to be a Prebend of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, void by the resignation of Dr. John Douglas, who succeeds the Bishop, as Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's.—The Rev. Andrew Cheap, M. A. to be a prebend in the cathedral of St. Peter, York, void by the death of Dr. Gilbert.—Dr. Lewis Bagot, to be Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in the room of Dr. Markham.—John Ashby, William Randall, and Thomas Kennersley, Esqrs. to be Prothonotaries and Clerks of the Crown in the counties of Denbigh and Montgomery.—Welbore Ellis Agar and William Hay, Esqrs. to be Commissioners of Customs, in the room of Henry Banks and Samuel Mead, Esqrs. deceased.—Edward Whitehouse, Esq; to be Clerk of the robes and wardrobes of his Majesty.—Mr. Heron, of Grosvenor-square, to be Principal Secretary to the Earl of Buckinghamshire,

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—Robert M^oQueen, Esq; Advocate, to be one of the Lords of Council and Session of Scotland, in the place of the late Lord Coalston.—John Day, Esq; to be Advocate-General to the East-India Company in Bengal, with a salary of 3000l. per annum, and the sum of 1500l. allowed him for the expenses of his passage.—The Rev. Dr. Butler, Chaplain to the Hon House of Commons, to be one of the Chaplains to the King, in the room of the Rev. Dr. Beilby Porteus.—Dr. Horsley, to be Secretary to the Royal Society, in the room of Dr. Maty, deceased.—Mr. Planta, to be Under Secretary, in the room of Dr. Horsley.—Mr. Robertson, to be Librarian to the Royal Society, in the room of his father, deceased.

DEATHS. 1776.

Jan. 1. Charles Milborne, Esq; of Wonslow, in Monmouthshire, brother-in-law to the Earl of Oxford.

3. Capt. Berry, of the royal navy.

5. Miss Mary Ann Bunce, only daughter and heiress of Sir James Bunce, of Keming, in Kent, Bart.

6. Andrew Pringle of Alemoor, Esq; one of the Senators of the college of Justice, in Scotland, at Hawkhill, in the same kingdom.

James Montresor, Esq; Engineer and Colonel in the army, at New Gardens, near Green Street, in Kent.

The Hon. William Hervey, son of John, Earl of Bristol, and uncle to the present Earl.

11. John Barker, Esq; Rear Admiral of the White, at Bath.

12. Christopher Griffith, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the county of Berks.

Capt.

Capt. Avery, formerly 'of the Royal Navy, but late on half-pay.

13. Lady Irwine, relict of the late Lieutenant-General Alexander Irwine, and mother to the present Lieutenant-General Sir John Irwine, K. B.

14. William Strode, Esq; Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces, and Colonel of the 62d regiment of foot, in Gerard-street, Soho.

The Hon. William Augustus Montague, second son of the Earl of Sandwich, and member for the town of Huntingdon.

The Hon. Edward Cornwallis, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces, Colonel of the 24th regiment of foot, and Governor of Gibraltar, at Bird-place, in Hertfordshire. He was brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and uncle to the Earl of Cornwallis.

16. Lord Blantyre, at Erskine, in Scotland.

John Owen, Esq; Lieutenant General of his Majesty's forces.

17. Lieutenant-Colonel James Provost, Colonel-Commandant of the first battalion of the Royal American regiment of foot.

Prince Pio, a grandee of Spain, at Madrid.

18. The Countess of Westmeath, mother of the present Earl, in France.

22. Mrs. Catharine Blunt, sister of Sir Charles Blunt, Bart.

25. Sir Henry Chamberlayne, Bart. by whose death the title is extinct.

26. Charles Offspring Blackhall, Esq; son of Dr. Offspring Blackhall, formerly Bishop of Exeter.

27. Sir John Charlton, Bart. of Apley Castle, in Shropshire.

30. Lately, Capt. Kenneth

Mackenzie, son of the late Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, Bart. at Bengal.

Mrs. Honora Browne, mother of General Browne, in the Austrian service.

Feb. 1. The Earl of Radnor, in the 51st year of his age. His Lordship is succeeded in title and estate, by his eldest son, member for New Sarum.

3. Charles O'Hara, Esq; representative in parliament for Armagh, in Ireland.

4. The Lady of Sir Sydney Stafford Smythe, Knight, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

5. Sir James Kinloch Nevoy, Bart.

The Hon. George West, brother to the Earl of Delawar.

7. John Delme, Esq; brother to Lady Ravensworth, at the De-
vizes.

11. Sir William Hanham, Bart. of Dean's-court, in the county of Dorset, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Dorsetshire militia, Deputy-Lieutenant, and one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, at Bath.

12. Charles Sigismund, Baron de Starck, at Oxford.

13. James Jefferies, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Customs.

Lewis Charles Montolieu, Esq; late Lieutenant-Colonel in the second troop of horse guards.

14. Thomas Radcliffe, LL. D. Judge of the Consistory Court of Dublin, and member of parliament for the borough of Canice, in the county of Kilkenny.

Mrs. Tyrwhit, sister of the late Sir John Tyrwhit, of Stainfield, in Lincolnshire.

15. The Countess of Salisbury.

19. Mrs. Corbet, a maiden lady,

lady, daughter of the late Sir Richard Corbet, Bart.

20. The Rev. Dr. Addington, Dean of Litchfield, at his deanry-house in that city.

The Hon. Richard Rochford Mervyn, Esq; brother to the Earl of Belvedere, one of the members for the borough of Philipstown, and late Lieutenant-Colonel of the 35th regiment of foot.

Charles Dowdeswell, Esq; second son of the late Right Hon. William Dowdeswell, Esq; at Marfeilles.

The Right Hon. Robert Carteret, Earl Granville, Viscount Carteret, and Bailey of the Isle of Jersey.

22. The Rev. James Gayer, D.D. grandson of the late Sir Robert Gayer, Knight of the Bath, at Lisbon green, Paddington.

23. The Right Hon. Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby, in the 86th year of his age. His Lordship is succeeded in title and estate by Lord Stanley, his grandson, member in the present parliament for Lancashire.

24. Sir Richard Phillips, Bart. at his seat at Piston-Castle, near Haverfordwest.

Sir William Mannoek, Bart. of Gifford's hall, Suffolk.

28. Lord Hobart, only son of the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

29. The Hon. Mrs. Barrett, sister of the late Governor Fitzwilliam, and mother of Michael Barrett, Esq; of Park-street, Westminster.

Sir John Burland, Knight, one of the Barons of his Majesty's court of Exchequer, suddenly, at his house in Great George-street, Westminster.

Mar. 1. The Lady of Colonel Amherst, at Bath.

6. Mrs. Mauger, wife of Joshua

Mauger, Esq; member for Poole, in Dorsetshire.

8. Lady Margaret Stanley, fourth daughter of the late Earl and Countess of Derby, at Knutsford.

The Hon. Mrs. Trelusis, sister to the late Lord St. John.

16. The Rev. Dr. John Hoadly, Chancellor of the Diocese of Winchester, Master of St. Cross, near that city, Rector of St. Mary's, in Southampton, and of Abresford, near that place, at Southampton.

17. Lady Pole, widow of Sir John Pole, Bart. and wife of George Clavering, Esq; in Berner's-street.

18. Lady Curzon, relict of Sir Nathaniel Curzon, in Dover-street.

The Right Hon. John de Courcy, Lord Baron of Kinsale. The Lords of this barony have a privilege superior to that of any nobleman in this realm, viz. that of keeping their hats on in the royal presence: a privilege given to them some centuries ago.

21. Daniel Chevenix, Esq; Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Royal Irish regiment of artillery, in Lominick-street, Dublin.

William Mure, Esq; of Caldwell, in Scotland, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland, at Edinburgh.

Henry Knoller, Esq; his Majesty's Attorney-General for Quebec, and eldest son of Godfrey Knoller, Esq; of Donheda-hall, Wilts, in Surry-street.

The Lady of the Bishop of Ely, in Hertford-street, May-fair.

25. The Earl of Strathmore, one of the sixteen Peers for Scotland, on his passage to Lisbon, for the recovery of his health.

21. The Rev. William Evelyn, D.D. Vicar of Trim, Rector of Clonallan, Chancellor of Dro-more,

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more, Dean of Emly, and Chaplain, to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

29. Lady Ayscough, sister to the late Lord Lyttelton, and relict of the late Dr. Ayscough, Dean of Bristol, in Lisle-street, Leicester-fields.

William Gordon, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office.

Sir Edward Barry, Bart. M. D. F. R. S. Physician-General to his Majesty's forces, in Ireland, and a Member of the Irish House of Commons.

John Gower, Esq; son to the late Sir Samuel Gower, in Gower's-Gardens, Goodman's-fields.

Joseph Martin, Esq; member of parliament for Tewkesbury. He served the office of Sheriff for London and Middlesex in 1771.

April 1. John Fortescue, Esq; at Penwerne, in Cornwall, cousin-german to Lord Fortescue, of Castle-hill, Devonshire.

3. Count d'Oyenhausen, Great Huntsman of the electorate of Hanover.

4. The Lady of Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Baronet, of Argyle-street.

5. The Hon. Master Digby, second son of Lord Digby, at Canterbury.

Lady Trevannion, widow of Sir Harry Trevannion, and daughter of Sir Rowland Watts, Bart. of Worcestershire, in the 76th year of her age, at Bath.

11. Wenman Coke, Esq; member for Norfolk, and Surveyor of the Woods belonging to the Crown in the dutchy of Lancaster.

18. — Wellard, Esq; Captain in the Navy, and one of the jurats of that town, at Dover.

19. The Hon. William Scott,

Second Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland.

The Hon. Mrs. Hartpole, wife of Robert Hartpole, Esq; eighth daughter of Lord Baltinglass.

20. The Right Hon. Lady Jane Bridges, of Charles-street, Berkeley-square. Her Ladyship was daughter of John Marquis of Carnarvon, eldest son of James first Duke of Chandos.

The Rev. Dr. George Huddesford, in the 80th year of his age, at Trinity-College, Oxford, of which he had been president forty-five years.

25. William Fleming, Esq; a Colonel in the Guards, in Bentinck-street.

The Right Hon. Richard Lord Viscount Fitzwilliam, Knight of the Bath, a Privy-Counsellor of Ireland, and F. R. S. at Mount Merrion in that kingdom.

26. Patrick Preston, Esq; eldest son of Sir George Preston, Bart. at Valleyfield, in Fifeshire, Scotland.

Lady Vanbrugh, aged 90, relict of the celebrated Sir John Vanbrugh.

30. The Grand Duchess of Russia, Petrowna Alexiewna, at St. Petersburg.

Lately, Mrs. Hayter, daughter of Dr. Hayter, late Bishop of London.

Jacob Weeden, Esq; formerly Governor of Bombay, at Brentford.

Mrs. Anketall, sister to Lord Bellamont, in Ireland.

Mr. Livingstone, one of the heads of the Continental Congress, at New-York.

Frederick Hollingsworth, Esq; late Lieutenant-Colonel of the third regiment of foot-guards.

John Dee, Esq; an officer in the service of the India Company. and

and colonel of a regiment of cavalry, at Tanjour, in the East-Indies. His death was occasioned by a wound he received at the siege of that city.

Mrs. Latton, wife of William Latton, Esq; his late Majesty's Envoy, and Consul-General to the Emperor of Morocco.

Alexander Mackenzie, Esq; who was upwards of thirty years Knight of the shire for the county of Ross in Scotland.

Lady Margaret Stanley, fourth daughter of the late Earl and Countess of Derby.

The lady of Colonel Amherst.

May 1. John Haynes, Esq; of the Secretary of State's Office, and one of the Clerks of the Signet.

The Right Hon. Anthony Malone, representative in parliament for the county of Westmeath, and one of his Majesty's Privy-Council, in Ireland.

4. Sir John Barrington, Bart. late member for the Borough of Newtown, in the Isle of Wight, in James-Street, Bedford Row.

7. Maria Josephina Anna Augusta, daughter of Charles VII. Emperor of the Romans, sister to the Elector of Bavaria, and Dowager of Augustus George Simpert, Margrave of Bade Bade, of an apoplectic fit, at Munich.

9. Mrs. Foote, relict of the late Mr. Foote, and sister to Sir Horatio Man, K. B. Envoy Extraordinary to the court of Florence.

11. Sir Matthew Aylmer, Bart. of Balrath, in Ireland.

17. John Tempest, sen. Esq; who represented the city of Durham in three parliaments, at Sherburn, near Durham.

Lady Elizabeth Hattley, of the Hermitage.

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Sir Christopher Hales, Bart. at Hammer-smith.

27. Miss Douglas, daughter of John St. Leger Douglas, member for Weobley, in Herefordshire.

31. The Rev. Dr. William Cockburn, Archdeacon of Ossory, in Ireland, at Bath.

Lately, Monf. Le Baron de Bulow, Commander in Chief of her Imperial Majesty's troops in the Low-Countries.

The Lady of Thomas Whitmore, Esq; Member for Bridgenorth.

June 1. The Right Hon. Sarah Viscountess Falkland, at Blackheath.

5. The Countess Dowager of Suffolk, at Tooting, in Surry.

Lady Charlotte Burgoyne, spouse of General Burgoyne, at Kensington-Palace.

9. Sir Robert Gordon, of Gordon-Town, Bart. at his said seat, in the shire of Moray.

The Rev. Mr. Chambers, Rector of Cradley in Herefordshire, as also of Nanton, a Prebendary of Inkborough, and a Portioner of Bromyard, at Cradley aforesaid.

14. The Right Hon. Samuel Lord Masham, of Oates, in Essex, and a Baronet; one of the Lords of the King's Bed-chamber, Remembrancer of his Majesty's court of Exchequer, and F. R. S. in Cork-Street, Burlington-Gardens.

16. The Hon. Wm. Carmichael, Esq; at Saltcoats, in East Lothian.

17. Mrs. Margaret Menzies, relict of the Hon. William Carmichael, Esq; of Saltcoats, in East-Lothian.

Miss Mary Beauchamp Proctor, third daughter of the late Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, Bart. in New Bond-Street.

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19. Edward Jekyll, Esq; a Captain in his Majesty's Navy, in Clarges-street.

20. John Graham, Esq; a member of the late council of Bengal, off Port-Mahon, on his way to Lisbon for the recovery of his health.

21. The Right Hon. Lady Frances Erskine, wife of James Erskine, of Grange, Esq. Her Ladyship was daughter of the late Earl of Marr and Lady Frances Pierpont, daughter of Evelyn Duke of Kingston. Her brother was the 18th Lord Erskine, and the 11th Earl of Marr.

24. Sir William Denham, of Westfield, in Scotland, Bart.

(The Hon. William Byron, only son of Lord Byron, and member for Morpeth, in Northumberland.

The Hon. Miss Mary Brown, second daughter to Lord Viscount Westport, aged 18, at Westport, in the county of Mayo, in Ireland.

25. Clarke Adams, Esq; Col. of the Northamptonshire militia, at East-Haddoe.

July 1. Maximilian Alexis de Bethune, Duc de Sully, in France.

Arthur Villettes, Esq; many years British Resident at the court of Sardinia, and the Swiss Cantons.

6. Capt. Jenkins, formerly of the Royal Navy, at Twickenham.

The Hon. Mr. Somerville, of Dinder, near Wells, in Somersetshire.

9. Sir John Gibbons, Bart. and Knight of the Bath, at Stanwell, in Middlesex.

10. The Infanta Donna Maria, of Portugal, after an illness of a few days. She was born June 9, 1774.

Sir John Powell Price, of New-Town Hall, in the county of Montgomery, Bart.

11. Sir John Hall, of Douglas, in Scotland, Bart. at Douglas aforesaid.

14. Colonel John Sabine, late of the Guards, at the Hot-wells, Bristol.

16. Her Serene Highness Frances Christiana, Countess Palatine of the Rhine, Princess of the Roman empire, Abbess of Effen and Thorne, aunt to his Serene Highness the Elector Palatine, in the 81st year of her age.

22. Charles Gilbert de May de Termont, Bishop of Blois, and Almoner to the French King, at Paris.

26. Lady Charlotte Hayes, at Clifton.

27. The Hon. Major Sandilands, at Contentibus, in Scotland.

28. The Duchess-Dowager of Newcastle. Her Grace was daughter to Lord Godolphin, by Henrietta, eldest daughter of the Duke of Marlborough, and was married to the late Duke of Newcastle April 2, 1717.

Lord Doune, eldest son of the Earl of Moray, at Bath.

August 2. Lewis Francois de Bourbon, Prince de Conty, Grand Prior of France, and Generalissimo of the French King's troops, at Paris.

7. The Earl of Altamont, at his seat at Newport, in Ireland.

10. Samuel Shuldham, Esq; brother to Admiral Lord Shuldham, at Kilkenny, in Ireland.

12. The Rev. Edward Bentham, D. D. Senior Canon of Christ-Church, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Divinity in that university.

13. Benoît

13. Benoit Veterane, Cardinal Deacon of the Roman Church, at Rome. He was raised to the purple by Pope Clement XIII.

15. Sir Richard Bampfylde, Bart.

The Right Hon. William Maxwell, Earl of Nithsdale. He was son to the Earl of Nithsdale who made his escape out of the Tower.

Hugh Bailey, Esq; Advocate, Doctor of Laws, and formerly judge of the Admiralty Court in Ireland.

16. The Right Hon. Mary Viscountess Dowager of Kenmore, at Terregles, in Scotland.

21. The Right Hon. Charles Shaw Cathcart, Lord Cathcart, Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, First Lord Commissioner of the Police in that kingdom, Lieutenant - General, Knight of the Thistle, and one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council, at his house in Grosvenor-Place.

Captain Adams, of Chumbleforth.

22. Thomas Dunbar, Esq; brother to Sir James Dunbar, Bart.

23. Thomas Hill, Esq; Member for Leominster, at Court-Hill, near Ludlow.

The Hon. Mr. Damer, son of Lord Milton.

25. Lady Catherine Hay, wife of Captain William Hay, of the second regiment of foot guards, daughter of the late Marquis of Tweeddale, and niece to the present Marquis, at Bristol.

27. The Hon. Andrew Leslie, son of the deceased John, Earl of Rothes, at Haddington, in Scotland.

31. Lately, The Rt. Hon. John West Earl Delawar, Viscount Can-

taloupe, Colonel of the first troop of horse guards, a Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces, and Chamberlain to the Queen's household.

Sept. 5. John Lewis de Goltstein, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Chamberlain and Privy-Counsellor to the Elector Palatine, and Stadtholder of the dutchies of Juliers and Berg, at Dusseldorp.

The Right Honourable William Knollis, Earl of Banbury, Viscount Wallingford, Baron Knollis of Greys, and a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, at his brother's house at Burford.

Sir Michael Danvers, of Culworth, in Northamptonshire, Bart. descended from one of William the Conqueror's officers, on whom that prince settled the said manor. Sir Michael's fortune, which is very considerable, falls to a maiden sister.

10. Lady Mary Archer, Lady to John Archer, Esq; and aunt to the present Earl Fitzwilliam.

13. Captain Evert, of his Majesty's ship the Bedford, of 74 guns, at Woolwich.

14. Lady Anne Monson, wife of the Hon. George Monson, one of the Supreme Council at Bengal, and sister to the Earl of Darlington, in the East-Indies.

16. The Hon. Henry Hope, second son of the Earl of Hopetoun, at Lyons, in France.

Lady Dowager Barker, at Kilkenny, in Ireland.

Jeremiah Dyson, Esq; Cofferer of his Majesty's household, Member for Horsham, in Suffex, and one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council.

18. John Ellis, Esq; F. R. S. Agent for West-Florida, and for the

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the island of Dominica. See our Chronicle, p. 189.

23. Henry Banks, Esq; Commissioner of Customs.

24. The Right Hon. Charles Lord Cadogan, Baron of Oakley, Colonel of the second troop of horse guards, Governor of Gravesend and Tilbury-Fort, a General of his Majesty's forces, a trustee of the British Museum, and F. R. S. in the ninety-second year of his age.

29. The Right Hon. Stephen Fox, Earl of Ilchester, Lord Ilchester and Stavordale, Baron Strangeways of Woodford Strangeways, Baron of Redlynch, one of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy-Council, and Joint-Comptroller of the Army Accounts, at Melbury in Dorsetshire. His Lordship was suddenly seized with the disorder which occasioned his death, on Sunday the 22d ult. and never spoke afterwards.

Francis Herne, Esq; Member for Camelford, in Cornwall.

30. Thomas Whitchoy, Esq; who formerly represented the county of Lincoln in parliament thirty-six years, at Harpswell.

Lately, Col. John Horton, of the first regiment of foot guards.

The Right Hon. Anne Countess-Dowager of Abercorn, aged 86, in Grosvenor-square.

Sir Robert Kerr, Bart. at Kelfo.

George Gibson, Esq; son of the late Bishop of London, of that name. See our Characters for the year 1763, p. 12.

Mr. De Visne, the British Envoy to the court of Stockholm.

Mrs. Mary Leighton, sister of Sir Charles Leighton, of Leton, Bart. at Shrewsbury.

Philip Baron de Spiegel, Abbé of Corvey, and a prince of the Holy Roman empire, of a fit of the apoplexy, at Francfort.

Oct. 2. Sir Alexander Don, Bart. of Newtown, in Scotland.

3. The Hon. Col. Thomas Molyneux, Member for Haslemere, and a Major in the third regiment of foot guards, in Manchester-Buildings, Westminster.

4. The Right Hon. Lady Catharine Cochrane, daughter of Thomas late Earl of Dundonald, and wife to William Wood, Esq.

7. Don Nuno Cajetan Alvares Pereira de Mello, Duke of Cadaval, and chief of a branch of the house of Braganza, in Portugal.

9. The Right Hon. Richard Lord Onslow, Baron Onslow and Clendon, and Baronet; Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Surrey, High-Steward of Guildford, LL. D. a Privy Counsellor, and one of the Knights of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath. He is succeeded in title, and an estate of 18,000l. a year, by his cousin, Lord Cranley, son to the late Speaker of the House of Commons.

11. The Right Hon. Sir William Yorke, late Chief Justice of the court of Common Pleas, in Ireland; but had retired on a pension. See our Chronicle, p. 189.

13. Lady Ann Stirling, relict of Sir Henry Stirling, of Ardoch, Scotland, Bart.

14. Joshua Seabrooke, Esq; formerly a commander in the navy.

19. Robert Pett, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Victualling-Office.

John Smith, Esq; Secretary to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

21. Samuel Mead, Esq; F. R. S. and

and Commissioner of his Majesty's Customs.

25. The Hon. Miss Elizabeth Foley, daughter of Lord Foley.

Miss Jane Whichcote, daughter of Sir Christopher Whichcote, Bart.

26. Lady Calder, relict of the late Sir James Calder, Bart. of Grosvenor-Square.

George Williams, Esq; a commander in the royal navy, in James-Street, Westminster.

—Buckle, Esq; brother to Admiral Buckle, at Bath.

31. Lately, Mrs. Elizabeth Cotton, a maiden lady, aged 90, daughter of the late Colonel Cotton, and niece to Sir Robert Cotton.

Lady Whitford, widow of the deceased General Sir John Whitford, of Whiteford, Bart.

William Parry, Esq; son of Admiral Parry.

The Provincial General Thomas, at Chamblee, in North-America.

Mr. Reichie, Resident at Copenhagen on the part of his Britannic Majesty's Hanoverian dominions, in his 80th year. He had been in that station 49 years.

Nov. 2. Lady Dalton, relict of Sir George Dalton, Bart. of Heath, in the county of York, at St. Omer's.

3. The Right Hon. Rob. Earl Litchfield, Viscount Quarendon, Custos Brevium in the court of Common-Pleas, aged upwards of 70, by a fall from his horse, as he was hunting at Ditchley, in Oxfordshire. As his Lordship has left no issue, the title is extinct: and the office of Custos Brevium in the court of Common-Pleas, annexed to the title, devolves to the crown.

17. James Sayer, Esq; Vice Admiral of the White.

19. The Hon. Mrs. Hervey, relict of the Hon. William Hervey, uncle to the Earl of Bristol.

20. Peter Christopher Algeht, Esq; Swedish Consul, at the Hotwells, Bristol.

23. Mrs. O'Brien, relict of the late Admiral O'Brien, in the isle of Wight.

24. George Browne, of Coalstoun, Esq; one of the Senators of the College of Justice in Edinburgh.

30. The Rev. Robert Gilbert, D. D. brother of the late Dr. Gilbert, Archbishop of York, one of the Canons Residentiary of the cathedral church of Sarum, and possessed of many other church preferments.

Lately, James Dunn, Esq; late Lieutenant-Colonel in the first troop of horse guards.

Mrs. Chapman, wife of the Rev. Dr. Chapman, Archdeacon of Sudbury, in Suffolk.

Admiral Brice, commander of a Squadron of American vessels of war, at Boston.

The Hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Forrester, at Colerne, Wilts.

The Cardinal Patriarch Archbishop of Lisbon.

The Dowager Lady Compton, at Hartpury, in Gloucestershire.

Dec. 2. Lady Windsor, relict of the late Lord Windsor, and mother to Lady Mountstewart.

5. Her Grace Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland. She was in her own right Beroness Percy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitzpaine, Bryan, and Latimer; was heiress and sole representative of many great families, being the only daughter of Algernon Seymour,

th- last Duke of Somerset of his branch, and through him descended from the illustrious family of Percy, ancient Earls of Northumberland; his Grace's mother being the only child of Josceline Percy, last Earl of Northumberland, who died in 1670. By the most happy marriage with his Grace the present Duke of Northumberland, she has left two surviving sons, viz. 1st. Hugh Earl Percy, one of the members for Westminster, who is at present a Lieutenant-General in his Majesty's service in America, and who succeeds her Grace in all her Baronial honours; and 2dly, Lord Algernon Percy, one of the Knights of the shire for the county of Northumberland. [For a sketch of her Grace's character, please to turn to the Chronicle, p. 196.]

9. Sir James Porter, formerly his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, and Fellow of the Royal Society, in Great Marlborough-Street.

12. The Right Hon. William Lord Falconer, of Haulkerston, at Groningen, in the United Provinces.

15. His Grace the Hon. and Most Rev. Dr. Drummond, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul, Archbishop of York, and Lord High Almoner to the King. He was consecrated a bishop in the year 1748, in the room of Dr. Lisle, Bishop of St. Asaph, from whence he was translated in the year 1761, to the see of Salisbury, on the promotion of Dr. Thomas to the diocese of Winchester, and was soon afterwards advanced to the Archiepiskopal see

of York, on the death of Archbishop Gilbert in 1761. His Grace preached the sermon at the coronation of their Majesties in Westminster-Abbey, Sept. 22, 1761.

20. The Lady of Col. St. Leger, at Parkhill, in Yorkshire.

22. The Hon. Miss Isabella Percival, eldest daughter of the Earl of Egmont.

Captain James Anstruther, of the 58th regiment of foot, son of the late Sir Philip Anstruther, of Balcastie, in Scotland, Bart. at Invergelly, in Fifeshire, Scotland.

The Lady of Sir John Davy, Bart. of Creedy, in Devonshire.

27. The Right Hon. Lady Charlotte Edwin.

29. Lady Cornwallis, relict of the late General Cornwallis, formerly Governor of Gibraltar, at her seat at Bird-Hall, in Essex.

31. Lately, Mrs. Friend, widow of the late Rev. Dr. Friend, Dean of Canterbury, at Chelsea.

Lady Elizabeth Berkeley, relict of Lord Berkeley of Stratton.

Mrs. — Whalley, relict of the late Dr. Whalley, and mother to the lady of Judge Ashurst, at Oxford.

The Hon. Lieut. William Sinclair, second son of the Earl of Caithness, at New-York.

Mrs. Mary Foster, relict of Thomas Foster, Esq; late Member for Dorchester, at Egham, in Surry.

Thomas Bayntun, Esq; brother to Sir Edward Bayntun, Bart.

Henry Vernon, of Thurlow, Esq; brother to Lord Viscount Orwell, of Orwell-Park, near Ipswich.

Mrs. Susanna Dennis, sister to Sir Peter Dennis, Bart.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Summary of the Trial of Elizabeth, styling herself Duchess of Kingston, for Bigamy, before the House of Lords of Great-Britain, in Westminster-Hall, on Monday, the 15th of April, and several succeeding Days, in the present Year 1776.

THE peers being assembled by eleven, the commission read, and the usual formalities adjusted, proclamation was made for the appearance of the Duchess of Kingston in discharge of her recognizance. Her Grace, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Mountstuart, and James Laroche, Esq; entered the court, and made her obeisance to the judges. The indictment was then read, after which the Lord High-Steward stated the nature of the offence with which the lady was charged. Her Grace then read a paper to the following purport,

That she was not conscious of having committed any act of a criminal nature. That she had never intentionally violated the laws of her country. That she had no sooner been apprized of the charge alleged against her, than she travelled from Rome to England, at the hazard of her life, in order to appear to the indictment, and thus

defeat the malice of her enemies. It was true she had been married to an illustrious personage. But, if it was a crime to have wedded a noble duke, it was a crime she would always glory in, as she might date the æra of her happiness, and of her honour, from the hour of that marriage. She had not been wedded to the illustrious personage, without having previously taken every precaution NOT to violate the laws of her country. The court, which alone had competent jurisdiction of the matter, had pronounced a sentence, whereby her Grace was decreed to be free from all matrimonial engagements; consequently a single woman; and, if a single woman, she had a right to accept the hand of the noble personage. Under such circumstances, therefore, she had been married to the Duke of Kingston; under such circumstances she was intitled to marry him; and, if she had erred, her error proceeding, not from any intentional violation of the laws, her conscience bore testimony to the truth of the assertion, whilst her lips pronounced her to be NOT GUILTY.

The council then, for and against the prosecution, entered into the arguments on both sides, which took up two days, when the court

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adjourned

adjourned to Friday, April 19, on which day, the council having finished their pleadings, Lord Gower moved to adjourn to their own house, and, as soon as their Lordships were seated in the parliament chamber, Lord Camden put the two following questions to the judges:

"Whether a sentence of the Ecclesiastical Court against a marriage in a suit of jactitation of marriage is conclusive evidence, so as to stop the crown from proving the said marriage on an indictment for polygamy?"

And, "Whether, admitting such sentence to be conclusive upon such indictment, the crown may be admitted to avoid the effect of such indictment by proving the same to have been obtained by fraud or collusion?"

Lord Chief Justice De Grey delivered the opinion of the judges. He informed their Lordships, that, the rest of his brethren being unanimous with him, it had of course fallen to his lot to declare to their Lordships their opinions; and at the same time to state the general grounds on which it was founded.

The first question he answered in the negative, because no civil sentence whatever can prevent a prosecution on an indictment in which the crown is the prosecutor. The second he answered in the affirmative, because it was necessarily included in the first; and because no fraudulent act of any two parties can be binding or conclusive on a third, without their participation or consent, even in a civil case, much less in a matter in which the general justice of the nation and execution of the laws are concerned. This was the whole sub-

stance of what the Chief Justice delivered.

In about an hour and an half their Lordships returned into court, when the Lord-Steward desired Mr. Attorney-General to proceed in support of the prosecution.

Mr. Attorney, after opening the case, stated the nature of the evidence he was instructed to lay before their Lordships. The first witness he called was

Anne Cradock. She said she knew the prisoner at the bar for upwards of 30 years; that, in July 1744, she and Mrs. Hanmer, aunt to the prisoner, to whom she was servant, were in London; that the lady, then Miss Chudleigh, accompanied her aunt down to Hampshire, where Mrs. Hanmer resided, at a Mr. Merrill's; that, in a few days, there being races at Winchester, the lady with her aunt went there, where she first saw Mr. Hervey, then a lieutenant in the navy; that that interview gave birth to a marriage, which took place between them on the 4th of August the same year, in Launceston chapel, in said county, at which she herself was present; that every precaution was taken to render it as private as possible, on account of the then situation of the parties; that Mr. Hervey in a few days, during which time he and the prisoner at the bar cohabited as man and wife, repaired aboard Admiral Danver's fleet, then destined for the East-Indies; that a Mr. Mountney, the lady's aunt, Mrs. Hanmer, and Mr. Merrill, were present at the marriage; that she the witness afterwards came to live with the prisoner, and that she told her she had a child by Mr. Hervey, and promised to take

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take her out one day in the Prince's coach to Chelsea, where the child was at nurse, to shew him to her, observing at the same time, that the child was extremely like Mr. Hervey, the father; that the evening appointed for that purpose, the lady informed the witness, that the child had died in the mean time, and was buried at Chelsea. On cross examination she said, she never saw the child; that the marriage was performed late at night, she could not tell the hour; that the only light in the church was a wax taper, placed in the bowl of Mr. Mountney's hat; that she never said she expected any advantage from the event of the trial. Being asked by Lord Hillsborough if she had not received a letter from some person, promising a reward relative to the evidence which she might give in this trial? she said she had, from one Fossard, a stable-keeper in Piccadilly; and that, on receiving this letter, she shewed it to a Mr. Harding; that he proposed to communicate the contents of it to Mr. Hervey; that, after many conversations and messages between Mr. Hervey, Mr. Harding, and the witness, she received a letter from Mr. Harding, who desired her, as from Mr. Hervey, to keep it safe. That the letter contained a promise of a sinecure place. Adjourned.

On Saturday morning the peers met again, when Ann Cradock underwent a further examination. The Lords Derby, Hillsborough, Buckinghamshire, &c. putting various questions to her respecting her present situation—her future dependence;—whether she was promised any sum by the prosecutor, if she gave such testimony as would

convict the lady at the bar, &c.—to all which she gave rather evasive answers, but at last confessed the agency employed to offer her pecuniary terms, if she would appear against the prisoner.

Cæsar Hawkins, Esq; Serjeant Surgeon, being next called upon, begged to be informed, whether he was bound to disclose conversation imparted to him confidentially, and in the way of his profession.

Lord Mansfield. My Lords, it is the duty of the witness to give every information in his power to this court, touching the matter in question.

Cæsar Hawkins, Esq; had known her Grace for many years, he believed 30—Had heard of a marriage between her and Mr. Hervey, which was mentioned to him by both of them before Mr. Hervey went last to sea—that there was a child, as he believes, of that marriage—was in the room, at her Grace's desire, when the boy was born, and saw it once afterwards before it died—was sent for by Mr. Hervey after his return from sea, and desired by him to wait upon the prisoner with proposals respecting a divorce; but that her Grace refused to listen to any terms—that several messages passed on this point.—That some time after her Grace frequently honoured his wife with a visit, and told him one day at his own house, that she had instituted a jactitation suit in the Commons against Mr. Hervey; that, another time when she came, she was very grave, and desired him to withdraw with her into the next room; where she told him she was very unhappy; for that at Doctors Commons they had

had tendered her an oath, which she had long dreaded they would, to swear she was not married, which she would not do:—but, not long after, upon another visit, told him, that she had obtained a sentence, which was irrevocable, unless in so many days Mr. Hervey took some certain mode, which she did not expect he would. On hearing this, the witness asked how she got over the oath? She replied, that the matter of the marriage was so blended with such a number of falstices, that she could easily reconcile it to her conscience, particularly as the ceremony was so scrambling and shabby a business, that she might as safely swear she was not married as that she was.

Council. Was there no bond for a sum or sums of money passed between them to your knowledge on this occasion?—Not any.—Were not you a trustee to such bond?—Never.

The Duke of Grafton and several other peers put many questions to him relative to the child—whether he believed it to be the lady's at the bar?—To which he answered in the affirmative.—Whether he knew the child was really dead?—Could not say; was only informed so by the noble prisoner.

Lord Barrington was next called upon and sworn. He was asked, whether he knew any thing of a marriage between the lady at the bar and Mr. Hervey, now Earl of Bristol. He desired to be excused answering that question, as it would be betraying private conversation, which, as a man of honour and a gentleman, he could never consent to.

Lord Mansfield observed, that

he was now before a court of criminal judicature; that he was not obliged to give any testimony but what might be deemed legal evidence; but, as far as the question related to matter of legal evidence, he was obliged to answer.

Lord Camden, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Radnor, and several other lords, contended, that his lordship was bound to answer at all events, as he was upon his oath; therefore his lordship was called on by Lord Radnor to answer the question, Whether he knew any thing of the marriage between the prisoner at the bar and Mr. Hervey? But he again declined to answer it.

A motion of adjournment was then made by Lord Radnor, and agreed to, and their Lordships accordingly adjourned to their own house. About five o'clock, their Lordships returned, when the Lord High Steward addressed the witness to the following effect:

“ Lord Viscount Barrington, it is the opinion of their Lordships that you shall answer all such questions as may be put to you, respecting what you know relative to the marriage between the prisoner at the bar and Mr. Hervey.”

Lord Viscount Barrington. My Lords, I am sorry to give this house a moment's unnecessary trouble; yet I must again repeat, I have still my doubts, whether I can in honour answer any such question, as that now put to me by the noble Lord; however, as I entertain a less opinion of my own judgment than that of others, I beg your Lordships will permit me to put a question to the learned counsel—Whether, if I do not give an answer to these questions, I shall

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shall be guilty of perjury? [Here the Solicitor-General whispered in his ear.]—My Lords, the Solicitor-General has informed me, that, by the oath I have taken, I am bound to give evidence; I am therefore under the direction of the House; and beg pardon of your Lordships for having given the court so much trouble.

Duke of Richmond. If I understand any thing of the business of this House, no law question (notwithstanding his Lordship's nice conscience) is ever to be put to the counsel at the bar, but to the House, who only are to decide upon it; or, if they find it expedient, they take the opinion of the judges:—However, that being now unnecessary, I would ask the noble Lord a question or two.—Here his Grace and the Earl of Radnor asked him a few questions: his answer to which only proved, that he had heard Mr. Hervey and the lady at the bar say, that they were married, and that there was a child, the issue of that marriage; but that he did not know either, of his own knowledge.

The officer from Doctors Commons was next examined, to prove that the lady at the bar and the late Duke of Kingston were married in February 1769, by a licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

To prove the certificate of the marriage, a gentleman from the Chancellor's court, of the diocese of Winchester, was produced to prove the regular entry of it.

The court rose at seven o'clock, and adjourned to the chamber of parliament; after which their Lordships adjourned to their own houses,

till ten o'clock on Monday morning, when the business again commenced, with the examination of several witnesses in behalf of the Duchess of Kingston.

Mrs. Pritchard was called to invalidate the testimony of Ann Cradock. She deposed, that the said Ann Cradock had frequently declared in her presence, that she expected a considerable fortune, in case the event of the prosecution should prove unfavourable to the Duchess of Kingston. Mrs. Pritchard further declared, that this same evidence, Cradock, had, at various times, confessed, she did not hear a syllable of the marriage ceremony performed.

The evidence being finally closed, the Duchess of Kingston read her defence to the court, stated the facts alleged against her, and endeavoured to invalidate them by arguments of the strongest nature. If she had been culpable, whom had she to blame for that culpability? The crime charged in the indictment, was an offence against the law. Care had been taken throughout the whole of the process in the Ecclesiastical Court, that no offence should be committed against the law. Had she not conceived that an ecclesiastical sentence, in a jactitation cause like this, was equivalent to a divorce, as to all purposes of a second marriage, she never would have intermarried with the Duke of Kingston. Her Grace had endeavoured to obtain the best advice on the subject. The best advice she could obtain authorised her marriage. Thus sanctioned in the commission of a deed, could that be construed into a crime which the Ecclesiastical Court had authorised? If such was indeed
the

the case, the Duchess had only to lament, that she had been guided by false lights, hung out to allure the ignorant into the paths of deception.

Silence being proclaimed, the Solicitor-General stated the several facts in the order in which they had been proved; and, forbearing to enlarge a tittle on the charge, he left their Lordships to substantiate, by their verdict, the criminality or innocence of the deed.

The Lords adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament, and, after their return to the Hall, the Lord High Steward put to each Lord the following question:

'How says your Lordship? Is the Lady at the bar guilty of the felony whereof she stands indicted, or not guilty?'

The numbers having been counted, the Duchess of Kingston was called to the bar, and informed, by the Lord High Steward, that the Lords had, by their suffrages, pronounced her to be—GUILTY.

The prisoner claimed her privilege of peerage, which gave rise to a laboured speech of the Attorney-General, wherein he attempted to prove, that, although Peers were, by statute, exempt from corporal punishment for clergyable offences, yet Peeresses had not the least title to the same exemption.

Messrs. Wallace and Mansfield replied.

The Attorney-General defended his former position, and the Lords adjourned to the Chamber of Parliament to debate on the matter. On their return the prisoner was called to the bar, and the Lord High Steward announced it to be the sense of the House, 'that the

Duchess should be allowed the privilege she had claimed.' By consequence, as a Peeress, she could endure no kind of corporal punishment, and was discharged on this condition, that she paid her fees.

Notice being then given that the Lord High Steward's commission was at an end, he rose, and broke his white staff; and proclamation was made, ordering every person to depart, and repair quietly home in God's peace and the King's peace.

The counsel for the prosecution were, the Attorney and Solicitor-General; Dr. Harris, Serjeant Walker, Mr. Maddock, Mr. Dunning, and Mr. Hargrave; with Mr. Roger Altham, as Proctor. For the Duchess of Kingston, the counsel were, Dr. Calvert, Dr. Wynne, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Mansfield, Serjeant Davy, Mr. Cox, Mr. Lee, Mr. Buller, and Mr. Hardinge; with Mr. Bishop, as Proctor.

A short Review of Mr. Garrick's Theatrical Reign, with some Particulars of the former Part of his Life, &c.

MR. Garrick is the son of an officer of rank in the army. He was born at Hereford, in the year 1717. After receiving a very liberal and polite education, he engaged in commerce, as a wine-merchant, in which pursuit he continued for some years: but not meeting with the success he expected, he declined it; when, being persuaded by his friends he had uncommon abilities for the stage, he appeared the first time in public

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public at the theatre in Goodman's fields, in the character of Richard III. when he met with such uncommon applause, as convinced him his friends had not flattered him. This was in 1740, and he soon after quitted that part of the town for the more polite circle of Covent-garden, where he played to crowded houses, and in every character received additional applause. His merits, as an actor, in almost every walk, are so universal, that it would be needless to enter into a detail of them here. Ireland as well as England, having borne witness of his excellences. Nevertheless, it must, in justice, be acknowledged, in some particular parts he has had his rivals, if not his superiors. Mr. Barry, in *Othello*, surpassed Mr. Garrick; in *Romeo*, it was a nice competition for many successive nights; but the elegance of Mr. Barry's figure, at that time, seemed to preponderate the scale in his favour. Mr. Powell's *Jaffier*, and his *Castilio*, it was judged by many Mr. Garrick could not reach. Weston was, perhaps, the best *Scrub* that ever appeared upon any stage; and his *Abel Drugger* was pronounced, by the dramatic connoisseurs, nearly upon a par with *Roscious's*. But then Mr. Garrick's universality rendered him superior to any performer the writer of this article ever saw, or probably ever will see; and he can make no comparisons but from hearsay, between him and a Betterton, a Booth, a Wilks, &c.

In the year 1747 he commenced joint-patentee (with the late Mr. Lacey) and chief manager of Drury-lane Theatre. About the same time, he married the amiable

and accomplished Signiora Violetti, who was possessed of a very easy fortune. This lady had danced upon the stage, but had retired from it for some time, to be the companion of the Countess of Burlington, who made her this ample provision upon her marriage.

We are now to consider Mr. Garrick as a manager, and his conduct in this respect has not escaped from many severe animadversions. He has often hit the taste of the town, but has sometimes mistaken the sense of the people. His ill-timed representation of the Chinese Festival, just at the breaking out of the last war, had the effect that most unprejudiced people thought; the galleries and pit took the alarm at such a number of foreigners being imported upon the occasion; and though all national prejudices should be laid aside, especially in our amusements, yet they failed not to prevail upon this occasion, greatly to Mr. Garrick's detriment. However, it must be acknowledged, that this gentleman has constantly studied to please the town, spared no expence to effect it, and has generally succeeded. If the erroneous taste of the public has induced him to run into some absurdities, it was to gratify their vitiated palates, which could not be pleased with rational entertainments. Had they been disliked, they would have been *damm'd*; but, as they met with applause, this is the surest test of their suiting the genius of the times.

In considering this gentleman as a writer, we must allow him considerable merit; and although most of his dramatic pieces are imitations from the French, he has always

always given such a novel turn of wit, humour, and character, that they are far superior to the home-spun manufactures of our modern writers. His *Lethe*, *Lying Valet*, *Guardian*, &c. are undeniable proofs of this assertion. His judicious alterations of many old plays have also evinced his taste and delicacy. His prologues have constantly met with universal approbation—but there is one poetical piece, which has been generally ascribed to him, and which he has never denied, that will do immortal honour to his pen; this is the *Ode on the Death of the late Mr. Pelham*.

Mr. Garrick may, upon the whole, be considered as a phenomenon of this age; and in the collected character of actor, author, and the agreeable companion, we, probably, "ne'er shall look upon his like again." *Town and Country Magazine*. See our Poetry for last year, p. 199.

Heads of an Act passed on the 23d of May, 1776, being the last Day of the last Session of Parliament, for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors.

THIS act extends itself only to persons who are not indebted to any one creditor in a greater sum than 100*l.* and who shall surrender up, on oath, all their property and effects, for the benefit of their creditors in general; after which, their persons, and personal effects, which they may in future acquire, are to be for ever free from all claims or demands, on account of debts contracted before the twenty-second day of January last; but all future

acquisitions of real property of money in the funds, are subjected to the claims of their several creditors.

Those entitled to the benefit of this act are,

I. Persons arrested for debt, and held to bail, on or before the first day of January last, who shall surrender themselves to prison, on or before the twenty-sixth day of June next.

II. Persons who were arrested for debt on or before the twenty-second day of January last, and have remained ever since in the actual custody of the keeper of one of his Majesty's prisons; crown debtors excepted.

III. Fugitives for debt, who were actually beyond sea on the twenty-second day of January last, and who shall surrender themselves within fourteen days next immediately after their landing in England to the keeper of the King's bench, Marshalsea, or Fleet prisons, or to the keeper of the prison of any district, in which they last dwelt, for the space of six months before they absconded. But no discharge can be granted to fugitives after the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

IV. Commission or Warrant Officers, in his Majesty's sea or land service, now upon the full or half-pay list, who, for fear of arrests, have taken shelter in privileged places, or who have been thrown into jail, and are not under the description of those persons who can take benefit by the other provisions of this act, are to be considered as fugitives, and equally entitled to the benefit of this act, provided they surrender themselves on or before the twenty-sixth day of

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of June next, to the keeper of any of his Majesty's prisons, in the manner prescribed for fugitive debtors returning from foreign parts.

V. Persons against whom commissions of bankruptcy have been issued on or before the twenty-second day of January last, and who are now in prison for debt only (not contumacy), or who are now secreting themselves for fear of their creditors; or persons who were in prison for debt on the twenty-second day of January last, and against whom commissions of bankruptcy have been since awarded, may summon their plaintiffs before one of the Judges of the court wherein the process issued, on which they are or may be detained, or (if such Judge live at a distance) before any Justice of the peace; and, on the plaintiff's not appearing, or not proving that such bankrupts have concealed any part of their estate or effects, or have not duly conformed themselves to the laws now in force against bankrupts, such Judge or Justice shall discharge them on their taking an oath that the cause of action arose previous to the issuing of the commission against them, and causing common appearance to be entered for them, where necessary, in every such suit.

VI. Bankrupts against whom commissions have been issued on or before the twenty-second day of January last, having fully conformed to the bankrupt laws now in being, and not having been committed to prison for any act of contumacy, &c. may, if their creditors persist in refusing their certificates after the expiration of twelve months, apply to the Lord

Chancellor, who, on the report of the Commissioners, has a discretionary power to order an advertisement to be inserted in the Gazette for the allowance of the certificates of such bankrupts, in the same manner, and to the same effect, as if they had been signed by four-fifths in number and value of their creditors.

To prevent impositions, the different gaolers are immediately, after the passing this act, to give in to the Justices of the Peace, at their first or second General Quarter Sessions, an alphabetical list of the prisoners who were confined in their several gaols for debt on the 22d day of January last, or since the date, under the terms and conditions of this Act, with the time when charged, and at whose suit. These lists to be sworn to and subscribed in court, and to remain in the possession of the Clerk of the Peace; and three copies of the several lists are to be fixed up in the most conspicuous parts of the different prisons. And the gaoler is further to make oath, that the persons whose names are inserted in the said lists, have not, to his knowledge, caused themselves to be arrested with a view to obtain the benefit of this Act, or resided out of the prison with his privy since their commitment.

And that the creditors of persons who intend to take the benefit of this Act, may have proper notice of their said intention, they are obliged to publish three several notices (in the London Gazette, if they are confined in London, or, within the bills of mortality; or, if they are confined in the country, in some newspaper published near the place where they are so in custody).

custody,) containing their names, trades, occupations, and two last places of abode, (if so many) of each person, and mentioning such notice in each Gazette, or newspaper, to be the *First, Second, or Third* notice, according to the order of publishing them; the first to be inserted at least thirty days, and the third at least ten days before the sessions, at which they propose to apply for their discharge. For publishing each notice, two-pence only is to be paid by any such prisoner. And every such notice is to be signed by the prisoner, and countersigned by the gaoler.

And, for the better information of creditors, a schedule of every such debtor's estate is to be delivered to the gaoler for their inspection, previous to the publication of the notices, and such delivery specified in the first notice; and if it should be made to appear, at the said sessions, that any prisoner should have neglected to deliver such schedule to the gaoler, he shall be remanded to prison by the Justices, until the above directions are complied with.

The gaoler is obliged to attest each prisoner's signature to his schedule, and give the prisoner a duplicate thereof; and is also to give a copy to any creditor who may desire it, under a penalty of 20*l*.

Prisoners who want to procure their discharge, are to apply by petition to any of the Justices of the peace within whose jurisdiction they are confined, and deliver in with their petitions the schedules of their estates, to which they are to swear at the ensuing first or second quarter sessions; upon which the Justice is to direct a warrant, un-

der his hand and seal, to the Sheriff or keeper of the prison, requiring them to be brought up, after the expiration of ten days, to the said sessions, with the warrants of their detainer, and copies of the causes with which they are charged; which warrants of the Justice all Sheriffs and gaolers are obliged to obey; and if any Justice shall neglect to transmit the schedules of such prisoners to the Clerk of the Peace, for the inspection of creditors, within ten days after he shall have received it, he is to forfeit ten pounds; one moiety to go to the party who prosecutes for the same, and the other to the poor of the parish where the offence shall be committed.

When the prisoners are brought up for their discharge, they are to make oath of the time of their confinement, or surrender, and that they have been ever since in actual custody in the prison or liberties thereof, and without any fraud or collusion whatsoever; and that the schedules delivered in by them respectively, contain, to the best of their knowledge, a perfect account and discovery of their estates and effects, real and personal, except wearing-apparel and bedding for themselves and families, working tools and necessary implements, together with a sum of money not exceeding forty-shillings, and these in the whole not exceeding the value of twenty pounds, each.

The several schedules are to be then subscribed by them respectively in the presence of the Justices in open session, and shall be lodged with the Clerk of the Peace for the examination of the creditors; and, to exhibit the same to any creditor, or his attorney, on payment of one

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one shilling, and give a copy thereof (not on stamped paper) at six-pence a sheet, or forfeit ten pounds and treble costs, one moiety to the poor, the other to the prosecutor.

At the request of a creditor the court may examine the gaoler, or any under officer of a prison, on oath, touching any thing contained in any of the oaths prescribed by this Act; and if the oath taken by any prisoner in open court shall not be disproved by good testimony, the court is to discharge him, on his paying a fee of one shilling to the gaoler.

Insolvents discharged under this Act, convicted of perjury in any oath therein directed to be taken, shall be adjudged felons, and suffer death without benefit of clergy.

The estate and effects of prisoners upon their discharge to be vested in the Clerks of the Peace, and their successors, who are to make over the same to assignees to be named by the court, for which they shall be paid two shillings.—The assignees are empowered to sue in their names for the insolvent's estate, or execute any trust or power for the prisoner, whose real estate they are to make sale of, and make a dividend of the purchase-money within three months, first making up their accounts, and verifying them upon oath.

Thirty days notice to be given of making a dividend, and no persons are to receive any share until their debts are proved and allowed by the court. The surplus, if any, of the insolvent's estate to be paid to him.

If there should be any omission in the insolvent's schedule, his

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creditors are not to suffer thereby, and no suit in equity can be commenced but by consent of the majority of them in number and value.

No assignment of the insolvent can affect prior mortgages; and the power in prisoners of leasing lands are to be vested in the assignees.

Fugitives intending to surrender, and previously arrested, are not thereby excluded from the benefit of this Act.

But persons who have defrauded their creditors by taking up goods, money, or securities, under false pretences, are positively excluded from any benefit, if the same be proved to the satisfaction of the Justices in session. Those also are excepted who shall be found to have sold or assigned any part of their property with intent to defraud their creditors.

The discharge of a prisoner is no acquittal to his partners or sureties.

Gaolers making false entries in their prison books or lists, to forfeit 500l. with treble costs.

Every creditor has a right to demand an interview with his debtor in prison, who, if he shall refuse to tell the name and abode of the person at whose suit he is detained, shall be excluded the benefit of this Act.

Every creditor who shall oppose a prisoner's discharge, shall allow the prisoner 3s. 6d. or 4s. per week, in default of which for one fortnight, he may obtain a discharge.

Persons owing more than 1000l. to one person, may obtain the benefit of this Act, if they can procure such creditor's consent. Or if

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the

the debt was incurred by being sureties for others, and that it be proved to the satisfaction of the court, that the prisoners had never applied any part of the money or property obtained on that security to their own use.

Twenty per cent. is allowed for the discovery of any part of an insolvent's estate, not set forth in the schedule delivered, provided such discovery be made within twelve months; and persons convicted of concealing any part of an insolvent's estate, are to forfeit 100l. with double the value of the estate or effects.

Discharges fraudulently obtained are declared to be void to all intents and purposes.

Assignees, with the consent of a majority of the creditors, may compound debts, and submit any dispute relating thereto to arbitration; and if the heirs of assignees should refuse to act, others are to be appointed, and a fresh assignment executed by the Clerk of the Peace, as if no former one had been made. Assignees complained against for fraud, mismanagement, or misbehaviour, are to be summoned before the Justices in general quarter session, who are to make such order thereupon as they shall think fit.

Where mutual credit has been given, the balance is to be stated and allowed.

Prisoners on process out of courts of conscience are to have the benefit of this Act; also persons confined only for their fees.

But persons who have taken the benefit of any Insolvent Act within eight years cannot receive any benefit from this Act; unless they can produce a certificate signed by

a proper officer, setting forth that they are enlisted to serve in his Majesty's sea or land service.

There is a particular clause in favour of a lunatic now in the King's-bench prison, whose case does not come within the description of those who are generally entitled to their discharge under this Act.

This Act is not to extend to that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

Remarkable Address of the present Governors and Directors of the Poor of the Parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, above the Bars, and Saint George the Martyr, in the County of Middlesex, united to the Inhabitants of said Parish; inserted to shew the great Advantages likely to accrue to both Rich and Poor, by the Former's placing the Latter in able and honest Hands.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

WE think it expedient to submit to your inspection the under-stated account for the last four years, by which it evidently appears, that a sum not exceeding 4000l. per annum during the time we have been in the direction, has been found sufficient for the maintenance and support of the Poor of these parishes; instead of 5550l. per annum, the average sum raised for the preceding eight years. And there is no doubt, should the present plan of management be continued, that the Poor's Rate will be still lower.

We cannot pass over in silence the extraordinary assistance we have received from two gentlemen (Messrs. Adkins and Crispin), who
by

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by their unwearied application to the business of these parishes, and their practical knowledge thereof, have been greatly instrumental in redeeming us, so speedily, from a weight of taxes, annually increasing; and in bringing about this long-wished-for reformation, so honourable to themselves and beneficial to us all, your poor in particular are at least as well supplied with wholesome food, and every other necessary as heretofore.—The children are sent into the country in strict conformity to the act of parliament, the tradesmen's bills are regularly paid quarterly—and all this is done for 1550*l.* per annum less than the sum annually raised during the management of the late directors, viz. from the year 1767 to the year 1775; notwithstanding provisions and every other article is, on an average, at least as dear as during that period—besides pay-

ing off a debt contracted to the amount of 3177*l.*

By examining the parish books (which are daily open to the inspection of every housekeeper) it will appear, most clearly, that these parishes sustained a loss of upwards of 12000*l.* during the time of the late direction; and that the present Governors and Directors have, in the two years you have intrusted them with the management, paid off the above debt, and reduced the Poor's Rate from 3*s.* in the pound to 1*s.* 9*d.* For your further satisfaction we are happy we can inform you, that there is not the least doubt but 1*s.* 6*d.* will be sufficient at the close of the present year.

We are,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servants,

The Present GOVERNORS and DIRECTORS of the POOR.

State of Overseers Accounts in the Four following Years.

Parish debt at Lady-day 1772			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
			619	0	0
Received from Lady-day 1772 to Lady-day 1773	4903	8 5	{ Parish debt increased to }	2372	15 0
From Lady-day 1773 to Lady-day 1774	6365	0 0	{ Parish debt increased to }	3177	13 0
From Lady-day 1774 to Lady-day 1775	6841	10 0	{ Parish debt reduced to }	972	3 6
From Lady-day 1775 to Lady-day 1776	5316	2 0	{ Debt paid off and above 500 <i>l.</i> in hand. }		
			{ Expended this year }	6656	6 2
			Expended	7188	6 6
			Expended	4635	19 6
			Expended	3841	19 0

Published by order of the Board the 6th of Nov. 1776.

T. WADE, Clerk.

Some Account of the public Trials made by David Hartley, Esq; Member of Parliament for Kingston upon Hull, to evince the Efficacy of a new, cheap, and easy Method invented by him, for preserving Houses, Ships, &c. built with the most combustible Materials, from Fire; with the Proceedings of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, relative thereto, &c.

FIRE, we need not observe, is an element of so fierce a nature, that there is no playing with it, without the utmost danger; so that every experiment tried by it, as an agent, or upon it, as a subject, may be truly stiled an *Experimentum Periculosum*; that is, in the language of Medicine, an experiment not to be tried with impunity. One would, therefore, be apt to imagine, that even a single trial of any one method to check its fury, might, on proving successful, be pronounced equally decisive. But the greatest men are so far from being arrogant, that they seldom do themselves common justice in their own estimation; and, perhaps, the truth of this maxim never shone forth more conspicuous, than in the case of Mr. Hartley, with regard to this his equally grand, useful, and singular invention. Though convinced, in his own mind, that he could not make it, either as beneficial to himself, as he had a right to expect, or as advantageous to mankind, as his benevolence prompted him to wish, unless he could retain the sole property in it, and, of course, the sole management of it for some unusual

length of time, he, with a spirit which must ever do him the greatest honour, took as much pains, and spent as much money, to obtain that favour, if we may be allowed to call it one, as the greediest adventurer in the neediest circumstances, on the one hand, or the most patriot Prince, with the most princely fortune, on the other, might be supposed willing to submit to. He built a house, three stories high, with two large rooms on a floor, on Wimbledon Common, and tried no fewer than six experiments upon this house, for the satisfaction of the Public in general, and those great bodies in particular, including his Majesty, whose approbation was requisite for his obtaining an extension of the term, to which royal patents are limited by law; and whose example besides might be serviceable to induce the bulk of the people to open their eyes to their own good.

The first of these views, Mr. Hartley has already, with no less honour to the legislature than to himself, perfectly succeeded in; and we hope he will, ere long, equally succeed in the second. But, considering the nature of our work, it would ill become us to confine ourselves to such barren things as hopes, or even vows, on the occasion. We think ourselves bound to contribute all in our little power to so desirable an event; and, therefore, as the efficacy of his invention must best appear from some account of the trials already made of it, we shall proceed to a short but faithful description of one of them, which may do for all the rest.

Mr. Hartley's third trial was exhibited with peculiar propriety, we

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we might indeed say, elegance of choice, on the anniversary day of the great fire of London, in 1666, before the Lord Mayor of London, the gentlemen of the Corporation, and the Committee of City Lands; the fourth, on the 27th of September, before their Majesties, their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnabrug, and the two eldest Princesses, with their attendants, and several other noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen, who all, if we may use the expression, shook hands with the fire, as familiarly as the meanest of their inferiors could be expected to do; the fifth, before a special committee of the city of London, attended by their builders, surveyors, and other proper officers. After the trial, at which the Lord-Mayor assisted, his Lordship laid the foundation stone of a pillar, with the following inscription:

The Right Hon. JOHN SAW-
BRIDGE, Esq;
LORD-MAYOR of LONDON,
Laid the FOUNDATION STONE
Of this PILLAR,
One Hundred and Ten Years after
the FIRE of LONDON,
On the ANNIVERSARY
Of
That dreadful Event;
In Memory
Of

AN INVENTION
For SECURING BUILDINGS
AGAINST FIRE.

And soon after, viz. on the 5th of November, the Report of the Committee of City Lands, not only extremely favourable, we may be sure, but highly honourable, to Mr. Hartley, having been agreed to in common-council, the court unanimously resolved, that

the freedom of the city should be presented to him, in consideration of the advantages likely to accrue to the public from his invention, and for his respectful attention to the city in his repeated experiments, performed before many of the members of the court; the copy of the freedom, with the resolutions of the court inserted therein, to be delivered by the Chamberlain to Mr. Hartley, and the report and the resolution to be fairly transcribed and signed by Mr. Town-Clerk, and by him, in like manner, presented to Mr. Hartley. Moreover, the court seriously recommended the use of Mr. Hartley's method in all the houses, &c. already built, or which might afterwards be built, on the extensive estates belonging to the city.

In return for all these no less just and flattering marks of approbation, Mr. Hartley wrote the Chamberlain of London a letter, which, as it most fully exculpate us from the charge of fulsome ness in speaking of Mr. Hartley's modesty throughout the whole of these proceedings, we think it highly incumbent on us to insert. It is as follows:

Golden-square, March 25, 1777.

S I R,

" Give me leave, through your means, to return my most grateful acknowledgments to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, for the very distinguishing marks of their favour, which they have been pleased to confer upon me, in giving me admission to the freedom of so respectable a corporation, with the additional honour of erecting a

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pillar

pillar to commemorate the invention for securing buildings from fire.

"The general respect which I entertain upon all occasions towards the city of London, as the most important member of the community, and the peculiar propriety of offering an invention to their attention, which above all seems calculated for the security of great cities, were my motives for laying this matter before them. Their approbation of my conduct, and the success of my labours, is the highest satisfaction to me. As they have been pleased to recommend the use of the invention in their own buildings, they may be assured that nothing in my power shall be wanting to facilitate the execution.

"It has cost me much labour and anxiety to bring the invention into that degree of forwardness in which it is at present; therefore I do more immediately and personally feel the kindness of the city of London, in giving me their assistance and countenance in the prosecution of so important an object. As I know the public good to be the object of their attention, it is a double satisfaction to me to labour with them in the common cause, and to contribute my best endeavours under their powerful and respectful patronage. I beg leave to assure them that the highest point of my ambition will at all times be, to merit the approbation of my fellow-citizens, and to obtain the good will of my country.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

D. HARTLEY."

*(To the Chamberlain
of the City of London.)*

But, to return to the experiments, Mr. Hartley's sixth and last, was made on the 11th of November, before several of the most respectable members of both Houses: and as, besides all his trials being on the same plan, we may be sure the last, supposing any difference between them, was the severest, as calculated to answer all the cavils, and conquer all the objections which might have been made to his former trials, and obviate all those, which he might be apprehensive of with regard to his future ones; and facts being moreover, on this occasion particularly, the best, if not the only solid, arguments, we have fixed on this last trial, as the properest for our purpose.

On this memorable day, then, Mr. Hartley, after carrying his company, as usual, round the house of trial, in order to see the marks of between twenty and thirty large fires, which, at former experiments, had been lighted in different parts of it; first, ordered a fire to be made on the deal flooring of one of the ground-room floors. Then, a large faggot of shavings, suspended by iron to the upper part of the same room, was set on fire. Thirdly, the staircase was set on fire, both above and below, without the fire's extending, in either case, beyond the spot on which it was lighted. Lastly, the other room on the ground floor, filled almost to the top with faggots, pitch, and other combustibles, was set fire to; but, though they all burnt with such fury, as to vomit forth a perpetual torrent of flame and smoke, and thereby render all approach within thirty yards of the windows, on the outside, absolutely impracticable,

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ble, the room adjoining to, and that immediately over, this little *Ætna*, continued as cool and as accessible, as if no fire had been in the house. Accordingly, Mr. Hartley and his company seem to have made it a constant rule to pass, in these very rooms, a great part of the time, during which the fire burned with the greatest fury in the other.

Nor was it walls, and floors, and ceilings, alone, which, by means of Mr. Hartley's invention, were enabled to mock the rage of the otherwise all-devouring element; fixtures, and even furniture, were thereby rendered proof against it, though found at the same time sufficient to prepare iron for the anvil, and water for the tea-pot; and, of course, answer all the necessary and useful purposes of life: particularly, a bed being purposely set on fire, little more of it was consumed than what the fire had been immediately applied to.

Astonishing as the effects of this contrivance for securing houses, ships, and other buildings, of the most combustible materials, from fire, must appear, the means perhaps may be thought equally so. It is only nailing the thinnest plates of iron to the joists, &c. and these plates may be plain, or painted of any colour. To crown all, as this method must be allowed extremely easy, there is the greatest reason to believe, that it will be found equally cheap. We are assured, that the additional expence of building, created by the use of this invention, will scarce exceed three per cent. How would such an happy event have rejoiced the good

heart of the Great Berkley, who in his equally sensible, ingenious, and benevolent queries, looked upon our houses, considering their materials, as so many fire-ships; and our towns and villages, as so many fleets and squadrons of such ships met together for the laudable purpose of mutual destruction. But, indeed, to say any thing of the expence of this method, may be considered as an insult on the understandings and feelings of our readers. What is any money to life, to a limb, to health? and above all, to that security of mind, in which this new method must enable every man who has recourse to it, to live, and especially lie down to sleep, with regard to the safety of his person from the most painful of all deaths; and, of his property, from the most absolute of all destructions; not to mention records, deeds, and other manuscripts, with several highly useful and curious productions of nature and art, which on account of the uncommon hazard from fire attending them in every other mode of preservation, are not to be insured at any price; and, as single in their kinds, not to be replaced by any industry? We could say a great deal more on the subject, but that we find, on looking back upon what we have already said, that our astonishment at the grandeur, usefulness, and singularity, of Mr. Hartley's invention, our zeal for the welfare of mankind, and our gratitude, as making some part of it, to Mr. Hartley, has already hurried us beyond our usual bounds. Still, we cannot prevail on ourselves to stop, without making one remark more; viz. that next to the

the arts of supplying man with food, this of defending him against fire, must be ranked among the most capital; nay, we need not scruple giving it the superiority over that of securing him from water, since he can do infinitely better without exposing himself to danger from the last, than from the first of these elements. Ac-

cordingly, we should have given an account of this noble invention, at the head of our article of Projects; but that we expected something on the subject from the ingenious and beneficent Inventor's own pen, till, through the nature of our publication, the opportunity of placing it there, slipped out of our hands.

TABLE, exhibiting, at one View, the SUPPLIES granted for the Service of the Year, 1776, with the WAYS and MEANS of raising them; each Article being accurately arranged under its separate Head, &c. as stated by LORD NORTH, in the House of Commons, on the 24th of April, 1776.

S U P P L I E S.

A R M Y.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
20752 land forces with 3213 invalids	659200	2	10½			
Plantations and Africa	723432	11	7½			
Irish and British pay for troops in America	42530	19	4			
General and staff officers	11505	7	3			
Levy money for augmentation of British and Irish forces for 1776	104136	6	0			
5 Hanoverian battalions of foot at Gibraltar and Minorca, from the 1st Sept. to the 24th December 1775.	26783	15	2½			
Ditto for 1776	46838	1	9			
Charge of a regiment of Highlanders, consisting of two battalions	47400	12	0			
Charge of augmentation to his Majesty's forces to Dec. 24, 1775	80984	13	2			
Ditto ex. saving grants last session	7938	15	0			
Chelsea Hospital	107512	10	0			
Reduced officers	97575	12	0			
2 troops horse-guards reduced	850	19	6			
Pensions to widows	608	0	0			
12394 Hessians for 1776	381887	4	5½			
4300 Brunswickers ditto	121475	12	1			
Regiment of Hanau from March 6, to December 24, being 294 days	19006	19	3½			
6 regiments of foot from Ireland, and other augmentations, to December 24, 1776	137448	7	0			
Land extras	845165	14	8½			
				3462282	3	3½

N A V Y.

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N A V Y.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
28000 seamen, with 6665 marines	1456000	0	0			
Ordinary and Navy	426904	19	6			
Building and repairing ships	339151	0	0			
Greenwich Hospital	5000	0	0			
Towards discharge of navy debt	1000000	0	0			
				3227055	19	6

ORDNANCE.

Ordinaries	249655	18	6			
Extraordinaries	223171	11	11			
				472827	10	5

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

Roads and bridges in North Britain	6996	10	2			
Westminster bridge	2000	0	0			
American forts	13000	0	0			
American surveys	1885	4	0			
Commons' addresses	7406	0	3			
Nova Scotia	4346	10	5			
Georgia	3086	0	0			
East Florida	4950	0	0			
West Florida	4063	19	3			
Senegambia	6336	0	9			
				54070	4	10
Expence of and loss by coinage				92421	15	1
Exchequer bills discharged				1250000	0	0

DEFICIENCIES.

Malt	189778	11	2			
Land	260221	8	10			
3½ per cents	44096	5	10½			
Coinage	7475	6	2			
Grants 1775	37348	12	8½			
				538920	4	9
Total of supply				9097577	17	10½
Excess of ways and means				56652	6	5½
				9154230	4	4½

W A Y S and M E A N S.

Land 4s.				2000000	0	0
Malt				750000	0	0

Surplus

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [251

	£.	s.	d.
Surplus in sinking fund, 5th January	17869	4	11½
Ditto, ditto April 5	962571	16	2
Growing produce ditto	1837428	3	10
Gum seneca	2000	0	0
French prize money	17000	0	0
Certain savings in pay-office	23011	7	0
Sale of ceded islands	30000	0	0
New exchequer bills	1500000	0	0
Surplus of American revenues	2905	8	2
Sundry surplusses in exchequer, consisting of surplus of duty on rice, cambrick, apples, militia mo- ney, &c.	11444	4	3½
Total of Ways and Means	7154230	4	4½
Annuities and lottery at 3 per cent.	2000000	0	0
	9154230	4	4½

SUPPLIES of 1775 and 1776 compared.

	1775.			1776.			
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
Navy	1674059	15	10	3227055	19	6	1552996 3 8 incr.
Ordnance	260807	6	10	472827	10	5	212020 3 7 ditto.
Army	1597001	9	9½	3462282	3	3½	1865280 13 6½ ditto.
Deficiencies	607974	10	7½	538920	4	9	69054 5 10½ decr.
Miscellaneous Services	166559	19	9	54070	4	10	112489 14 11 ditto.

When Lord North had gone through the foregoing state, he acquainted the House, that he should, on a future day, communicate to them a message from his Majesty for a vote of credit; and, accordingly, delivered the following on the 2d of May.

“GEORGE R.

“His Majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and considering, that, during the present troubles in North America, emergencies may arise, which may be of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most dangerous consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them, is desirous that this House will enable

him to defray any extraordinary expences incurred, or to be incurred, on account of military services for the year 1776, and as the exigency of affairs may require. And his Majesty, having judged it expedient to issue his proclamation, in pursuance of an act of parliament, passed in the fourteenth year of his reign, for calling in the remainder of the deficient gold coin, doubts not but that his faithful Commons will enable him to make good the charges which shall be incurred in this service, and which cannot at this time be ascertained.

G. R.”

And, in consequence of said message, the House immediately passed a vote of credit for one million.

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

Petition of the City of London, presented, separately, to both Houses of Parliament, with only the necessary Variation in the Title, &c. at the Opening of the Second Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

The humble Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled,

Sheweth,

THAT this court having taken into its most serious consideration the present distressed situation of our fellow-subjects in America, are exceedingly alarmed for the consequences of those coercive measures, which are pursuing against them—measures that must (notwithstanding the great uncertainty of their success) eventually be productive of new and more burthensome taxes, the increase of an enormous national debt; and finally, we fear, the loss of the most valuable branch of our commerce, on which the existence of an infinite number of industrious manufacturers and mechanics entirely depends.

That his Majesty having been graciously pleased, in answer to a late humble and dutiful address and

petition to the throne, praying a cessation of hostilities with America for the purpose of obtaining time, and thereby giving an opportunity for a happy and lasting reconciliation with his Majesty's American colonies to declare, that he should abide by the sense of his parliament, this court conceived it to be their indispensable duty, thus early in the session, in the most respectful manner to apply to this Right Hon. House, that it will be pleased to adopt such measures for the healing of the present unhappy disputes between the mother country and the colonies, as may be speedy, permanent, and honourable.

Protest of several of the Lords against their House's Address, in answer to the King's Speech, at the opening of the foresaid Session of Parliament.

Dissentient,

1st. **B**ECAUSE, we cannot, as Englishmen, as Christians, or as men of common humanity, consent to the prosecution of a cruel civil war, so little supported by justice, and so very fatal in its necessary consequences, as that which is now waging against our brethren

brethren and fellow subjects in America. We have beheld with sorrow and indignation, session after session, and notwithstanding repeated warnings of the danger, attempts made to deprive some millions of British subjects of their trade, their laws, their constitution, their mutual intercourse, and of the very food which God has given them for their subsistence. We have beheld endeavours used to enforce these impolitic severities at the point of the bayonet. We have, on the other hand, beheld so large a part of the empire, united in one common cause, really sacrificing with cheerfulness their lives and fortunes, and preferring all the horrors of a war raging in the very heart of their country, to ignominious ease. We have beheld this part of his Majesty's subjects, thus irritated to resistance, and so successful in it, still making professions (in which we think it neither wise nor decent to affect a disbelief) of the utmost loyalty to his Majesty; and unwearied with continued repulses, repeatedly petitioning for conciliation, upon such terms only as shall be consistent with the dignity and welfare of the Mother Country. When we consider these things, we cannot look upon our fellow-subjects in America in any other light than that of freemen driven to resistance by acts of oppression and violence.

2dly. Because this unnatural war, thus commenced in oppression, and in the most erroneous policy, must, if persevered in, be finally ruinous in its effects. The commerce of Great Britain with America was great and increasing, the profits immense, the advantages, as a nursery of seamen, and

as an inexhaustible magazine of naval stores, infinite; and the continuance of that commerce, particularly in times of war, when most wanted to support our fleets and revenues, not precarious, as all foreign trade must be, but depending solely on ourselves. These valuable resources, which enabled us to face the united efforts of the House of Bourbon, are actually lost to Great Britain, and irretrievably lost, unless redeemed by immediate and effectual pacification.

3dly. Because Great Britain, deprived of so valuable a part of its resources, and not animated, either with motives of self-defence, or with those prospects of advantage and glory which have hitherto supported this nation in all its foreign wars, may possibly find itself unable to supply the means of carrying on a civil war, at such a vast distance, in a country so peculiarly circumstanced, and under the complicated difficulties which necessarily attend it. Still less would we be able to preserve by mere force that vast continent, and that growing multitude of resolute freemen who inhabit it; even if that, or any country was worth governing against the inclination of all its inhabitants. But we fear, that while we are making these fruitless efforts, refusing to give credit to the declarations of our fellow-subjects, and blindly confiding in the insidious professions of the natural enemies of this country, we are preparing an easy prey, for those who prudently sit quiet, beholding British forces, which, if united, might be in a condition, from their valour, numbers, and discipline, to carry terror into the very

very heart of their kingdoms, destroying each other. Every event, whichever way it turns, is a victory to them. Our very hospitals furnish them with daily triumphs, the greater as they are certain, without any risque to them of men or money.

4thly. Because we conceive the calling in foreign forces to decide domestic quarrels, to be a measure both disgraceful and dangerous; and that the advice which Ministers have dared to give to his Majesty, which they have avowed and carried into execution, of sending to the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, a part of his electoral troops, without any previous consent, recommendation or authority of parliament, is unconstitutional. That Hanoverian troops should, at the mere pleasure of the ministers, be considered as a part of the British military establishment, and take a rotation of garrison duties, through these dominions, is, in practice and precedent, of the highest danger to the safety and liberties of this kingdom, and tends wholly to invalidate the wise and salutary declaration of the grand fundamental law of our glorious deliverer King William, which has bound together the rights of the subject, and the succession of the crown.

5thly. Because the ministers, who are to be intrusted with the management of this war, have proved themselves unequal to the task, and in every degree unworthy of public trust. Parliament has given them every assistance they asked; no unforeseen accidents have stood in their way; no storms have disabled or delayed

their operations; no foreign power hath, as yet, interfered; but notwithstanding these advantages, by their ignorance, negligence, and want of conduct, our arms have been disgraced; upwards of ten thousand of the flower of our army, with an immense artillery, under four Generals of reputation, and backed with a great naval force, have been miserably blockaded in one sea-port town; and after repeated and obstinate battles, in which such numbers of our bravest men have fallen, the British forces have not been able to penetrate one mile into the country, which they were sent to subdue; important fortresses are seized, the Governors are driven from their provinces, and it is doubtful, whether at this moment we are in possession of a single town in all North America. Whether we consider its extent, or its commerce, England has lost half its empire in one campaign. Nor can we impute the misconduct of ministers to mere inability, nor to their ignorance of the state of America, upon which they attempt to justify themselves; for while some members of administration confess they were deceived as to the strength, and condition of the provinces, we have from others received official information, that the insufficiency of the navy was concealed from parliament, and part of administration, from a fear of not receiving support from its members. We cannot, therefore, consent to an address, which may deceive his Majesty and the Public into a belief of the confidence of this House in the present ministers, who have disgraced parliament, deceived the nation, lost the colonies, and involved us in a civil

war

war against our clearest interests; and upon the most unjustifiable grounds, wantonly spilling the blood of thousands of our fellow-subjects.

TORRINGTON
 FITZWILLIAM
 ARCHER
 THANET
 CHOLMONDELEY
 KING
 PORTLAND
 STAMFORD
 PONSONBY
 ABINGDON
 MANCHESTER
 DEVONSHIRE
 CHEDWORTH
 BOYLE
 CRAVEN
 SCARBOROUGH
 EFFINGHAM
 ROCKINGHAM
 RICHMOND.

acting under his authority; or if any attempts shall be made to seize or destroy any public magazines of arms, ammunition, or other stores; in all or either of those cases, it will be my duty to treat the said towns as in open rebellion against the King.

I am to request that your Excellency will be pleased to let the above instructions be publicly made known in the town of New-York, at the same time you will assure them, that I shall be happy in granting the town every protection in the power of his Majesty's ships under my command.

I am, Sir,
 Your most obedient
 and most humble servant,
 H. PARKER.

Letter from Commodore Sir Henry Parker, to W. Tryon, Esq; Governor of New York, and by His Excellency communicated to the Mayor of New York.

Phoenix, at New York, Dec. 18.

S I R,

BEING ordered by my instructions from Vice-Admiral Graves, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in North America, publicly to signify to all towns accessible to his Majesty's ships, that, in case any violences shall hereafter be offered to any of the officers of the crown, or other peaceably-disposed subjects of his Majesty; or if any bodies of men shall be raised and armed in the said towns, or any military works erected, otherwise than by order of his Majesty, or those

Proclamation by General Carleton for the Relief of the fugitive Provincials, after they had been driven from before Quebec.

WHEREAS I am informed, that many of his Majesty's deluded subjects, of the neighbouring provinces, labouring under wounds and divers disorders, are dispersed in the adjacent woods and parishes, and in great danger of perishing for want of proper assistance; all captains and other officers of militia are hereby commanded to make diligent search for all such distressed persons, and afford them all necessary relief, and convey them to the General Hospital, where proper care shall be taken of them; all reasonable expences which may be incurred in complying with this order shall be repaid by the Receiver-General.

And, lest a consciousness of past offences should deter such miserable

able wretches from receiving that assistance which their distressed situation may require, I hereby make known to them, that as soon as their health is restored, they shall have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.

Given under my hand and seal of arms, at the Castle of St. Lewis, in the city of Quebec, this 10th day of May, 1776.

GUY CARLETON.

Substance of the Speech made by Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the House of Commons, to his Majesty, previous to that, by which his Majesty, on the 23d of May, put an End to the Second Session of the Fourteenth Parliament of Great-Britain.

THE Speaker observed, "that, since the commencement of the present session, several wise, salutary, and necessary laws had been enacted, particularly the law for prohibiting all trade and commerce with America, the law for the more speedy and effectual manning of his Majesty's navy, and the law for establishing a national militia: he observed, that his faithful Commons, with equal assiduity and attention, performed their duty, in the course of a very long and severe session: that the business of America engrossed the greatest part of their time, and that nothing had been left undone, on their part, to bring that matter to a speedy and happy conclusion: that the measures, necessary to effect so desirable an end, had brought on a very heavy expence: that nothing had been wanting on the part of his faithful Commons in order

to strengthen the hands of government, for they had voted the most full and ample supplies: that, convinced of the justice and necessity of securing the subordinate dependence of America, they had cheerfully co-operated in every proposition for securing the duty of his Majesty's subjects in that country, and their obedience to the legislative power of Great Britain: that his faithful commons, whatever measures may have been taken for the security of both, by a proper exertion of the strength of this country, did not wish for conquest, but were desirous of peace and conciliation. And, on the whole, trusting to his Majesty's parental attention to the interests of every part of the empire, they had a full reliance on his Majesty's wisdom and goodness, that the present disputes with America would be happily terminated; and would be established on so firm a basis, and put on so permanent a footing, as to prevent a return of the same evil in times to come."

The King's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the 23d of May, when His Majesty put an End to the foresaid Session of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE conclusion of the public business, and the advanced season of the year, make it proper for me to give you some recess; but I cannot put an end to this session without assuring you, that the fresh instances of your affectionate attachment to me, and of your steady attention and adherence to the true interests of your country, which

which you have shewn through the whole course of your important deliberations, afford me the highest satisfaction.

No alteration has happened in the state of foreign affairs since your meeting; and it is with pleasure I inform you, that the assurances which I have received of the dispositions of the several powers in Europe, promise a continuance of the general tranquillity.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

It is with real regret and concern that I find myself under the necessity of asking of my faithful Commons any extraordinary supplies: I thank you for the readiness and dispatch with which they have been granted; and they are the more acceptable to me, as you have shewn, in the manner of raising them, an equal regard to the exigencies of the service, and the ease of my people: and you may be assured, that the confidence you repose in me shall be used with proper frugality, and applied only to the purposes for which it was intended.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

We are engaged in a great national cause, the prosecution of which must inevitably be attended with many difficulties and much expence: but when we consider, that the essential rights and interests of the whole empire are deeply concerned in the issue of it, and can have no safety or security but in that constitutional subordination for which we are contending, I am convinced that you will not think any price too high for the preservation of such objects.

I will still entertain a hope, that my rebellious subjects may be awakened to a sense of their errors,
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and that, by a voluntary return to their duty, they will justify me in bringing about the favourite wish of my heart, the restoration of harmony, and the re-establishment of order and happiness in every part of my dominions. But, if a due submission should not be obtained from such motives and such dispositions on their part, I trust that I shall be able, under the blessing of Providence, to effectuate it by a full exertion of the great force with which you have intrusted me.

Circular Letter written by Lord Howe, to the Governors of the American Provinces on his Arrival on the Coast of Massachusetts Bay, and an enclosed Declaration, addressed to the Inhabitants; with the Resolutions and Proceedings of the Continental Congress relative to both.

The Circular Letter.

Eagle, off the Coast of the Province of Massachusetts Bay,
June 20, 1776.

SIR,
BEING appointed Commander in chief of the ships and vessels of his Majesty's fleet employed in North America, and having the honour to be by his Majesty constituted one of his Commissioners for restoring peace to his colonies, and for granting pardons to such of his subjects therein, as shall be duly solicitous to benefit by that effect of his gracious indulgence; I take the earliest opportunity to inform you of my arrival on the American coast, where my first object will be an early meeting with General Howe, whom his Majesty
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jesty hath been pleased to join with me in the said commission.

In the mean time, I have judged it expedient to issue the inclosed declaration, in order that all persons may have immediate information of his Majesty's most gracious intentions: and I desire you will be pleased forthwith to cause the said declaration to be promulgated, in such manner, and in such places within the province of as will render the fame of the most public notoriety.

Assured of being favoured with your assistance in every measure for the speedy and effectual restoration of the public tranquillity, I am to request you will communicate, from time to time, such information as you may think will facilitate the attainment of that important object in the province over which you preside. I have the honour to be, with great respect and consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

HOWE.

The Declaration.

By Richard Viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, one of the King's Commissioners for restoring peace to his Majesty's colonies and plantations in North America, &c.

WHEREAS by an act passed in the last session of parliament, to prohibit all trade and intercourse with the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and for other purposes therein

mentioned, it is enacted that "it shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons appointed and authorised by his Majesty, to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or description of persons, by proclamation in his Majesty's name, to declare any colony or province, colonies or provinces, or any county, town, port, district, or place, in any colony or province, to be at the peace of his Majesty;" and that "from and after the issuing of any such proclamation, in any of the aforesaid colonies or provinces, or if his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to signify the same by his royal proclamation, then, from and after the issuing of such proclamation," the said "act, with respect to such colony or province, colonies or provinces, county, town, port, district, or place, shall cease, determine, and be utterly void." And whereas the King, desirous to deliver all his subjects from the calamities of war, and other oppressions which they now undergo, and to restore the said colonies to his protection and peace, as soon as the constitutional authority of government therein may be replaced, hath been graciously pleased, by letters patent under the great seal, dated the 6th day of May, in the sixteenth year of his Majesty's reign, to nominate and appoint me, Richard Viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Esq; General of his forces in North America, and each of us, jointly and severally, to be his Majesty's Commissioner and Commissioners for granting his free and general pardons to all those, who in the tumult and disorder of the times may have deviated from their

their just allegiance, and who are willing, by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour; and also for declaring, in his Majesty's name, any colony, province, county, town, port, district, or place, to be at the peace of his Majesty; I do therefore hereby declare, That due consideration shall be had to the meritorious services of all persons who shall aid and assist in restoring the public tranquillity in the said colonies, or in any part or parts thereof: that pardons shall be granted, dutiful representations received, and every suitable encouragement giving for promoting such measures as shall be conducive to the establishment of legal government and peace, in pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious purposes aforesaid.

Given on board his Majesty's ship the Eagle, off the coasts of the province of Massachusetts Bay, the 20th of June, 1776.

HOWE.

The Resolution of the Congress.

In Congress, July 19.

RESOLVED, That a copy of the circular letters, and of the declaration they inclosed from Lord Howe to Mr. Franklin, Mr. Penn, Mr. Eden, Lord Dunmore, Mr. Martin, and Sir James Wright, late Governors, sent to Amboy by a flag, and forwarded to Congress by General Washington, be published in the several gazettes, that the good people of these United States may be informed of what *nature* are the commissions, and what the *terms*, with the expectation of which the insidious court of

Great Britain has endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who still remain suspended by a hope founded either in the justice or moderation of their late King, may now at length be convinced that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties.

Extract from the Journals.
(Signed) CHA. THOMSON, Sec.

Lord Howe and General Howe issued a second declaration, on the 19th of September; and a third, on the 30th of November following, the substance of which the reader will find in the Chronicle.

Singular Resolutions agreed to, some Time about the middle of the present Year, in the Council of Safety, at Savannah in Georgia, to destroy their Houses and Shipping rather than let them fall into the hands of their Enemies.

In the COUNCIL of SAFETY.

For the safety of the Province, and the good of the United Colonies, it is unanimously resolved,

THAT the houses in the town of Savannah, and the hamlets thereto belonging, together with the shipping now in our port, the property, or appertaining to the friends of America, who have associated and appeared, or who shall appear in the present alarm to defend the same, and also the houses of widows and orphans, and none others, be forthwith appraised.

Resolved, That it be considered as a desertion from the cause of America, and a desertion of property, in such persons, who have

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and shall leave the town of Savannah, or the hamlets thereto belonging, during the present alarm; and such persons shall be precluded from any support or countenance towards obtaining an indemnification.

Resolved, That it be incumbent upon the friends of America in this province to defend the metropolis, as long as the same shall be tenable.

Resolved, That rather than the same shall be held and occupied by our enemies, or the shipping now in the port of Savannah taken and employed by them, that the same shall be burnt and destroyed.

Resolved, That orders shall be issued to the commanding officer, directing him to have the foregoing resolution put in execution.

A true Copy from the Minutes.

ED. LANGWORTH, Sec.

The two following Papers seem to exhibit the Extremes of Zeal and Indifference, with which the Powers of Europe regard the present Quarrel between Great Britain and her North American Colonies; and, therefore, cannot but be entertaining to the Reader.

Decree of his Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal, dated the 4th of June, 1776.

WHEREAS we have lately been informed that the British Colonies of North America have, by an act of the Congress held on the 5th of May last past, not only declared themselves entirely free from all subjection to the crown of Great Britain, but were moreover actually employed

in forming and enacting laws by their own private authority, in opposition to the lawful rights of our brother, friend, and ally, the King of Great Britain: and whereas so pernicious an example ought to engage every Prince, even those it interests the least, not to abet, favour, or assist, by any means, directly or indirectly, such subjects united in such direct and open rebellion against their natural sovereign: it is our pleasure, and we do hereby ordain, that no ship, with lading or without, coming from any of the ports of the aforesaid British America, shall be allowed any intercourse with or entrance into any of the ports of these our kingdoms, or of the dominions thereunto belonging; but that, on the contrary, they shall be forced away immediately on their arrival, without succour of any kind whatever: and that as to the masters of vessels who have hitherto been suffered to enter (there not appearing reason for their being excluded) it shall be notified to them, that within the precise term of eight days, to be counted successively, they shall quit the said ports with their vessels, which shall first be searched, in order to discover if they have gunpowder on board, or any other of those warlike stores, the export of which was prohibited to them by our Royal Decree of the 21st of October last, directed to the officers of our arsenal and exportation duties: and that if any such stores or ammunition shall be found put on board by stealth, the said vessels, as a capture from declared rebels, shall be confiscated for the use of carrying on the public buildings; and so be it understood by the Council

Council of our Finances, which shall order printed copies of this our Decree to be taken off, and fixed up in all the public places of the city of Lisbon, and in all the ports of this kingdom, and that of Algarve, that it may come to the knowledge of all, and that no one may plead ignorance.

Palace of the Ajuda, fourth of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six.

With the royal signature.

Substance of a Letter, dated at St. Ildefonso, the 7th of October, written by the Marquis de Grimaldi, to the Governor of Bilboa, relative to an American Corsair, which had taken five English Ships, and had been detained thereupon at said Port, at the Request of the English Vice Consul; with the Proceedings of the Governor, in consequence thereof.

"**T**HAT having received advice from the Governor of Bilboa, respecting the detention of an American ship, named the Hawke, Captain John Lee, and the several attestations of the persons concerned, which had been laid before his Majesty, he had been pleased to declare, " That in consequence of the amity subsisting between his Catholic Majesty and the King of Great-Britain, he should maintain a perfect neutrality during the present war; that he should not give any aid to the Colonists; but should not deny their being admitted into any ports of his dominions, while they conformed to the laws of the country."

In consequence of the above letter, the Governor set at liberty

the American vessel, delivered her back her papers, and supplied her with such provisions, water, &c. (care being taken that no prohibited goods should be sent on board) as should enable her to proceed on her voyage.

Reasons assigned by the Continental Congress, for the North American Colonies and Provinces withdrawing their Allegiance to the King of Great-Britain.

IN CONGRESS, July 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION by the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled.

WHEN in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of Nature's God intitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and, whenever any form of government becomes destructive

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of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organising its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed; but when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferings of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present — of — is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations; all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other

laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the rights of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolution, to cause others to be erected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise: the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He

He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their pretended acts of legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment, for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

• For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ra-

vaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury.—A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts, by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us; we have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here; we have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would

would invincibly interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme JUDGE of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great-Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred Honour.

Signed by order, and in behalf of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Attest, CHARLES THOMSON,
Secretary.

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware-River, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Georgia.

N. B. These articles of Confederation, after having been long weighed and discussed, line by line, in the Congress, were at length resolved upon, and signed by all the Delegates, the 4th of October 1776, at Philadelphia, such as they are here set forth, and in consequence were immediately sent to the other States to be confirmed by them.

ARTICLE I.

THE Thirteen States above mentioned, confederate themselves under the title of THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

II.

They contract, each in their own name, by the present constitution, a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themselves to assist each other against all violence that may threaten all, or any one of them, and to repel in common all the attacks that may be levelled against all or any one of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatsoever.

III.

III.

Each State reserves to themselves alone the exclusive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws in all matters that are not included in the articles of the present Confederation, and which cannot any way prejudice the same.

IV.

No State in particular shall either send or receive embassies, begin any negotiations, contract any engagements, form any alliances, conclude any treaties with any king, prince, or power whatsoever, without the consent of the United States, assembled in General Congress.

No person, invested with any post whatever under the authority of the United States, or of any of them, whether he has appointments belonging to his employment, or whether it be a commission purely confidential, shall be allowed to accept any presents, gratuities, emoluments, nor any offices or titles of any kind whatever, from any kings, princes, or foreign powers.

And the General Assembly of the United States, nor any State in particular, shall not confer any title of nobility.

V.

Two, nor several of the said States, shall not have power to form alliances or confederations, nor conclude any private treaty among themselves, without the consent of the United States assem-

bled in General Congress, and without the aim and duration of that private convention be exactly specified in the consent.

VI.

No State shall lay on any imposts, nor establish any duties whatever, the effect of which might alter, directly or indirectly, the clauses of the treaties to be concluded hereafter by the Assembly of the United States with any kings, princes, or power whatsoever.

VII.

There shall not be kept, by any of the said States in particular, any vessels or ships of war above the number judged necessary by the Assembly of the United States, for the defence of that State and its commerce; and there shall not be kept on foot in time of peace, by any of the said States, any troops above the number determined by the assembly of the United States, to guard the strong places or forts necessary for the defence of that State; but each State shall always keep up a well-disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and equipped, and shall be careful to procure, and keep in constant readiness, in the public magazines, a sufficient number of field pieces and tents, with a proper quantity of ammunition and implements of war.

VIII.

When any of the said States shall raise troops for the common defence, all the officers of the rank of

of colonel, and under, shall be appointed by the legislative body of the State that shall have raised the troops, or in such manner as that State shall have judged proper to regulate the nominations; and when any vacancy happens in these posts, they shall be filled up by the said State.

IX.

All the expences of war, and all other disbursements, that shall be made for the common defence or the general weal, and that shall be ordered by the Assembly of the United States, shall be paid out of the Treasuries of a common treasury.

That common treasury shall be formed by the contribution of each of the aforesaid States, in proportion to the number of inhabitants of every age, sex, or quality, except the Indians exempt from taxes in each State; and in order to fix the quota of the contribution, every three years the inhabitants shall be numbered, in which enumeration the number of white people shall be distinguished; and that enumeration shall be sent to the Assembly of the United States.

The taxes appropriated to pay this quota, shall be laid and levied in the extent of each State by the authority and orders of its legislative body, within the time fixed by the assembly of the United States.

X.

Each of the said States shall submit to the decisions of the Assembly of the United States, in all matters or questions referred to that Assembly by the present act of Confederation.

XI.

No State shall engage in war without the consent of the United States assembled in Congress, except in case of actual invasion of some enemy, or from a certain knowledge of a resolution taken by some Indian nation to attack them, and in that case only, in which the danger is too urgent to allow them time to consult the other States.

No particular State shall give any commission to vessels, or other ships of war, nor any letters of marque or reprisal, till after a declaration of war made by the Assembly of the United States; and even in that case they shall be granted only against the kingdom or the power, or against the subjects of the kingdom, or of the power against which war shall have been so declared; and shall conform, respecting these objects, to the regulations made by the Assembly of the United States.

XII.

In order to watch over the general interest of the United States, and direct the general affairs, there shall be nominated every year, according to the form sealed by the legislative body of each state, a certain number of delegates, who shall sit at Philadelphia until the General Assembly of the United States shall have ordered otherwise; and the first Monday in November of each year, shall be the day fixed for their meeting.

Each of the above-mentioned States shall preserve the right and power to recall, at any time whatever of the year, their delegates,

or any one of them, and to send others in the room of them for the remainder of the year; and each of the said States shall maintain their delegates during the time of the General Assembly, and also during the time they shall be members of the Council of State, of which mention shall be made hereafter.

XIII.

Each state shall have a vote for the decision of questions in the General Assembly.

XIV.

The General Assembly of the United States, shall alone and exclusively have the right and power to decide of peace and war, except in the case mentioned in article XI. —to establish rules for judging in all cases the legitimacy of the prizes taken by sea or land, and to determine the manner in which the prizes taken by the land or sea forces, in the service of the United States, shall be divided or employed;—to grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace;—to appoint tribunals to take cognizance of piracies, and all other capital crimes committed on the high seas;—to establish tribunals to receive appeals, and judge finally in all cases of prizes;—to send and receive ambassadors;—to negotiate and conclude treaties or alliances;—to decide all differences actually subsisting, and that may arise hereafter between two or several of the aforementioned States, about limits, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatsoever; to coin money, and fix its value and standard;—to fix the weights and

measures throughout the whole extent of the United States;—to regulate commerce and treat of all affairs with the Indians who are not members of any of the States; —to establish and regulate the posts from one state to another, in the whole extent of the United States, and to receive on the letters and packets sent by post the necessary tax to defray the expense of that establishment; to appoint the general officers of the land forces in the service of the United States; to give commissions to the other officers of the said troops, who shall have been appointed by virtue of article VIII;—to appoint all the officers of marine in the service of the United States;—to frame all the ordinances necessary for the government and discipline of the said land and sea forces; and to direct their operations.

The General Assembly of the United States shall be authorized to appoint a Council of State, and such committees and civil officers as they shall judge necessary for guiding and dispatching the general affairs, under their authority, whilst they remain sitting; and after their separation, under the authority of the Council of State. —They shall chuse for president one of their members, and for secretary the person whom they shall judge fit for that place; and they may adjourn at what time of the year, and to what place in the United States, they shall think proper.—They shall have the right and power to determine and fix the sums necessary to be raised, and the disbursements necessary to be made;—to borrow money, and to create bills on the credit of the United States;—to build and fit out

out fleets; to determine the number of troops to be raised or kept in pay;—and to require of each of the aforesaid States, to compose the army, a contingent proportioned to the number of its white inhabitants.—These requisitions of the General Assembly shall be binding, and in consequence the legislative body of each State shall nominate the particular officers, levy the men, arm and equip them properly; and these officers and soldiers, thus armed and equipped, shall proceed to the place, and within the time fixed by the General Assembly.

But if the General Assembly, from some particular circumstances, should think proper to exempt one or several of the States from raising troops, or to demand of them less than their contingent, and should on the contrary judge it convenient that one or several others should raise more than their contingent; the number extraordinary demanded shall be raised, provided with officers, armed and equipped in the same manner as the contingent, unless the legislative body of that, or of those of the States to whom the requisition shall have been made, should deem it dangerous for themselves to be drained of that number extraordinary, and in that case they shall furnish no more than what they think compatible with their safety; and the officers and soldiers, so raised and equipped, shall go to the place, and within the time fixed by the General Assembly.

The General Assembly shall never engage in any war, nor grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace, nor contract any treaties of alliance or other con-

ventions, except to make peace, nor coin money or regulate its value, nor determine or fix the sums necessary to be raised, or the disbursements necessary to be made for the defence or advantage of the United States; or of some of them, nor create bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor dispose of any sums of money, nor resolve on the number of ships of war to be built or purchased, or on the number of troops to be raised for land or sea service, nor appoint a commander or chief of the land or sea forces, but by the united consent of nine of the States: and no question on any point whatsoever, except for adjourning from one day to another, shall be decided but by a majority of the United States.

No delegate shall be chosen for more than three years out of six.

No person invested with any employment whatever in the extent of the United States, and receiving, by virtue of that employment, either by himself, or through the hands of any other for him, any salaries, wages, or emoluments whatever, shall be chosen a delegate.

The General Assembly shall publish every month a journal of their sessions, except what shall relate to treaties, alliances, or military operations, when it shall appear to them that these matters ought to be kept secret. The opinions *pro* and *con* of the delegates of each State, shall be entered in the journals as often as any one of the delegates shall require it; and there shall be delivered to the delegates of each State, on their demand, or even to any one of the delegates of each State, at his particular

ticular requisition, a copy of the journal, except of the parts above mentioned, to be carried to the legislative body of his respective State.

XV.

The Council of State shall be composed of one delegate of each of the States, nominated annually by the other delegates of his respective State; and the case where these electors might not be able to agree, that delegate shall be nominated by the General Assembly.

The Council of State shall be authorised to receive and open all the letters addressed to the United States, and answer them; but shall not contract any engagements binding to the United States.—They shall correspond with the legislative bodies of each State, and with all persons employed under the authority of the United States, or of some of the particular legislative bodies.—They shall address themselves to these legislative bodies, or to the officers to whom each State shall have entrusted the executive power, for aid and assistance of every kind, as occasion shall require.—They shall give instructions to the generals, and direct the military operations by land or by sea; but without making any alterations in the objects or expeditions determined by the General Assembly, unless a change of circumstances intervening, and coming to their knowledge since the breaking up of the Assembly, should render a change of measures indispensably necessary. They shall be careful of the defence and preservation of the fortresses or fortified ports.—They shall procure information of the situation and designs

of the enemy.—They shall put in execution the measures and plans that shall have been resolved by the General Assembly, by virtue of the powers with which they are invested by the present confederation.—They shall draw upon the treasurers for the sums, the destination of which shall have been settled by the General Assembly, and for the payment of the contracts which they may have made by virtue of the powers that are granted to them.—They shall inspect and reprove, they shall even suspend all officers civil or military acting under the authority of the United States.—In the case of death or suspension of any officer whose nomination belongs to the General Assembly, they may replace him by what person they think proper until the next Assembly.—They may publish and disperse authentic accounts of the military operations.—They may convene the General Assembly for a nearer term than that to which they had adjourned when they separated, if any important and unexpected event should require it for the welfare or benefit of the United States, or of some of them.—They shall prepare the matters that are to be submitted to the inspection of the General Assembly, and lay before them at the next sitting all the letters or advices by them received, and shall render an exact account of all that they have done in the interim.—They shall take for their secretary a person fit for that employment, who before he enters on his function shall take an oath of secrecy and fidelity.—The presence of seven members of the Council will empower them to act.—In case of
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the death of one of their members, the Council shall give notice of it to the colleagues of the deceased, that they may chuse one of themselves to replace him in the Council until the holding of the next general meeting; and in case there should be but one of his colleagues living, the same notice shall be given to him, that he may come and take his seat until the next sitting.

XVI.

In case that Canada should be willing to accede to the present confederation, and come into all the measures of the United States, it shall be admitted into the union, and participate in all its benefits. But no other colony shall be admitted without the consent of nine of the States.

The above articles shall be pro-

posed to the legislative bodies of all the United States, to be examined by them; and if they approve of them, they are desired to authorise their delegates to ratify them in the General Assembly; after which all the articles which constitute the present confederation shall be inviolably observed by all and every of the United States, and the union shall be established for ever.

There shall not be made hereafter any alteration in these articles, nor in any of them, unless that the alteration be previously determined in the General Assembly, and confirmed afterwards by the legislative bodies of each of the United States.

Resolved and signed at Philadelphia, in Congress, the 4th of October, 1776.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.



CHARACTERS.

Picture of the Condition and Manners of the People of Rome, when first pillaged by the Barbarians; collected from different cotemporary Writers, particularly Ammianus Marcellinus; by the Author of the Essay on Public Happiness, translated into English, by J. Kent, Esq;

THIS splendid city was yet filled with riches, when the Barbarians pillaged it, for the first time. Several authors assert, that many citizens were in possession of a revenue of above four millions; and that such as were worth no more than a million, or a million and an half, were placed only in the second class of citizens. These indolent and opulent men imagined that the enjoyment of pleasure was the sole end of their creation; and were contented to remain as idle spectators of the events of war, as they were of the events of the Circus; with this difference only, that in these last events they seemed to feel themselves more interested. Even the Emperors had, during a long time, accustomed them to this luxurious effeminacy. "I go (said Aurelius to them, in one of his edicts) to fight the enemy: and I will take care that the Romans

shall not suffer the slightest uneasiness. Attend to your games. Frequent your Circus. It is our part to conduct the public business. But you should be entirely devoted to pleasure*." It is easy to conceive that in the midst of so much luxury and effeminacy, the public morals were daily degenerating. Petronius and Lucian have made us sufficiently acquainted with the parade and extravagance peculiar to the entertainments, which were given in their times: but as Ammianus Marcellinus hath taken the pains to describe the manners of the Romans, during a less distant period, namely, the age in which he lived, the reader will, probably, be pleased if we present him with the whole passage, as related in the sixth chapter of the fourteenth book.

"Were you, on your arrival at Rome, to be introduced, as a reputable foreigner, to an opulent, or in other words, a very ostentatious man, your first reception would be accompanied with every mark of politeness; after having been overpowered by questions, to which it will be the most frequently necessary to answer, by relating some extravagant stories, you will

* Ego efficiam ne sit aliqua sollicitudo Romana. Vacate ludis, vacate Circensibus; nos publicæ necessitates teneant, vos occupent voluptates. (Vopiscus.)

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become astonished to find, that a person of such distinction, should treat a simple individual with so respectful an attention; nay, you will even be ready to condemn yourself for not having visited so charming a city, ten years sooner. But if, encouraged by this obliging welcome, you should return on the morrow, to pay your compliments, a stranger dropped from the clouds, could not be more stared at. Who is he? and, whence comes he? would be circulated in ill-bred whispers round the room. At length, however, you will attain to the honour of being known, and admitted on a familiar footing; but yet, if, after three years of assiduous attendance, you were to absent yourself, for the same space of time, you would not, on your return, be either asked how you had been employed, or even told that the loss of your company was perceived. This absurdity is carried still farther; for, previous to the giving of those entertainments, which are so long, and so detrimental to health, it is a matter of tedious deliberation, whether exclusive of such guests, as are entitled to invitations, any strangers shall also be asked: and if, after a full hearing, and on mature reflection, this point be carried in the affirmative, then the great adepts in all the laws of public games, who never fail to mount guard at the houses of the charioteers belonging to the Circus, or persons the most instructed in the science and the tricks of play, are the only strangers destined to be admitted. As to the men of learning, and virtue, they are shunned, as the tiresome and useless disturbers of festive mirth: nor doth it once

employ their thoughts that the *Nomenclatores*, accustomed to sell the favours of their masters, take care to invite to the feast, and the distributions, only the most obscure and inferior individuals, from whom they can extort more money, than from the others. I shall pass slightly over that sumptuous profusion, in their entertainments, and particularly those voluptuous refinements lately introduced, to take notice of the ridiculous cavalcades, attending on our ostentatious, rich men, who, amusing themselves with running post, up and down the streets, at the risk of breaking their necks on the pavement, are followed by such a numerous train of domestics, that, to borrow the expression of a comic writer, they do not even leave the fool behind to keep house; however absurd this diversion be, the very matrons are not ashamed to follow it, but hurry through every quarter of the town, in open litters. In these pompous processions, nothing is neglected; and as the expert general, who marshals his army, in a proper order of battle, places his heavy infantry in the front line, his light infantry in the second line, and his bowmen in the rear, so the master of the ceremonies, bearing a wand in his hand, singles out all those who are to have the honour of walking before the triumphal car, and constantly obliges the black troop of cooks, scullions, &c. to fall back into the hinder ranks. These, again, are followed by the remaining number of footmen, and by the *Commensales*: the procession is then closed by the eunuchs, a deformed multitude, who teach us to execrate the memory of Semiramis, that barbarous queen, who

first violating the laws of nature, filled this tender, but imprudent mother, with regret, for having too early shewn, in the generations which were scarce begun, the hope of future generations. In such a state of manners, it will easily be supposed, that the few houses, in which the sciences were formerly cultivated, are now only the receptacles of vain and frivolous pleasures; so that in the place of orators, and philosophers, nothing is heard from morning till night, except the sound of flutes, and the airs of the musicians. As to the libraries, they are more shut up and more abandoned than the sepulchres: dances, accompanied by wind instruments, are substituted in their room; nay, to so shameful a length have these indignities been carried, that when the famine had rendered it necessary to send all foreigners out of the city, the law was rigorously put in execution against every one of those useful men, who were the instructors in liberal arts; whilst mimics, stage-players, and even three thousand female dancers, with their whole band of musicians and singers, were suffered to remain within the capital. Wherefoever you turn your eyes, you will also perceive the women painted, and ridiculously dressed; these tire you more by their continual dancing, than they fatigue themselves; and these, had they been married to honest men, might have supplied the state with an useful army of citizens. Rome was once a sure asylum to every individual, who introduced the arts and industry; but now, a foolish and unaccountable vanity esteems every thing vile and abject, which comes from beyond the Pomærium.

I must, however, except the unmarried men, and such as have no heirs. These are loaded with respect and complaisance; although another selfish refinement makes us avoid even the tenderest duties of humanity; for the most terrible diseases, raging within this capital of the world, have occasioned a strict prohibition of the least communication with those unhappy wretches who are infected with them: and it is now customary, not only to think it sufficient, if some domestics be sent to these persons, to enquire of them any particular news, but to oblige the messenger to go through long ablutions before he can be admitted to deliver the answer. How delicate these men are! and yet, if you invite them to a feast, or offer them money, they will run for you, even to Spoletum. Such are the manners of the nobility: as to the common people, they generally spend the night in drinking houses, or even in the theatres, under those booths, the invention of which we owe to Catullus, who first introduced at Rome, these far-fetched commodities, which might better have become Capua, than the city of Romulus. Multitudes are intoxicated with a passion for gaming. Others expose themselves, during whole days, to the heat, and the rain, to be the umpires amongst the charioteers, and decide on the events of the Circus. Amidst such frivolous engagements, is it possible that the Romans can ever be reasonably employed? &c. &c."

*Curious Particulars relating to the
ancient Academy and Philosophers
of Athens; with some Account of the*
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4 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1776.

the more peculiar Manners, Customs, &c. of the modern Greek, Turkish, and Albanian Inhabitants of that City and its Territory; from Dr. Chandler's Travels in Greece.

ATHERNS maintained under the Romans its reputation for philosophy and eloquence, and continued, though subdued, the metropolis of learning, the school of arts, the centre of taste and genius. The Gymnasium and the gardens of the philosophers were decorated with the capital works of eminent masters, and still frequented. The fierce warrior was captivated by Greece and science, and Athens humanized and polished the conquerors of the world. But Sylla greatly injured the city, by transporting to Rome the public library, which had been founded by Pisistratus, carefully augmented by the people, removed by Xerxes into Persia, and restored long after by Seleucus Nicanor. The spirit of learning drooped on the loss; and the Roman youth, under Tiberius, were sent to study at Marseilles, instead of Athens. Even there the barbarous Gauls joined in the pursuit of eloquence and philosophy. The sophist, as well as the physician, was hired to settle among them; and the nation was civilized by the Greek city.

The emperor Adrian embellished Athens with a noble library, and a new Gymnasium, and restored science to its ancient seat. Lollianus, an Ephesian, was first raised to the high dignity of the sophistical throne, which was after-

wards filled by Atticus Herodes, and by other eminent and illustrious persons. The number of professors was increased by Antoninus the philosopher, who had studied under Herodes. His establishment consisted of thirteen; two Platonists, as many Peripatetics, Stoics, and Epicureans, with two Rhetoricians and Civilians; and a president styled *President of the Youth*. The student proceeded from the philosopher to the rhetorician, and then to the civilian. A yearly salary of six hundred *aurei* or pieces of* gold was annexed to each of the philosophical chairs; and one of a talent to those of the civilians. The professors, unless appointed by the emperors, were elected after solemn examination by the principal magistrates.

Education now flourished in all its branches at Athens. The Roman world resorted to its schools, and reputation and riches awaited the able preceptor. The tender mind was duly prepared for the manly studies of philosophy and eloquence. Age and proficiency were followed by promotion. The youth was advanced into the higher classes, enrolled with the philosophers, and admitted to their habit. The title of sophist was conferred on him, when mature in years and erudition; and this was an honour so much affected, that the attainment of it almost furnished an apology for insolent pride and extravagant elation. It was a custom of the masters to inscribe on marble the names of their scholars; those of Attica ranged under their respective tribes; and also to what

* About 468l. See Wotton's History of Rome. London. 1703. p. 106, with the errata and p. 169.

demos or borough each belonged. Some specimens of these registers are preserved in the Oxford collection, and many fragments are yet extant at Athens.

At this period Athens abounded in philosophers. It swarmed, according to Lucian, with clokes and staves and fatchels; you beheld every where a long beard, a book in the left hand, and the walks full of companies, discoursing and reasoning. The cloke, or Tribonium was the habit of all the orders. The general colour was dark, but the Cynic wore white, and, with the Stoic, had the folds doubled. One shoulder was bare; the hair hanging down; the beard unshaven. The Cynic, with the Stoic and Pythagorean, was slovenly and negligent, his cloke in tatters, his nails long, and his feet naked. The Cynic was armed with a staff, as a defence from dogs or the rabble. The Sophist was adorned with purple, and commonly polished as well in dress and person as in manners and language. It behoved the professor, as Lucian affirms, to be handsomely clothed, to be sleek and comely, and above all to have a flowing beard, inspiring those who approached him with veneration, and suitable to the salary he received from the Emperor.

A learned father*, who was cotemporary with Julian at Athens, has described the manner in which the Novice was treated on his arrival there, with the ceremony of initiation. He was first surrounded by the pupils and partizans of the different Sophists, all eager to recommend their favourite master.

He was hospitably entertained; and afterwards the students were allowed to attack him with rude or ingenuous disputation, as each was disposed. This, the relater has surmised, was intended to mortify conceit, and to render him tractable. He was next to be invested with the habit. A procession in pairs, at equal distances, conducted him through the Agora to a public bath, probably that without Dipylon by the monument of Anthemocritus. An opposition was feigned on their approach to the door, some calling out and forbidding his admission, some urging on and knocking. These prevailed. He was introduced into a warm cell, washed, and then clothed with the Tribonium. He was saluted as an equal on his coming out, and re-conducted. No one was suffered to appear in that dress at Athens without the permission of the Sophists, and this ceremony, which was attended with considerable expence.

The philosophers were long as distinguished by their aversion to Christianity as by their garment. It is recorded of Justin Martyr, that he preached in the Tribonium, to which he had been admitted before his conversion. Some monks also, whom the Gentiles termed impostors, assumed it, uniting with spiritual pride and consummate vanity, an affectation of singular humility and of indifference to worldly show. But the Emperor Jovian commanding the temples to be shut, and prohibiting sacrifice, the prudent philosopher then concealed his profession, and relinquished his cloak for the common dress. The

* Gregorius Nazianzen. Orat. xx.

order was treated with severity by Valens his successor, because some of them, to animate their party, had foretold that the next emperor would be a Gentile. They were addicted to divination and magic, and it was pretended, had partly discovered his name. The habit was not wholly laid aside. In the next reign, a sedition happened at Alexandria, when Olympius a philosopher, wearing the cloke, was exceedingly active, urging the Gentiles to repel the reformers, and not to remit of their zeal or be disheartened because they were dispossessed of their idols, for the powers, which had inhabited them, were, he asserted, flown away into heaven. The heathen philosophers gradually disappeared; but the Christian, their successors, are not yet extinct, still flourishing in catholic countries, and differing not less than the ancient sects, in dress, tenets, and rules of living.

The decline of philosophy must have deeply affected the prosperity of Athens. A gradual desertion of the place followed. Minerva could no longer protect her city. Its beauty was violated by the proconsul, who stripped Pœcile of its precious paintings. It was forsaken by good fortune, and would have lingered in decay, but the Barbarians interposed, and suddenly completed its downfall. When the Goths were in possession of it in the time of Claudius, two hundred and sixty-nine years after Christ, they amassed all the books, intending, it is related, to burn them; but desisted, on a representation that the Greeks were diverted by the amusements of study from military pursuits. Alaric, under Arcadius and Honorius, was

not afraid of their becoming soldiers. The city was pillaged, and the libraries were consumed. Devastation then reigned within, and solitude without its walls. The sweet sirens, the vocal nightingales, as the Sophists are fondly styled, were heard no more. Philosophy and eloquence were exiled, and their ancient seat occupied by ignorant honey-factors of Mount Hymettus.

Athens, after it was abandoned by the Goths, continued, it is likely, for ages to preserve the race of its remaining inhabitants unchanged, and uniform in language and manners. History is silent of its suffering from later incursions, from wars, and massacres. Plenty and the prospect of advantage produces new settlers; but, where no trade exists, employment will be wanting, and Attica was never celebrated for fertility. The plague has not been, as at Smyrna, a frequent visitant; because the intercourse subsisting with the islands and other places has been small, and the port is at a distance. The plague described by Thucydides began in the Piræus, and the Athenians at first believed that the enemy had poisoned the wells. If, from inadvertency, the infection be now admitted into the town, the Turks as well as the Greeks have the prudence to retire to their houses in the country, or to the monasteries, and it seldom prevails either so long or so terribly as in cities on the coast.

A colony of new proprietors was introduced into Athens by Mahomet the Second; but the people secured some privileges by their capitulation, and have since obtained more

more by address or money. The Turk has favoured the spot, and bestowed on it a milder tyranny. The Kizlar Aga, or chief of the black eunuchs at Constantinople, is their patron; and by him the Turkish magistrates are appointed. The Vauwode purchases his government yearly, but circumspection and moderation are requisite in exacting the revenue, and the usual concomitants of his station are uneasiness, apprehension, and danger. The impatience of oppression, when general, begets public vengeance. The Turks and their vassals have united, seized and cut their tyrants in pieces, or forced them to seek refuge in the mountains or in the Acropolis. An insurrection had happened not many years before we arrived, and the distress, which followed from want of water in the fortresses, was described to us as extreme.

The Turks of Athens are in general more polite, social and affable, than is common in that stately race; living on more equal terms with their fellow-citizens, and partaking, in some degree, of the Greek character. The same intermixture, which has softened their austerities, has corrupted their temperance; and many have foregone the national abstinence from wine, drinking freely, except during their Ramazan or Lent. Some too after a long lapse have resumed, and rigidly adhere to it, as suiting the gravity of a beard, and the decorum of paternal authority. Several of the families date their settlement from the taking of the city. They are reckoned at about three hundred. Their number, though comparatively small, is more than sufficient to keep the

Christians fully sensible of their mastery. The Turks possess from their childhood an habitual superiority, and awe with a look the loftiest vassal. Their deportment is often stern and haughty. Many in private life are distinguished by strict honour, by punctuality, and uprightness in their dealings; and almost all by external sanctity of manners. If they are narrow-minded in the extreme, it is the result of a confined education; and an avaricious temper is a natural consequence of their rapacious government.

The Greeks may be regarded as the representatives of the old Athenians. We have related, that, on our arrival in the Piræus, an Archon came from the city to receive us. The learned reader was perhaps touched by that respectable title, and annexed to it some portion of its classical importance; but the Archons are now mere names, except a tall fur-cap, and a fuller and better dress than is worn by the inferior classes. Some have shops in the Bazar, some are merchants, or farmers of the public revenue. The families styled Archontic, are eight or ten in number; mostly on the decline. The person, who met us, was of one reckoned very ancient, which, by his account, had been settled at Athens about three hundred years, or after Mahomet the Second. His patrimony had suffered from the extortions of a tyrannical Vauwode, but he had repaired the loss by trade, and by renting petty governments. The ordinary habit of the meaner citizens is a red skull-cap, a jacket, and a sash round the middle, loose breeches or trowsers, which tie with a large

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knot before, and a long vest, which they hang on their shoulders, lined with wool or fur for cold weather. By following the lower occupations, they procure, not without difficulty, a pittance of profit to subsist them, to pay their tribute-money, and to purchase garments for the festivals, when they mutually vie in appearing well-clothed, their pride even exceeding their poverty.

The lordly Turk and lively Greek, neglecting pasturage and agriculture, that province, which in Asia Minor is occupied by the Turcomans, has been obtained in Europe by the Albanians or Albanese. These are a people remote from their original country, which was by the Caspian sea, spreading over and cultivating alien lands, and, as of old, addicted to universal husbandry and to migration. It is chiefly their business to plough, sow, and reap; dig, fence, plant, and prune the vineyard; attend the watering of the olive-tree; and gather in the harvest; going forth before the dawn of day, and returning joyous on the close of their labour. If shepherds, they live on the mountains, in the vale, or the plain, as the varying seasons require, under arbours or sheds covered with boughs, tending their flocks abroad, or milking the ewes and she-goats at the fold, and making cheese and butter to supply the city. Inured early to fatigue and the sun, they are hardy and robust, of manly carriage, very different from that of the fawning obsequious Greek, and of desperate bravery under every disadvantage, when compelled by necessity or oppression, to unite and endeavour to extort redress. Their

habit is simple and succinct, reaching to the knees. They have a national language, and are members of the Greek communion.

The Christians, both Greeks and Albanians, are more immediately superintended by the Archbishop, and by the two Epitropi or curators, who are chosen from among the principal men, and venerable for their long beards. These endeavour to quiet all disputes, and prevent the parties from recurring to the severe tribunal of the Cadi or Turkish judge, watching over the commonweal, and regulating its internal policy, which still retains some faint and obscure traces of the ancient popular form, though without dignity or importance. The see was now possessed by Bartholomew, a Walachian, who had lately purchased it at Constantinople. He was absent when we arrived; but on his return to Athens, sent us a present of fine fruit and of honey from M. Hymettus; and came to visit us at the convent, on horseback, attended by a virger and some of his clergy on foot. He was a comely and portly man, with a black thick beard.

A traditional story was related to us at Smyrna, and afterwards at Athens, to illustrate the native quickness of apprehension, which, as if transmissive and the property of the soil, is inherited even by the lower classes of the people. A person made trial of a poor shepherd, whom he met with his flock, demanding, *αὐτοῦ πῶς; καὶ πῶς; καὶ πῶς; καὶ πόσα.* *From whence? and where? and how? and how many?* He was answered without hesitation, and with equal brevity, *ὡπ' Ἀθῆνας, ὡς Ἀγιάδιο, Θεοδώρῳ, καὶ πεντακοσία.* *From Athens,*

Athens, to Livadia, Theodore, and five hundred. In the citizens this aptitude not being duly cultivated, instead of producing genius, degenerates into cunning. They are justly reputed a most crafty, subtle, and acute race. It has been jocosely affirmed, that no Jew can live among them, because he will be continually outwitted. They are conscious of their subjection to the Turk, and as supple as depressed, from the memory of the blows on the feet and indignities, which they have experienced or seen inflicted, and from the terror of the penalty annexed to resistance, which is the forfeiture of the hand uplifted; but their disposition, as anciently, is unquiet; their repose disturbed by factious intrigues and private animosities; the body politic weakened by division, and often impelled in a direction opposite to its true interest. They have two schools, one of which possesses a small collection of books, and is entitled to an annual payment from Venice, the endowment of a charitable Athenian, but the money is not regularly remitted.

The liberty of the fair sex at Athens is almost equally abridged by the Turks and Greeks. Their houses are secured with high walls, and the windows turned from the street, and latticed or boarded up, so as to preclude all intercourse, even of the eyes. The harâm, or apartment of the Turkish women, is not only impenetrable, but must not be regarded on the outside with any degree of attention. To approach them, when abroad, will give offence; and in the town, if they cannot be avoided, it is the custom to turn to the wall and stand still, without looking toward

them while they pass. This mode of carriage is good breeding at Athens.

The Turkish women claim an exemption from their confinement on one day only in the week, when they visit their relations, and are seen going in companies to the baths, or sitting in the burying-grounds on the graves of their friends, their children, husbands, or parents. They are then enwrapped and beclothed in such a manner, it is impossible to discern whether they are young or old, handsome or ugly. Their heads, as low as the eye-brows, are covered with white linen, and also their faces beneath; the prominence of the nose and mouth giving them nearly the visages of mummies. They draw down a veil of black gauze over their eyes, the moment a man or boy comes in view. They wear short loose boots of leather, red or yellow, with a large sheet over their common garments, and appear very bulky.

The dress of the Greek matrons is a garment of red or blue cloth, the waist very short, the long petticoat falling in folds to the ground. A thin flowing veil of muslin, with a golden rim or border, is thrown over the head and shoulders. The attire of the virgins is a long red vest, with a square cap of yellow satin hanging down behind. They walk with their hands concealed in the pocket-holes at the sides, and their faces are muffled. Sometimes they assume the Turkish garb. Neither prudence nor modesty suffers a maiden to be seen by the men before she is married. Her beauty might inflame the Turk, who can take her legally, by force, to his bed, on a sentence of the Cadi

Cadi or judge; and the Greek, if she revealed her face to him even unwillingly, would reject her as criminal and with disdain.

The Albanian women are inured early to hard living, labour, and the sun. Their features are injured by penury, and their complexions by the air. Their dress is coarse and simple; a shift reaching to the ankle, a thick sash about the waist, and a short loose woollen vest. Their hair is platted in two divisions, and the ends fastened to a red silken string, which, with a tassel, is pendant to their heels, and frequently laden with pieces of silver coin, of various sizes, diminishing gradually to the bottom. Among these the antiquarian may often discover medals of value. They are seen carrying water on their backs, in earthen jars, with handles; washing by the fountains, or assembled by the Ilissus after rain, with the female slaves of the Mahometans and other servants; treading their linen, or beating it with a piece of heavy wood, spreading it on the ground or bushes to dry, and conveying it to and fro in panniers or wicker baskets on an ass. Their legs and feet are generally bare; and their heads hooded, as it were, with a long towel, which encircles the neck, one extremity hanging down before and the other behind. The girls wear a red skull cap plated with pearls or Turkish pennies of silver perforated, and ranged like the scales of fish.

The Greek will sometimes admit a traveller into his gynæceum or the apartment of his women. These within doors, are as it were uncased, and each a contrast of the figure she made when abroad.

There the girl, like Thetis, treading on a soft carpet, has her white and delicate feet naked; the nails tinged with red. Her trowsers, which in winter are of red cloth, and in summer of fine callico or thin gauze, descend from the hip to the ankle, hanging loosely about her limbs; the lower portion embroidered with flowers, and appearing beneath the shift, which has the sleeves wide and open, and the seams and edges curiously adorned with needle-work. Her vest is of silk, exactly fitted to the form of the bosom and the shape of the body, which it rather covers than conceals, and is shorter than the shift. The sleeves button occasionally to the hand, and are lined with red or yellow satin. A rich zone encompasses her waist, and is fastened before by clasps of silver gilded, or of gold set with precious stones. Over the vest is a robe, in summer lined with ermine, and in cold weather with fur. The head-dress is a skull-cap, red or green, with pearls; a stay under the chin, and a yellow forehead cloth. She has bracelets of gold on her wrists, and, like Aurora, is rosy-fingered, the tips being stained. Her necklace is a string of zechins, a species of gold coin, or of the pieces called Bizantines. At her cheeks is a lock of hair made to curl toward the face; and down her back falls a profusion of tresses, spreading over her shoulders. Much time is consumed in combing and braiding the hair after bathing, and, at the greater festivals, in enriching and powdering it with small bits of silver gilded, resembling a violin in shape, and woven in at regular distances. She is painted blue round the eyes; and the insides of the
 sockets,

sockets, with the edges on which the lashes grow, are tinged with black. The Turkish ladies wear nearly the same attire, and use similar arts to heighten their natural beauty.

For colouring the lashes and socket of the eye, they throw incense or gum of Labdanum on some coals of fire, intercept the smoke, which ascends, with a plate, and collect the foot. This I saw applied. A girl, sitting cross-legged as usual, on a sofa, and closing one of her eyes, took the two lashes between the forefinger and thumb of her left hand, pulled them forward, and then thrusting in, at the external corner, a bodkin, which had been immersed in the foot, and extracting it again, the particles before adhering to it, remained within, and were presently ranged round the organ; serving as a foil to its lustre, besides contributing, as they say, to its health, and increasing its apparent magnitude.

The improvement of the mind and morals is not considered as a momentous part of female education at Athens. The girls are taught to dance, to play on the Turkish guittar and the tympanum or timbrel, and to embroider, an art in which they generally excel. A woman skilled in reading and writing is spoken of as a prodigy of capacity and learning. The mother of Osman Aga, a Turk, who frequented our house, was of this rare number, and, as he often told us, so terrible for her knowledge, that even Achmet Aga her kinsman had been seen to tremble, when he received her annual visit. In common life the woman waits

on her husband, and after dressing the provisions, which he purchased, eats perhaps with a female slave; the stately lord feeding alone or in company with men.

Sketch of the Manners and Customs of the old Mexicans, with some Account of the present State of their remaining genuine Descendants, particularly those of Chiapa; from the Abbé Raynal's Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West-Indies; translated by J. Justamond, M. A.

THE generality of the Mexicans went naked. The emperor himself and the nobles were only covered with a kind of mantle, composed of a piece of square cotton tied on the right shoulder. They wore sandals on their feet. The women of the lower sort for their whole apparel had only a kind of shift with half sleeves, which fell on their knees, and was open at the bosom. Common people were prohibited from raising their houses above the ground floor, and from having either doors or windows. Most of these houses were built of earth, and covered with boards, and had no greater share of conveniency than elegance. The inside was covered with mats, and lighted with torches of fir wood, though they had wax and oil in abundance. Their beds were made of plain straw and coverlets of cotton. For their seats, they had only little sacks of palm leaves; but it was their custom to sit on the ground, and even to eat in that posture. Their nourishment, which consisted

consisted rarely of animal food, had little diversity and little delicacy. Their most ordinary aliment was maize made into a paste, or prepared with various seasonings. With these they joined the common herbs found in the field, which were not too hard, or had not a bad smell. Cocoa diluted in warm water, or seasoned with honey or pimento, was their best liquor. They had besides these, other liquors, but not of an intoxicating quality: for all strong drinks were so rigidly prohibited, that no one could use them, without a particular permission from government, which was granted only to the sick and aged. It was on certain solemnities alone, and in public labours, that each person had a quantity allowed in proportion to his age. Drunkenness was considered as the most scandalous of vices. Persons who were found in this situation were shaved in public, and their houses were pulled down. If they exercised any public office, they were deprived of it, and declared incapable of ever holding it again.

It is a matter of astonishment, that men who had so few wants should ever submit to the yoke of slavery. That the citizen accustomed to the indulgencies and conveniencies of life, should purchase them every day with the sacrifice of his liberty, is not the least surprising; but that people to whom nature offers more felicity than the social chain that unites them should calmly submit to slavery, and never think that there is frequently but a river to cross in order to be free; this would be for ever inconceivable, if we did not know how much habit and su-

perstition render men insensible to the feelings of nature.

The Mexicans are now less unhappy. Our fruits, our corn, and our cattle, have rendered their food more wholesome, agreeable, and abundant. Their houses are better built, better disposed, and better furnished. Shoes, drawers, shirts, a garment of wool, or cotton, a ruff, and a hat, constitute their dress. The dignity which it has been agreed to annex to these enjoyments, has made them better economists, and more laborious. This case, however, is far from being universal; it is even very uncommon in the vicinity of the mines, towns, and great roads, where tyranny seldom sleeps: but we often find it with satisfaction in remote parts where the Spaniards are not numerous, and where they have in some measure become Mexicans.

The inhabitants of the province of Chiapa are distinguished above all others. They owe their superiority to the advantage of having had Las Casas for their teacher, who originally prevented them from being oppressed. They surpass their countrymen in size, genius, and strength. Their language has a peculiar softness and elegance. Their territory, without being a better soil than the rest, is infinitely richer in all sorts of productions. They are painters, musicians, and dexterous in all arts. They particularly excel in fabricating those works, pictures, and stuffs of feathers, which have never been imitated elsewhere. Their principal town is called Chiapa dos Indos. It is only inhabited by the natives of the country, who form a community consisting of four thousand

thousand families, amongst which are found many of the Indian nobility. The great river, on which this town is situated, is the spot on which the inhabitants continually display their dexterity and their courage. They form naval armies with their boats. They engage, attack, and defend themselves with surprising agility. They excel no less in the chace of bulls, cudgeling, dancing, and all bodily exercises. They build towns and castles of wood, which they cover with oil cloth, and which they besiege in form. In a word, theatrical representations are their ordinary amusements. From these particulars we see what the Mexicans were capable of, if they had been fortunate enough to have passed under the dominion of a conqueror, who had possessed moderation and good sense enough to relax the chains of their servitude, instead of riveting them.

The employments of this people are very various. The most intelligent, and those who are in easy circumstances, devote themselves to the most necessary and most useful manufactures, which are dispersed through the whole empire. The most beautiful manufactures are established among the people of Tlascala. Their old capital and the new one, which is called Angelos, are the center of this industry. Here they manufacture cloth that is pretty fine, calicoes that have an agreeable appearance, certain slight silks, good hats, gold lace, embroidery, lace, glasses, and a great deal of hardware. The arts must necessarily have made a greater progress in a province which hath been able to preserve its independence a

long time, which the Spaniards thought it prudent to treat with some management after the conquest, and which had always manifested superior penetration, whether owing to its climate or its government. To these advantages is joined that of its situation. All the inhabitants of Mexico, who must necessarily pass over its territory when they go to purchase the European merchandize that is landed at Vera Cruz, have found it convenient to take up on the road what the fleet did not supply them with, or what was sold too dear.

The care of flocks affords a maintenance to some Mexicans, whom fortune or nature have not called to more distinguished employments. America, at the time it was discovered, had neither hogs, sheep, oxen, horses, nor even any domestic animal. Columbus carried some of these useful animals to San Domingo, from whence they were generally dispersed, and at Mexico more than in any other places. These have multiplied prodigiously. They count their horned cattle by thousands, whose skins are become an object of considerable exportation. The horses are degenerated, but the quality is compensated by the number. Hog's lard is here substituted for butter. Sheep's wool is dry, coarse, and bad, as it is every where between the tropics.

The vine and olive tree have experienced the same degeneracy. The cultivation of them was at first prohibited, with a view of leaving a free market for the commodities of the mother country. In 1706, permission was given to the Jesuits, and a little afterwards to the marquis Del Valle, a descendant from Cortez,

Cortez, to cultivate them. The attempts have not proved successful. The trials, indeed, that have been made, have not been abandoned; but no person has solicited the liberty of following an example, which did not promise any great emoluments. Other cultures have been more successful. Cotton, sugar, silk, cocoa, tobacco, and European corn, have all thriven in some degree. The Spaniards are encouraged to prosecute the labours which these cultures require, from the happy circumstance of their having discovered iron mines, which were entirely unknown to the Mexicans, as well as some mines of a kind of copper that is hard enough to serve for implements of husbandry. All these articles, however, for want of men and industry, are merely consumed within the country. There is only the vanilla, indigo, and cochineal, which make part of the trade of Mexico with other nations.

Some Account of the late Inhabitants of Acadia, in North America, called by some Authors Neutral French, but considered as Rebels by the British Government at the breaking out of the last War; and, as such, promiscuously dispersed to several Parts of the British Dominions; from the Abbé Raynal's Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans, in the East and West-Indies; translated by J. Justamond. M. A.

NOVA Scotia, by which at present is understood all the

coast of 300 leagues in length, included between the limits of New-England, and the south coast of the river St. Laurence, seemed at first to have comprehended only the great triangular peninsula, lying nearly in the middle of this space. This peninsula, which the French called Acadia, is extremely well situated for the ships which come from the Caribbee islands to water at. It has a number of excellent ports, which ships may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon this coast, and still more upon small banks at the distance of a few leagues. The soil, which is very gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying it; it abounds likewise with good wood, and land fit for several sorts of cultivation, and is extremely well situated for the fur trade of the neighbouring continent. Though this climate is in the temperate zone, the winters are long and severe, and followed by sudden and excessive heats, to which generally succeed very thick fogs, that last a long time. These circumstances make this rather a disagreeable country, though it cannot be reckoned an unwholesome one.

It was in 1604 that the French settled in Acadia, four years before they had built the smallest hut in Canada. Instead of fixing towards the east of the peninsula, where they would have had larger seas, an easy navigation, and plenty of cod, they chose a small bay, afterwards called French bay, which had none of these advantages. It has been said, that they were invited by the beauty of Port Royal, where a thousand ships may ride in safety from every wind, where there is

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an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathoms of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is more probable, that the founders of this colony were led to chuse this situation from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the exclusive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumstance: that both the first monopolizers, and those who succeeded them, took the utmost pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom an unsettled disposition or necessity brought into these regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, fishing, and every kind of culture; chusing rather to engage the industry of these adventurers in hunting or in trading with the savages.

The mischiefs arising from a false system of administration, at length discovered the fatal effects of exclusive charters. It would be inconsistent with truth and the dignity of history to say that this happened in France from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when these rights were most openly violated. These sacred rights, which only can secure the safety of the people, while they give a sanction to the power of kings, were never known in France. But in the most absolute governments, a spirit of ambition sometimes effects what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of justice. The ministers of Lewis XIV, who wished by making their master respectable, to reflect some honours on themselves, perceived that they should not succeed without the support of riches; and that a people to whom

nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce; both these resources had been hitherto precluded in the colonies by the universal restraints that are always imposed, when the government interferes improperly in every minute concern. These impediments were at last removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able to make use of this liberty.

This colony was yet in its infancy, when the settlement which has hence become so famous under the name of New-England, was first established in its neighbourhood. The rapid success of the plantations in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of prosperity did not excite any jealousy between the two nations. But when they began to suspect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to secure to themselves the sole property of it, and were unfortunate enough to succeed.

At their first arrival at Acadia, they had found the peninsula, as well as the forests of the neighbouring continent, peopled with small savage nations, who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other savage nations, they were more sociable in their manners. The missionaries easily insinuating themselves among them, had so far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthusiasts of them. At the same time that they taught them their religion, they inspired them with that hatred, which they themselves entertained for the English name. This fundamental article of their new worship, being that

that which made the strongest impression on their senses, and the only one that favoured their passion for war; they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refused to make any kind of exchange with the English, but also frequently attacked and plundered their settlements. Their attacks became more frequent, more obstinate, and more regular, after they had chosen St. Castains, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander; who was settled among them, had married one of their women, and conformed in every respect to their mode of life.

When the English saw that all efforts either to reconcile the savages, or to destroy them in their forests, were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they looked upon with reason as the only cause of all these calamities. Whenever the least hostility took place between the two mother countries, the peninsula was attacked. Unable to procure any assistance from Canada, on account of its distance, and having but a feeble defence in Port-Royal, which was only surrounded by a few palisades, it was constantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded some satisfaction to the New-Englanders, to ravage this colony and to retard its progress; but still this was not sufficient to remove the suspicions excited by a nation always more formidable by what she is able to do, than by what she really does. Obligated as they were, however unwillingly, to restore their conquest at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great-Britain should acquire such a supe-

riority as would enable her to dispense with this restitution. The end of the war on account of the Spanish succession brought on the decisive moment; and the court of Versailles was for ever deprived of a possession of which it had never known the importance.

The ardour which the English had shewn for the possession of this territory did not manifest itself afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very slight fortification at Port-Royal, which they called Annapolis, in honour of queen Anne, they contented themselves with putting a very small garrison in it. The indifference shewn by the government was adopted by the nation, a circumstance not usual in a free country. Not more than five or six English families went over to Acadia, which still remained inhabited by the first colonists; who were only persuaded to stay upon a promise made them of never being compelled to bear arms against their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cherished by the government, respected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a series of prosperities which had rendered their name illustrious and aggrandized their power, they possessed that patriotic spirit which is the effect of success. They esteemed it an honour to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians, therefore, who, in submitting to a new yoke, had sworn never to bear arms against their former standards, were called the French neutrals.

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There were twelve or thirteen hundred of them settled in the capital, the rest were dispersed in the neighbouring country. No magistrate was ever appointed to rule over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them; and they were equally strangers to him.

Hunting and fishing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might still have supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been begun in the marshes and the low lands, by repelling the sea and rivers, which covered these plains, with dikes. These grounds yielded fifty times as much as before, and afterwards fifteen or twenty times as much at least. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them, but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common.

At the same time the immense meadows were covered with numerous flocks. Sixty thousand head of horned cattle were computed there; and most of the families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen. The habitations, built entirely with wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial farmer's house in Europe. The people bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, which was in general wholesome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cyder, to which they

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sometimes added rum. Their usual cloathing was in general the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own sheep. With these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of them had any inclination for articles of greater luxury, they procured them from Annapolis or Louisbourg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs.

The neutral French had no other articles to dispose of among their neighbours, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves, because each separate family was able and had been used to provide for its wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North-America. Even the small quantity of specie which had stolen into the colony did not promote that circulation which is the greatest advantage that can be derived from it.

Their manners were of course extremely simple. There never was a cause either civil or criminal of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to time among them were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which and their religious services the inhabitants paid a twenty-fifth part of their harvests.

These were plentiful enough to supply more than a sufficiency to fulfil every act of liberality. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved as it were, before it could

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be felt; and good was universally dispensed without ostentation on the part of the given, and without humiliating the person who received. These people were in short a society of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connections of gallantry which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the two sexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied him with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received his partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others. In 1749, they all together amounted to eighteen thousand souls.

At this period Great-Britain perceived of what consequence the possession of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which necessarily left a great number of men without employment, furnished an opportunity, by the disbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vast and fertile territory. The British ministry offered particular advantages to all persons who chose to go over and settle in Acadia. Every soldier, sailor, and workman was to have

fifty acres of land for himself, and ten for every person he carried over in his family. All non-commissioned officers were allowed 80 for themselves, and 15 for their wives and children; ensigns 200; lieutenants 300; captains 460; and all officers of a higher rank 600; together with 30 for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the first ten years, and never to pay above one livre, two sols, six deniers* for fifty acres. Besides this, the government engaged to advance or reimburse the expences of passage, to build houses, to furnish all the necessary instruments for fishery or agriculture; and to defray the expences of subsistence for the first year. These encouragements determined three thousand seven hundred and fifty persons, in the month of May 1749, to go to America, rather than run the risk of starving in Europe.

It was intended that these new inhabitants should form a settlement to the south-east of Atadia, in a place which the savages formerly called Chebucto, and the English Halifax. This situation was preferred to several others where the soil was better, for the sake of establishing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fishery, and fortifying one of the best harbours in America. But as it was the part of the country most favourable for the chase, the English were obliged to dispute it with the Micmac Indians, by whom it was most frequented. These savages defended with obstinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not without very great

* About one shilling.

losses that the English drove them out from their possessions.

This war was not entirely finished, when some disturbances began to break out among the neutral French. These people, whose manners were so simple and who enjoyed such liberty, had already perceived that their independence must necessarily suffer some encroachments from any power that should turn its views to the countries they inhabited. To this apprehension was added that of seeing their religion in danger. Their priests, either heated by their own enthusiasm, or secretly instigated by the governors of Canada, made them believe all they chose to say against the English, whom they called heretics. This word, which has so powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where lands were offered them. This resolution many of them executed immediately, without considering the consequences of it; they were preparing to follow as soon as they had provided for their safety. The English government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always base and cruel in those whose power gives them an opportunity of pursuing milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming English subjects, they called together all the remaining inhabitants, and put them on board of ship. They were conveyed to the other English colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

Such are the effects of national jealousies, and of the rapaciousness of government, to which men as well as their property become a prey. What our enemies lose is reckoned an advantage, what they gain is looked upon as a loss. When a town cannot be taken, it is starved; when it cannot be kept, it is burnt to ashes, or its foundations rased. A ship or a fortified town is blown up, rather than the sailors, or the garrison will surrender. A despotic government separates its enemies from its slaves by immense deserts, to prevent the irruptions of the one, and the emigrations of the other. Thus it is that Spain has rather chosen to make a wilderness of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the spice trade. They have frequently thrown whole cargoes into the sea, rather than they would sell them at a low price. France rather chose to give up Louisiana to the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the English; and England destroyed the neutral French inhabitants of Acadia to prevent their returning to France. Can we assert after this that policy and society were instituted for the happiness of mankind? Yes: they were instituted to screen the wicked, and to secure the powerful.

Since the emigration of a people who owed their happiness to their virtuous obscurity, Nova Scotia has been but thinly inhabited. The same rage which depopulated the country, seems to have blasted it. At least the punishment

of the injustice falls upon the authors of it; for there is not a single inhabitant to be seen upon all that length of coast between the river St. Lawrence, and the peninsula; neither is it probable, from the number of rocks, sands, and morasses which cover it at present, that it ever will be peopled. The cod, indeed, which abounds in some of its bays, invites every year a small number of fishermen during the season.

Singular Adventures of a German Princess, Consort of Alexis, the unfortunate Son of the Czar Peter the Great; by Crito.

SIR,

I HAVE just met with a French paper, containing a story so very singular that I cannot help telling it to you.—A Princess of the House of Brunswick, aunt to the present reigning Duke, and of the present Empress Queen, was married to the son of the Czar Peter the Great. This wretch (who you know was such a brute that his father at length put him to death) treated her so very ill that she determined to leave him. Accordingly, having engaged four persons in her confidence, she caused it to be given out that she was dead, and made her escape into France in the year 1715. Fearing to be discovered there, she embarked with a colony which was going to Louisiana, where she hoped to live concealed, but was

found out by a serjeant, who had been formerly sent from France as a courier to Petersburg. To engage him to secrecy she married him, and went with him to the isle of Bourbon. In 1752 she was obliged to return with her husband into France, where she was discovered in the Thuilleries by Marshal Saxe, whom she prevailed on to keep the secret; and he procured her husband, whose name was Maldaç, the majority of the isle of Bourbon. Here she resided till the year 1759, when having buried her husband and child, she returned to Europe, and landed at Corunna, from thence came into France, and took a ready-furnished lodging, and had no other attendant but one Negro woman. She brought bills in her husband's name upon the French East-India company, but from the difficulty of proving her relation to him, could not get them paid. A person whom she had known in the isle of Bourbon, and who had always suspected her to be of a superior rank, offered her his assistance, which she refused. About two months since she disappeared. The evening before she went away, she had been at a banker's, and received a bag full of gold. She gave her Negro her liberty, and 300 louis d'ors, and furnished her with means to return to her own country. She confessed to the gentleman who had offered her his assistance who she was, and it is from him that the French letter-writer had his account. She is about 67*, and has so

* "The Czarowitz Alexis was married to the Princess of Wolfenbuttle, sister to the Consort of Charles VI. Emperor of Germany, October 23, 1711," says Voltaire; so that if the above account be true, this lady must at least be ten years older than here represented, it being now 64 years since her marriage.

so noble an air, that in all the situations in which she has appeared, it was always impossible to approach her without respect. She is supposed to be now at the court of Brunswick, with her nephew, the reigning duke.

This story is positively affirmed to be true; I will not vouch for its being so, though I think there is a simplicity in the narration, which gives it that appearance. At all events it is remarkable enough to be amusing.

C R I T O .

[This same lady, if we mistake not, was said, a few years ago, to be at or near Huntingdon, and was much noticed in that neighbourhood. Any of our readers who remember any particulars of her, will oblige us by communicating them.] *Gent. Mag.*

A Sketch of the Character of the late George Lord Lyttelton.

FEW characters, recorded in the annals of this country, ever united so many rare, valuable, and amiable qualities, as that of the late Lord Lyttelton.

Whether we consider this great man in public or private life, we are justified in affirming, that he abounded in virtues not barely sufficient to create reverence and esteem, but to insure him the love and admiration of all who knew him. Look upon him as a statesman, and a public man; where shall we find another, who always

thought right and meant well, and who so seldom acted wrong, or was misled or mistaken in his ministerial, or senatorial conduct? Look upon his lordship in the humbler scene of private and domestic life; and if thou hadst the pleasure of knowing him, gentle reader, point out the breast, warm or cold, that so copiously abounded with every gift and acquirement which indulgent nature could bestow, or the tutored mind improve and refine, to win and captivate mankind.

His personal accomplishments, and the sweetness and pliability of his temper, which accompanied and swayed them, always recalled to my memory, that line of his own, only varying the sex; his "Wit was nature by the graces drest."—His affability and condescension to those below him, was not the effect of art, or constrained politeness, dictated by the hackneyed sterile rules of decorum and good-breeding: no: the benevolence of his heart pervaded the whole man; it illuminated his countenance; it softened his accents, it mixed itself with his demeanor, and gave evidence at once of the goodness of his heart, and the soundness of his understanding.

To such as were honoured with his friendship and his intimacy, his kindness was beyond example; he shared at once his affections and his interests among his friends, and towards the latter part of his life, when his ability to serve them ceased, he felt only for those who depended on him for their future

marriage. Voltaire adds, "The princess, despised, ill-treated, wanting even necessaries, and deprived of all comfort, pined away in disappointment, and died at last of grief, Nov. 7, 1715."

advancement in life. The unbounded authority he possessed over them was established in parental dominion, not in the cold, haughty, supercilious superiority of a mere patron. Among this latter description, the author of the present rude outline is proud of ranking himself, and is happy in recollecting, that he obeyed, or rather anticipated, the wishes of his noble friend, as far as lay in his power, with more cheerfulness and alacrity than he would in, executing even the confidential mandates of the greatest monarch or minister in Christendom.

His lordship's acquaintance with men and books was accurate and extensive. His studies in the early part of his life must have been well directed, and his taste remarkably judicious, for no person ever lived who was less tinctured with the vulgar moroseness, and self-conceited air of a pedant, nor with the affectation and frivolity of that rank in life, which his birth, fortune, and situation, rendered customary and familiar to him.

He was perfectly and intimately acquainted with the works of the most celebrated writers of antiquity in verse and prose. His memory was stocked with the most striking passages contained in them; but he never indulged nor gave way to the strong impressions they had stamped on his mind, but to gratify his confidential friends. Whenever he consented to their entreaties, his allusions were judiciously selected, and applied with the most consummate propriety. His language was manly, nervous, and technical. It was suited to the personal rank, knowledge, and dis-

position of those he conversed with; by which means he rendered himself agreeable and intelligible to every person, whom chance, amusement, or business, threw in his way.

His discernment of spirits, the term which the late Lord Bolingbroke substitutes for the familiar phrase of knowing mankind, was no less conspicuous, when he thought proper to exert it with steadiness and vigour; but unfortunately for his own domestic peace, it was extremely difficult to rouse him. He trusted too much to the representations of others, and was always ready to leave the labour of discriminating characters, to those who too often found an interest in deceiving him. Though his steadiness of principle, penetration, and justness of reflection, might be well ranked in the first class, those talents were in a great measure effectually lost, because his employments and pursuits as a public man, his amusements as a man of taste and science, and, in the latter part of his life, his avocations as a writer, so totally engrossed his attention, that he entirely neglected his private affairs, and in a variety of instances fell a prey to private rapine and literary imposition. This was the joint effect of native indolence, and a certain incurable absence of mind. To show that his want of discrimination was not native, but that the power of knowing those he communicated with, was rendered to some purpose useless, because it was not employed, a stronger proof need not be given, than his thorough knowledge of the court, as exhibited in parties, and the several individuals who composed them. He could

could tell the political value of almost every veteran courtier, or candidate for power. He could develop their latent views; he could foretell their change of conduct. He foresaw the effect of such and such combinations, the motives which formed them, the principles which held them together, and the probable date of their dissolution. Whenever he was imposed on, it was through the want of attention, not of parts; or from a kind of settled opinion, that men of common plain understandings, and good reputation, would hardly risk solid advantages in pursuit of unlawful gain; which last might eventually be accompanied with loss of character, as well as the object proposed to be attained. Whatever plausibility there may appear in this mode of reasoning, experience frequently informed his lordship, that it was not to be depended on. He was plundered by his servants, deceived by his humble companions, misled by his confidants, and imposed on by several of those whom he patronized. He felt the effects of all this, in his family, in his finances, and even in the rank he should have preserved. Those who were not acquainted with the solidity of his judgment, the acuteness of his wit, the brilliancy and justness of his thoughts, the depth of his penetration, and with the amazing extent of his genius, were apt to confound the consequences of his conduct, with the powers and resources of his mind. If his lordship remained out of place, on principle, the ignorant inclined to ascribe this seeming court proscription to simplicity or want of talents. If he did not support his

rank with that ostentatious splendor now become so fashionable, the world was ready to impute it to a want of economy, or a want of spirit; but in all those conjectures and conclusions, the world were much mistaken and misled. He had frequent offers, some of them the most flattering, to take a part in administration; but he uniformly rejected them. His manner of living at his seat at Hagley was founded on the truest principles of hospitality, politeness, and society; and as to money, he knew no other use of it but to answer his own immediate calls, or to enable him to promote the happiness of others.

When the author of this sketch first sat down to delineate some of the outlines of the character of this truly great and amiable man, it was his intention to have said something of his lordship as a politician, statesman, orator, historian, and a writer of taste and genius, abstracted from his more deep and serious pursuits and studies. A variety of difficulties threw themselves in the way, besides the mere want of abilities, or sufficient detailed information. For though he had the honour of being intimately acquainted with his lordship in the latter part of his life, and was no stranger to his political sentiments, he found himself in a great measure deprived of those lights necessary to explain his first connection at Carleton-House, with the late Prince of Wales, father to his present Majesty; his retreat from thence and union with the Pelhams, and his final retreat from court, under the administration of Mr. Pitt, now Earl of Chatham.

These are points well worth knowing.

knowing; and, to draw his lordship's character even in miniature with any tolerable degree of precision, are absolutely necessary. Another motive still stronger, though a compound of the preceding reasons, which forbids the attempt, is, that the author was informed from good authority, that a lady (Mrs. M—n—e) no less famed for her fine taste and masculine understanding, than for every virtue that renders the sex estimable and truly amiable, intended, or more truly speaking, was *solicited* by some of his lordship's nearest friends, to take the execution of the pleasingly mournful task on herself, upon a full and extensive plan. Being convinced that no one knew the late Lord Lyttelton in every different light he shone, or shared more of his confidence and friendship, than the lady alluded to, the author of this rude, hasty attempt, here lays down his pen, in expectation that the lady will either promise to oblige the world, or will furnish him with such materials as may be the means of bringing forward the character of this nobleman, and making his abilities as well known, and his public virtues as much revered, as his genius was penetrating, his mind liberal, his heart benevolent, his perception clear, his judgment sound, and his knowledge extensive.

*New Anecdotes of Sir Isaac Newton,
by I. H. a Gentleman of his Ma-
jesty's Family.*

THE truth of the following particulars, which are in the hand writing of my mother, whose grandfather was brother to Sir Isaac Newton's mother, may be depended on. She made these memorandums for the information of her children: her words are these:

"Hannah Ascough was younger sister of the late Mr. Ascough, my father's father. She married a Mr. Newton of Colsworth, not far from Grantham in Lincolnshire, who had an estate of about 120 l. per annum, which he kept in his own hands and occupied himself. She had by him one son called Isaac; her brother, my grandfather, who lived near her, directed her in all affairs, (after the death of Mr. Newton) put her son to school at Grantham, to a very good master, Mr. Stokes. When he had finished his school learning, his mother took him home, intending, as she had no other child, to have the pleasure of his company, and that he, as his father had done, should occupy his own estate; but his mind was so bent upon his improving in learning, that my grandfather prevailed upon her to part from him; and she sent him to Trinity-College* in Cambridge, where her brother, having himself been a member of it, had still many friends. Isaac was soon taken notice of by Dr. Isaac Barrow, who observing his bright genius, contracted a great friendship for him; indeed he became so eminent for his learning, joined with his singular modesty, that he was courted to accept the honours

* It does not appear to me, that what has been asserted of Sir Isaac having been sent to the university by the pecuniary aid of some neighbouring gentlemen, is at all true. It certainly was not necessary. His mother had sufficient; so had his uncle. I therefore suspect there must have been some misinformation as to this point; a point, however, of no importance.

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afterwards conferred upon him, on the calling in of the coin, and the necessity of a new coinage. He was unwillingly brought from the university into the busy part of the world—his great aversion; but by his great judgment, and strict integrity, he saved the nation at that time, on that occasion, 80,000*l.* as I have had related by those who well knew the affair, and also from himself.

“ Sir Isaac’s mother, after her son went to Cambridge, was courted by a rich old bachelor, who had a good estate and living near her, the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Smith; but she settled some land upon Isaac, before marriage. She had by this Smith, one son and two daughters; these married and had descendants, to all, or many of whom, Sir Isaac, when his fortune increased, was kind and munificent; giving to one 500*l.* to another an estate of 4000*l.* or thereabouts, to make up a loss, occasioned by the imprudent marriage of one of them, and to prevent a law-suit among themselves. This was done many years before his death. He had a half-sister, who had a daughter to whom he gave the best of educations, the famous witty Miss Barton, who married Mr. Conduit*, of the mint, who succeeded Sir Isaac in the mint, and is buried at the west door of Westminster-Abbey, leaving only one daughter, married to the eldest son of Lord Lymington. Sir Isaac bought an estate of about seventy or eighty pounds a year, and gave it Miss Conduit, (then very young) before he died. He was kind to all the Ascoughs, and generous and munificent to such

(of them) whose imprudence had made his assistance necessary: to one of them he gave 800*l.* to another 200*l.* to another 100*l.* and many other sums; and other engagements did he enter into also for them. He was the ready assistant of all who where any way related to him, to their children, and grand-children. He made no will; his paternal estate of 120*l.* a-year went to a distant relation of his grandfather Newton; he had no relations on that side, his father nor himself had no brother nor sister. He is said never to have sold the copies of any (of his) books, published in his life-time, but gave them freely to the book-seller. He was generous to his servants, and had no love of riches, though he died worth 30,000*l.* which fell to three of his half-brother Smith’s children, three of his half-sister Pilkington’s, and his half-sister Barton’s two daughters: all these survived Sir Isaac.

“ He was a person of very little expence upon himself; kept a handsome, genteel, constant table, never above three men and three women servants; towards his latter end, when he could not use a chariot, only a chair, he kept but two men servants; he was exceedingly bountiful and charitable (not only) to relations, but to acquaintance, or persons well recommended, and to ingenious persons, in any useful art or science.”

Thus far the extract of the family papers.

It does not appear to be true that ever he became imbecile; he did not, or would not recollect the solution of many of his problems

* Author of a treatise on the gold and silver coin.

of former years; and perhaps the ill treatment he had met with from some foreigners, made him rather shy, towards the last, of entering into the discussion of any matters about which a dispute might arise; but I know that he conversed with my aunt, in whose arms he died, and with others, like any other reasonable man, to the last day of his death, and on that day read the news-paper: but I lately met with a letter of the late Dr. Pearce, Bishop of Rochester, to Dr. Hunt, Hebrew professor at Oxford, wrote in 1754, and published in 1770, in Cadell's edition of Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, page 10, which puts this imputation of Sir Isaac Newton's imbecility to shame. "It appears that Dr. Pearce was with Sir Isaac Newton a few days before his death, where he was writing without spectacles by but an indifferent light. That he was then preparing his Chronology for the press, and had written the greatest part of it over again for that purpose. He read to the doctor some part of the work, on occasion of some points in chronology which had been mentioned in the conversation. He continued near an hour reading to him, and talking about what he had read, before the dinner was brought up: and what was particular, speaking of some fact, he could not recollect the name of the king in whose reign it had happened, and therefore complained of his memory beginning to fail him; but he added immediately, that it was in such a year of such an olympiad, naming them both very exactly. The ready mention of such chronological dates seemed, says the doctor, a greater proof of his me-

memory's not failing him, than the naming of the king would have been."

What coxcomb therefore was it that first published to the world the silly story of the decay of Sir Isaac Newton's faculties before his death? This has been several times repeated. His faculties may, indeed, in some degree, have been impaired, as he had employed them intensely, for, perhaps, seventy years, but if any ruins there were in this great man's powers, there remained still far too much strength of mind to be called imbecility. A persisting application, and such a mastery over his imagination, as to keep it up to the point he had in view for a very long time, without snapping, was his peculiar talent; and the instrument with which he did such great things, and which his temperance and constitution, singularly formed for such purposes, enabled him to practise through a long life. His candour and modesty, even to bashfulness, were the graces which made such superior knowledge not disgusting to his inferiors.

He was not only the mathematician, but the historian, the chronologist, the chymist, and the critic; I have never met with any of his chemical manuscripts, but they certainly exist somewhere. I remember to have heard from the late learned Dr. Kidby, a gentleman well known to many learned men, perhaps still alive, that Sir Isaac Newton was as great in chymistry, as in any other science. It might therefore be an acquisition if those chymical papers of his could be found. William Jones, Esq. if I remember right, was supposed to have had several manuscripts

scripts of Sir Isaac Newton's in his possession: how he came by them, or why he kept them to himself, if he had such, I could never rightly learn: I remember to have heard him blamed on that account forty years ago; this is perhaps a groundless charge; I only mention it, that enquiry may be made of Mr. Jones's heirs, or the persons into whose hands his papers came after his decease, whether any manuscripts of Sir Isaac Newton's worth notice exist? and surely if any exist they must have their worth.

I. H.

N. B. We are authorized by the son of William Jones, Esq. author of the *Synopsis Mathematicæ*, to assure the public, that no such papers have been found in his father's library: and that the story of his having made an improper use of any papers belonging to Sir Isaac Newton, is wholly groundless.

An Account of the Life and Writings of the late David Hume, Esq. as given to the World in one of the periodical publications.

THE lives of literary men seldom abound with incidents. That leisure, which is necessary for the acquisition of knowledge, excludes them in some measure from the busy world, and intense study seems generally to subdue in them the spirit of enterprise. Few men, even among the learned, had ever less of that spirit than the honest, easy, indolent, but philosophic Hume. His life, consequently, affords few of those occurrences which are commonly supposed to give interest to a biographical narration. But there is

a pleasure in tracing the progress of genius, and in observing its various obstructions and encouragements, in the road to fame, which has made the lives of authors, though less diversified by circumstances, more universally acceptable than those perhaps of any other class of men. No apology need therefore be made for an attempt to trace the progress of a writer unequalled in his age, or in his province, one of the most eminent and extensive in the empire of science.

David Hume, so well known to the world of late, both as a philosopher and historian, was born about the year 1712, in that part of Scotland which lies between Edinburgh and Berwick. His father was a country gentleman, or laird, of good family, but small fortune, and David was unfortunately a younger son. In his early years, he was by no means distinguished as a scholar, or by any of those accomplishments which are supposed to qualify youth for the liberal professions; but as the pride of the Scottish gentry then prevented them from breeding any of their children to mechanical or mercantile employments; and as the church, in that country, can only be the object of the lower class of people, the best kirks affording no more than a decent maintenance, there was a necessity for every younger son of a genteel family being bred either a soldier, a lawyer, or a physician.—David was destined for the bar; not so much as being adapted to his genius, as the line in which his relations could most effectually serve him. After passing through his academical courses at the university of

of Edinburgh, he therefore devoted himself to the study of the Scotch laws, in which he made considerable progress; but whether from that natural modesty, almost inseparably connected with great merit, a consciousness of his deficiency in elocution, the happy indolence of his temper, little fitted for the contentious bar, or any other secret cause, he never put on the gown, nor even took the introductory steps necessary for that purpose. Other studies attracted him.

The metaphysical writings of Locke and Berkeley had turned all inquisitive men towards intellectual objects. The human mind spent its force in contemplating itself; as if man had been born for thinking, not acting; as if ideas had, in fact, only been *real*; and the material world, as conjectured by the Bishop of Cloyne, but *as a vision*. Mr. Hume had early applied himself to metaphysical inquiries: he saw, or seemed to see, the defects of the former systems, and published, in 1739, the two first volumes of his *Treatise of Human Nature*, and the third the following year.

This work, though not inferior to any thing of the moral or metaphysical kind in any language, was entirely overlooked, or decried at the time of its publication, except by a few liberal-minded men, who had courage to throw aside their popular and literary prejudices, and to follow sound reasoning without being afraid of any dangerous conclusion, or fatal discovery; of seeing errors unveiled, however sanctified by years, or supported by authorities: and the author made sensible, to the severe disappointment of his youthful

hopes, that the taste for systematical writing was on the decline, divided his treatise into separate essays, and dissertations, which he published, with improvements, alterations, and additions, at different periods of his life. His enemies, however, or men desirous of raising a reputation by exposing the mistakes of a great genius, have levelled all their arguments against this juvenile production, though never dignified with the author's name; and Dr. Beattie in particular, more than thirty years after the publication of that sceptical system, has been so successful as to obtain a pension by his *Essay on the Immutability of Truth*; in which he discovers all the violence of a sectary, and all the illiberality of a pedant, and rather abuses than confutes Mr. Hume.

As the *Treatise of Human Nature* is now very scarce, some account of it may be agreeable to many readers. The author's purpose in that work, as he himself informs us, was, "to introduce the experimental method of reasoning into moral subjects." The ability with which he has executed his design, can only be fully discovered by an examination of the treatise itself; which, as a composition, is admirable. The first volume treats of the understanding, the second of the passions, the third of morals. Criticism and politics were still necessary to complete his plan, and would have been added systematically, if the success had, in any degree, been answerable to the merit of the work. He thus speaks of the sciences, that he meant to examine: "The sole end of logic is to explain the principles and operations of our reasoning faculty, and

and the nature of our ideas: morals and criticism regard our tastes and sentiments; and politics consider men as united in society, and dependent on each other. In these four sciences, logic, morals, criticism, and politics, is comprehended almost every thing which it can any way import us to be acquainted with, or which can tend either to the improvement or ornament of the human mind." So early, and when he was thought little able to give a new direction to science, had this great man digested that ingenious system of philosophy, which has changed metaphysics from a frivolous to an useful study; and given a stability to morals, criticism, and politics, unknown in former ages!—But what is still more extraordinary, the style and method of this first production are not less correct and happy, than those of his most admired performances, written after his taste and judgment were matured by years and experience. A single quotation will be sufficient to support this assertion, and also to exemplify his method of reasoning *experimentally* on moral subjects.

Speaking of that modesty, and chastity which belong to women, "there are some philosophers," he observes, "who attack the female virtues with great vehemence, and fancy they have gone very far in detecting popular errors, when they can shew that there is no foundation in nature for all that exterior modesty which we require in the expressions, dress, and behaviour of the fair sex." And he proceeds to examine the origin of such notions, and their connection with the interests of society.

"Whoever considers," says he,

"the length and feebleness of human infancy, with the concern which both sexes naturally have for their offspring, will easily perceive that there must be an union of male and female for the education of the young, and that this union must be of considerable duration. But in order to induce the men to impose on themselves this restraint, and undergo cheerfully all the fatigues, and expences to which it subjects them, they must believe that the children are their own, that their *natural instinct* is not directed to a wrong object, when they give a loose to love and tenderness.

"Now," adds he, with equal justice and ingenuity, "if we examine the structure of the human body, we shall find that this security is very difficult to be attained on our part; and that since in the copulation of the sexes, the principle of generation goes from the man to the woman, an error may take place on the side of the former, though it be utterly impossible on the side of the latter. In order therefore to impose a due restraint on the female sex, we must attach a peculiar degree of shame to their infidelity, above what arises merely from its injustice, and must bestow proportionable praises on their chastity. But as human creatures, especially of the female kind, are apt to overlook remote consequences, while under the influence of any present temptation, it is necessary, besides the infamy attending such licences, that there should be some preceding backwardness or dread, which may prevent their first approaches, and give the female sex a repugnance to all expressions, and postures, and liberties,

liberties, that have an immediate relation to that enjoyment." *So much good sense and sound reasoning was never perhaps delivered in so few words, on the subject of female virtue, by any writer ancient or modern: yet this is an extract from the treatise, whose confutation has been impudently attempted, more than once, by mere common sense, and childish declamation!*

In the year 1742, Mr. Hume published two small volumes, consisting of essays, moral, political, and literary. These were better received than his former publication, but contributed little to his general reputation as an author, and still less to his profit; and his small patrimony being now almost spent, he was glad to accept of the office of library keeper to the faculty of advocates. The salary annexed to this place is only fifty pounds per annum; but the opportunity which it afforded him of consulting, at his leisure, all the choice authors, and valuable papers in one of the best libraries in Europe, may be considered as no inconsiderable circumstance in favour of Mr. Hume's literary character.

In 1746, he stood candidate for the chair of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, then vacant by the resignation of the present Sir John Pringle, appointed physician to the army. Every one was convinced of Mr. Hume's abilities, and his interest was warmly supported by the nobility and gentry; but the Presbytery of Edinburgh, having a right to object to one out of the three candidates named by the town council, they put their negative upon honest Da-

vid, whose sentiments were too liberal for their narrow minds.

Thus baffled in his attempt to obtain an office for which he was eminently qualified, and in which perhaps he could have been of more service to his country than in any other, Mr. Hume devoted himself entirely to study, and rested all his hopes of fame and fortune on his merit as an author.—He published in the years 1748 and 49 his *Metaphysical Essays* nearly as they now stand; a *Dissertation on the Passions*, also extracted from his *Treatise of Human Nature*; his *System of Morals*, much altered and improved; and along with these several new moral, critical, and political essays.

From politics, in which he had now made considerable progress, Mr. Hume turned his inquiries towards history, and completed, in 1752, the history of Britain under the House of Stuart. The first volume of this work had been published two years before, but was little noticed, and the success of the second was by no means considerable; yet these two volumes are allowed to be equal to any part of his now justly-admired *History of England*, or rather of Britain; for he all along connects the story of the two kingdoms.

So singular an instance of public neglect cannot be well accounted for; especially as the style is remarkably elegant, the period interesting, and the work full of new and important matter, anecdotes, and observations. The public, however, has since amply repaid Mr. Hume for its ingratitude. His *History of the House of Stuart* requires only to be read to be admired;

mired; and it no sooner fell into the hands of Mr. Millar, than at the head of the London bookfellers, than it became a favourite performance among the higher class of people.

But Mr. Hume's reputation as an historian was not complete, till the publication of his History of the House of Tudor; in 1758. About the same time was published Dr. Robertson's History of the Reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, and her Son James, till his Accession to the Throne of England; a work which was admired, even to enthusiasm, by persons of all ranks. Many of the same subjects are treated by both writers, and at equal length. A comparison necessarily followed; and all intelligent men became sensible, after the most critical examination, that the philosophic dignity, the logical disposition, the force of diction, the just concatenation of circumstances, the lively pictures of manners, the comprehensive, yet distinct views of the interests of nations, and the intrigues of courts, independent of the many valuable disquisitions, which so eminently distinguish Mr. Hume's work, were at least a balance for the classical purity of style, the happy selection of incidents, the keen discernment of motives, and the fine delineation of character, no less conspicuous in the other, which render the History of Mary one of the most captivating books in our language.

Thus encouraged by the public approbation, Mr. Hume prepared for the press, with all expedition, the more early part of his History of England, from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the accession of

the House of Tudor; which, with the volumes formerly published, bring down the progress of the English constitution, and the civil and military transactions of Britain, to the Revolution in 1688, an era when the government of this country was fixed on the basis, where it continues to rest. Yet it is to be lamented that Mr. Hume did not bring down his history to the death of Q. Anne, when the manners, the literature, and the military reputation of England, and of Europe, were at an height, and when the accession of a new family gave a new direction to British policy. But such as it is, taken as a whole, it may be considered as one of the most excellent productions of human genius, and is certainly the greatest historical work of modern times.

Mr. Hume's reputation was now complete. He was considered as the greatest writer of the age: his most insignificant performances were sought after with avidity; and Lord Bute, who, whatever errors he may have been guilty of as a politician, will ever be honoured as a patron of letters, procured for Mr. Hume a considerable pension. —But it was not enough that the philosophic David should be enabled, in his latter years, to eat the bread of idleness, as the reward of his many laborious researches; his political writings affording reason to believe, that he might be of use to the state, he was appointed secretary to Lord Hertford, ambassador at the court of France, and afterwards resident in the absence of that nobleman.

In France, Mr. Hume's writings had long been known and admired; so that he there found himself

of

of still more consequence by his character than his office. He was universally caressed. Even the ladies are said to have loaded him with their favours. But of all Mr. Hume's adventures, during his residence in France, or in his own country, there is none so remarkable as that which took its rise from his acquaintance with the celebrated John James Rousseau, whom he brought over to England with him in 1766, and for whom he procured the offer of a pension from his Majesty.

The particulars of that affair have been already published, and are too numerous and complicated to enter into such a sketch as the present; it will therefore be sufficient here to observe, that Mr. Hume, understanding that M. Rousseau, persecuted every where on the continent, meant to take refuge in England, generously conducted him over, procured him a commodious retreat, and afterwards the offer of a pension; but that the jealous and peevish temper of Rousseau, led him to reject the last, abandon the first, and abuse Mr. Hume as a person who had conspired the ruin of his character, under an appearance of serving him; though every precaution, which the most refined delicacy could suggest, had been taken in order to spare the pride of that singular man, by the manner of conferring those obligations.

An anecdote or two will sufficiently shew the jealous and even suspicious temper of M. Rousseau, and the generosity and candour of Mr. Hume. On their journey to England, they happened one night to lie in the same chamber; and during the season devoted to sleep,

M. Rousseau heard, or imagined he heard, Mr. Hume cry several times, with great vehemence—"Rousseau, I have you!" These words, though in themselves equivocal, and though M. Rousseau owns he does not know whether Mr. Hume uttered them when asleep or awake, roused his suspicions, which it appears were never afterwards entirely laid. The question which honest David asks on this occasion is equally pertinent and candid. "As M. Rousseau is not certain whether Mr. Hume was asleep or awake, is he sure that he was awake himself?"

M. Rousseau's suspicion of Mr. Hume's treachery rose in proportion to the benefits conferred upon him, and at last broke out in perfect peevishness on the slightest occasion imaginable. Mr. Davenport, a gentleman distinguished by his birth, his fortune, and his merit, had granted to M. Rousseau and his governante, the use of his house called Wooton, in Derbyshire (where he seldom resided), with all other things necessary for a livelihood; but in order to prevent Rousseau's pride from being hurt by such a benefit, he agreed to receive, in return, a trifling sum annually. He also generously pretended, as he had reason to think M. Rousseau's finances were not very high, that he had found a post-chaise, on its return to Wooton, which would carry the philosopher safely, and at small expence, to his retreat. Rousseau suspected the benevolent artifice, and accused Mr. Hume of being an accomplice in it. Mr. Hume protested his innocence, and endeavoured to shift the subject. After a sarcastical reply, Rousseau sat

sat for some time in seeming melancholy, then sprung up, walked two or three times across the room, and at last threw his arms about the neck of his brother philosopher, bathing the astonished David's face with tears, and crying like a child. "My dear friend," said he, as soon as he was able to speak, "will you ever forgive me this extravagance? After all the pains which you have taken to serve me, after the numberless proofs of your friendship, is it possible that I can thus repay your kindness with spleen and abuse! But in pardoning me you will give me a new mark of your regard, and I hope when you know me better, you will find that I am not unworthy of it."

This reconciliation, however, was but of short duration. Still a prey to his former suspicions, his delicacies, and his scruples, Rousseau soon broke out entirely with his benefactor, and left England.

Mr. Hume, who, after his return from France, had been appointed under secretary of state, retired to Scotland on the resignation of Gen. Conway, and spent the remainder of his years at Edinburgh, among the companions of his youth, equally admired and respected; beloved as a friend, and honoured over Europe as a scholar, a gentleman, and a man of genius. He died, after a lingering illness, on the 25th of August, 1776.

Translation of a Letter from M. de Voltaire to the King of Prussia, dated March 30, 1776; which, besides an entertaining Specimen of the Writer's rare Brilliancy of Genius at the advanced Age of 83, contains some curious Particulars

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relating to the remarkable Rights of registering the Royal Edicts, to render them valid; and remonstrating against them; peculiar to the French Parliaments, or Courts of Justice.

S I R E,

IF your *Camarade* [fellow-monarch, or compeer], the Emperor of China, Kien-Long, be dead, as it is reported, I am extremely sorry.

Your Majesty can tell how much I love and revere kings who make verses. I know one who has certainly made better than Kien-Long, and to whom I shall continue attached until I go to pay my court below to the late Emperor of China.

We have in France a young king, who, indeed, does not make verses, but who makes excellent prose. He has lately given seven fine pieces, all in favour of the people. The preambles of these edicts are master-pieces of eloquence, for they are master-pieces of reason and benevolence. The parliament of Paris returned some specious remonstrances. It was a trial of skill. If a prize had been to be given to the best composition, the connoisseurs would without hesitation have adjudged it to the king.

This right of registering and remonstrating, of which you know nothing in your kingdom, is founded on an ancient precedent of a provost of Paris, in the time of St. Louis, and of your Conrad-Hohenzollern the second, which provost thought proper to keep a register of all the royal ordinances, in which he was imitated by an officer of the parliament of Paris, John Mondue, in 1313.

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Kings

Kings found this invention very useful. Philip de Valois had the regal rights registered in parliament. Charles the fifth took the same precaution in regard to the famous edict for fixing the majority of the king at 14 years. Treaties of peace were often registered. But we hear of no remonstrances in those times.

The first remonstrances were on the finances, under Francis the first, respecting a massy silver railing which surrounded the tomb of St. Martin. The saint having no need of the railing, and Francis I. having great need of money, he made free with the railing, for which the canons of Tours, who yielded it up to him, were to be recompensed out of the lands of the crown. The parliament represented to the king the irregularity of this proceeding.

See here the origin of all the remonstrances which have since so much embarrassed our kings, and which in the end produced the war of the *Fronde*, in the minority of Louis XIV.

We have no *Fronde* to fear under Louis XVI. and still less have we to fear from the ridiculous terrors of Jesuits, Janfenists, and convulsionists. It is true, our debts are as immense as those of the English, but we enjoy all the blessings of peace, good government, and hope.

Your majesty very justly observes that the English are not so happy as we are; they are tired of their felicity. I do not believe that my dear Quakers will fight themselves, but they will pay others to fight for them.

I am no great politician, your majesty well knows; but I much doubt whether the ministry at London are a whit better than

ours. We are already ruined, the English are now ruining themselves: every one in turn. As to you, Sir, you enjoy in peace the solid fruits of your glory; you build towns and villages, you encourage all the arts, and you have no other enemy than the gout: I hope that will make peace with your majesty, as so many other powers have done.

As to the Jesuits, whom you so much regard, there is something noble in the protection given them by an excommunicated person, as you have the honour to be: a predicament this, whence I have some right to flatter myself with the same protection.

I do not believe, with M. Paw, that the Emperor Kien-Long treated the Jesuits in his dominions with cruelty. Father Amoit translated his poem: we always love our translator; and I will maintain, that a monarch who makes verses cannot be cruel.

I will venture to ask one favour of your majesty; that is, to condescend to tell me which is oldest, my Lord Marshal or myself. I am in my 83d year, and I think he is but 82. I wish that you may one day be in your 12th.

Anecdotes of the late Edward Wortley Montague, Esq; as given the World in one of the periodical Publications.

THE celebrated Edward Wortley Montague, Esq; died lately on his return from Venice to England. As this gentleman was remarkable for the uncommon incidents which attended his life, the close of that life was no less marked with singularity. He had been early married to a woman, who

who aspired to no higher a character than that of an industrious washerwoman? As the marriage was solemnized in a frolic, Wortley never deemed her sufficiently the wife of his bosom to cohabit with her. She was allowed a maintenance. She lived contented, and was too submissive to be troublesome on account of the conjugal rites. Mr. Montague, on the other hand, was a perfect patriarch in his manners. He had wives of almost every nation. When he was with Ali Bey in Egypt, he had his household of Egyptian females; each striving who should be the happy one who could gain the greatest ascendancy over this Anglo-Eastern Bashaw. At Constantinople, the Grecian women had charms to captivate this unsettled wanderer. In Spain, a Spanish Brunette; in Italy, the olive complexioned female, were solicited to partake the honours of the bridal bed. It may be asked what became of this group of wives? Mr. Montague was continually shifting the place, and consequently varying the scene. Did he travel with his wives, as the patriarchs did with their flocks and herds? No such thing. Wortley, considering his wives as bad travelling companions, generally left them behind him. It happened, however, that news reached his ears of the death of the original Mrs. Montague the washerwoman. Wortley had no issue by her, and without issue male a very large estate would revert to the second son of Lord Bute. Wortley owing the family no obligations, was determined, if possible, to defeat their expectations. He resolved to return to England and marry. He acquaint-

ed a friend with his intentions, and he commissioned that friend to advertise for any young decent woman, who might be in a pregnant state. The advertisement was inserted very lately in one of the morning papers. Several ladies answered it. One out of the number was selected, as being the most eligible object. She waited with eagerness for the arrival of her expected bridegroom; but, behold, whilst he was on his journey, Death very impetuously arrested him in his career. Thus ended the days of Edward Wortley Montague, Esq; a man who had passed through such variegated scenes, that a bare recital of them would savour of the marvellous. From Westminster school, where he was placed for education, he ran away three several times. He exchanged clothes with a chimney-sweeper, and he followed for some time that sooty occupation. He next joined himself to a fisherman, and cried flounders in Rotherhithe. He then sailed as a cabin-boy to Spain, where he had no sooner arrived, than he ran away from the vessel, and hired himself to a driver of mules. After thus vagabondizing it for some time, he was discovered by the consul, who returned him to his friends in England. They received him with a joy equal to that of the father of the prodigal son in the gospel. A private tutor was employed to recover those rudiments of learning which a life of dissipation, of blackguardism, and of vulgarity, might have obliterated. Wortley was sent to the West-Indies, where he remained some time, then returned to England, acted according to the dignity of his birth, was

chosen a member, and served in two successive parliaments. His expences exceeding his income, he became involved in debt; quitted his native country, and commenced that wandering traveller he continued to the time of his death. Having visited most of the eastern countries, he contracted a partiality for their manners. He drank little wine; a great deal of coffee; wore a long beard; smoked much; and even whilst at Venice, he was habited in the eastern stile. He sat cross-legged in the Turkish fashion, through choice. With the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Chaldaic, and the Persian languages, he was as well acquainted as with his native tongue. He published several pieces. One on the "Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire." Another an exploration of "The Causes of Earthquakes." He had great natural abilities, a vast share of acquired knowledge. He had scarcely a single vice—*for he is dead*. That he had virtues to counterbalance his failings, Omniscience will discover, when weighing them in the scale of merit. Infinite mercy will take care that the beam shall preponderate in favour of his future happiness.

Anecdotes of the late Rev. George Stubbs and John Straight, Authors of several ingenious Pieces in Prose and Verse, by Mr. John Straight.

SIR,

IF you think the following anecdotes worth preserving, they are much at your service.

GEORGE Stubbs, Rector of Gunville, in Dorsetshire, a wor-

thy, honest, intelligent writer, though little known as such, wrote many of the best papers in the *Free Thinker*, 1718; (in conjunction with Ambrose Philips and others). A *New Adventure of Telemachus*, printed in the *London Journal* of 1723 or 4, since printed separately by Wilkins, in 8vo. a beautiful piece, founded upon principles of liberty and true government, and the reverse of the Archbishop of Cambray's on that subject, which, however palliated, are upon a wrong foundation. Three or four letters in the *London Journal*, by Bishop Hoadly, at that time, signed *Britannicus*, arguing against popery, (which obliged even that great and good man to make an entire submission, without exception, to the Pope, against the tenor of all his works) evidently laid the foundation on which George Stubbs built this *New Adventure*. He also wrote *A Dialogue on Beauty*, in the manner of Socrates, between Socrates and Aspasia. This he made the elegant foundation of a copy of verses on the late Dr. John Hoadly's marriage, 1735-6, inclosing to him, with a letter, *Aspasia to Florimel*, referring all along to that dialogue. There are some other copies of verses by him, still in manuscript, though well worth preserving, viz. *The Athenian Statute*, an allegorical poem, doing justice both to Bishop Rundle (whose virtues he knew how to commend, as well as to laugh at his failings), and to the ecclesiastical prudery and slander of Bishop Gibson and Venn; *Fickle Friendship*, on Dr. Rundle; and *Verses on Miss Wenman's Singing*, the author having dreamed of her. Though

Though the critics, perhaps, may think all these too florid, yet they are very beautiful, and would better please *the many*. He printed also two small volumes (if not more) of *Mad. Savigné's Letters*, the first ever known in English, and thought to preserve the good-humour of the originals better than any of his successors. He was intimately connected with Mr. Deputy Wilkins*, the Whig printer in Little-Britain, by marrying his sister for his first wife, who, by the way, was taken in by the French Prophets. G. Stubbs married a second wife at Salisbury, daughter of Mr. Alderman King, who after his death married Mr. Hinxman, Rector of Houghton, near Stockbridge. Mr. Stubbs was a silent, reserved man, as seeming conscious of a want of address, though at the same time of superior abilities and genius.

If these hints should be the means of collecting his works, or of rescuing any more of them from oblivion, my end in communicating them will be answered. One of the pieces above-mentioned shall be added.

Fickle Friendship. On Dr. Rundle.

But, it should first be observed, that Dr. Rundle was a kind of male-coquette, and had as many friendships, and was as fantastical in them, as any of the other sex-lovers. When his good friend, the Hon. Mr. John Talbot, married, he was so remarkably jealous of his wife, and all her charms

and virtues, as to give occasion to our author, who knew him well, to make this the uncommon subject of the following elegant poem.

“ ALEXIS, with Platonic pride,
The feeble darts of Love defy'd,
The pow'r of friendship still he sung,
And oft the harp with Shaftesbury
strung :

No nymph could taint his purer mind,
Or raise a passion less refin'd.
From friend to friend he lov'd to stray,
As butterflies their wings display,
And, fluttering from flow'r to flow'r,
With wanton theft their sweets de-
vour.

No fam'd coquette, or fav'rite toast,
A fairer herd of swains could boast.
Thyrsis to Corydon resign'd
The sickle empire of the mind;
Daphnis from willing Corydon
With ease the unsought honour won,
Acon was now his only joy,
Acon did all his thoughts employ;
The wav'ring Reel was here at rest,
And all its wanton motions ceas'd.

Though piqu'd, the boy with de-
cent pride

To such a breast his flames deny'd;
His golden shafts refus'd to stain,
Or curse the nymphs with such a swain.
To Acon's breast he sped the dart,
To Acon did the wound impart:
The wound so deep, the dart so sure,
Not Hymen's self could boast a cure.

Who now does like Alexis mourn,
Or with more jealous fury burn?
He views the rival nymph with pain,
And does of Acon's joys complain.
Her pleasing smiles, her glowing
charms,

Possess his soul with new alarms;
He owns the triumph of her eyes,
And in the wounded Acon dies.”

* A worthy, sensible, honest man, a warm friend to the Hanover suc-
cession, and possessed of a liberality of sentiment superior to his station, the age
of the Stephens's being past, though we have had a Richardson and a Foulis,
and have still a Bowyer.

With the same view accept the following anecdotes of

The Rev. JOHN STRAIGHT, Rector of Findon, in Sussex, to which he was presented by Magdalen College, Oxford, being Fellow of that Society. He was author of the following poems in Dodsley's Collection, vol. v. p. 244. &c. "To Mr. J[ohn] H[oadly], at the Temple, occasioned by a Translation of an Epistle of Horace, 1730. Answer to some Verses from Mr. J. H. 1731. Cupid and Chloe. The Poet to his false Mistress, &c." These pieces are excellent, and much in the manner of Prior. Mr. Straight was ever in a state of persecution, as it were, for his extraordinary parts and eccentric good sense; by which he entirely got rid of his good enthusiastic father's prejudices (in which he was educated) in favour of the French prophets (above-mentioned), by whom he was eaten up and betrayed.

Mr. Straight married the daughter of Mr. Davenport, Vicar of Broad Hinton, Wilts, whom he left a widow with six children. After his death, two vols. 8vo. of "Select Discourses," were published for their benefit, which, though never designed by him for the press, were extremely worthy of it. His circumstances and health were particularly hurt by his turning farmer, merely for the sake of his numerous family, and dying soon after, before he had time to retrieve the extraordinary first expenses.

The following letter, occasioned by Bp. Hoadly's giving him the

prebend of Warminster in Salisbury cathedral, is taken from "Letters by several eminent Persons deceased," vol. iii. 2d edition.

Reverend Mr. Straight to Bishop Hoadly.

My Lord,

1732.

I JUST now received your lordship's most surprising, generous, opportune, beatific letter. I was dead till I received it, but it has given me new life: I feel myself gay, elated --- I have been tithe gathering these three weeks, and never thought to enquire after any thing for the future but the price of corn: but now I shall see London again, I shall see Sarum again, I shall see the Bishop again;

Shall eat his oysters, drink his ale, Loosning the tongue as well as tail;

I shall be poetical, oratorical, ambitious; I shall write again to the young divine*; nay, I don't know but to the public. But I must suppress the extravagance of my joy, and think of proper terms to express my gratitude. I can only with your lordship and myself a long life to shew it.

I am, &c.

Gent. Mag.

J. STRAIGHT.

Memoirs of the Life of the late Rev. Dr. John Hoadly.

THE late Rev. Dr. J. Hoadly, youngest and only surviving son of Benjamin Bishop of Winchester, was born in Broad-street, London (his father being then

* Mr. John Hoadly.

Rector

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embellished with the remains of his mother's pictures, and the best of her own paintings, she being a proficient in that art, and a scholar of Mrs. Beale and her son Charles. A half-length, by her, of her husband, when Bishop of Bangor, was added by her son in 1773, to the collection of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth,

The late Dr. Hoadly, with every benevolent affection and social virtue, had an eminent taste and genius for the polite arts, particularly poetry, as appears by his *Force of Truth*, an oratorio (taken from Euripides), and some other musical performances, written for his friend Dr. Green's academy at the Apollo, and set by him; the verses under the prints of Hogarth's *Rake's Progress*; a translation of Mr. Holdsworth's *Muscipula*, 1737; and several other pieces printed in *Doddsley's Poems*, vol. v. p. 258, &c.; the famous ballad, *Far Sally Row'd a bony Seaman*; &c. and many other *jeux d'esprit*. To which we beg leave to add the following anecdotes:

In 1731, late in the season. Mr. Rich, contrary to the opinion of all his friends, insisted on immediately bringing out a play which was then offered him, of a very peculiar sort, it being a rehearsal of two modern plays, a comedy and a tragedy, which was played five nights in May to almost the same audience, and began to make a strange noise in the town by the applauses of some, and the fears and jealousies of others, viz. the wits, critical and poetical. This was written by our author (then but 20) and his eldest brother, the

physician, and was called the *Contrast*, from the contrasted characters of the two poets, Mr. Simile and Mr. Fustian. This, for prudential reasons, was sacrificed to the good Bishop's desire; and Mr. Rich was so honourable as to recall every scrap of paper, copy, and parts, &c. that it was never heard of afterwards. The authors had made a few lines as the beginning of an epilogue in the modern loose taste, but soon found that was a wrong way to burlesque those high-seasoned dishes, and resolved to make the actress herself refuse to speak it "as too indecent;" which had a vast effect. Merope, by the late Mr. Jeffreys, acted just before this, being in great distress for an epilogue, they supplied it with these very lines, which they had originally designed for a burlesque on all such foolish epilogues, adding a few about critics, to make out a decent number *. Fielding afterwards took up the principal life of this piece, the two poets reciprocally hating and envying one another, and transplanted it into his *Pastorquin*; which he made so abusive as to get money for silencing it, and to be the occasion of the act for licensing plays, — too near an encroachment on the liberty of the press. *Aliquid Gyaris dignum* Fielding was well qualified to write.

In 1737, after the ingenious but dull morality of *Doddsley's Toyshop*, Mr. Hoadly made choice of Mr. Hughes's *Vision of Charybdis, or the Ferry-boat*, as a subject which would admit of as much instruction, with more life and spirit;

* The printed epilogue is said to be "by an unknown hand." allowing

allowing of a great number of characters humorous and moral, and at the same time short and lively. Charon a character of humour, and Mercury, of moral eloquence, remaining on the stage the whole time, and the rest of the characters passing into the boat, where Charon at the boat-head receives them. It was a *petite piece* of one long scene, with a high compliment both on Lord Chancellor Talbot, then just dead, and Lord Hardwicke his successor. All the characters in Mr. Hughes's *Vision*, that would admit of any dramatical life, were preserved. Great part of this plan was afterwards adopted by Mr. Garrick, in his *Lethe*. The hint of imitating several modern authors, in the *Pipe of Tobacco*, was suggested to the late Mr. Hawkins Browne by Dr. Hoadley; and the imitation of Ambrose Philips was written by him.

On the publication of the Supplement to the *Biographia Britannica*, Dr. Hoadley was obliged, in his father's just defence, to prepare an article relating to him, and to have it inserted there, in the place of one actually printed before it was suffered to come to his hands or knowledge, very unworthy, and much to the disgrace, of the Bishop's character. The character of the compiler may be drawn from the following letter to our author,

from the late Lord Chancellor Yorke, desiring a list of his father's works.

" Nov. 10, 1769.

" Dear Sir, I had the honour and pleasure of a letter from you yesterday. Though I never see you, and during the whole course of my life have been little and scarce at all known to you, yet I confess, that, from various happy circumstances of private acquaintance and public principles, I have always respected and loved you as a friend, and felt that relation, by your attention and goodness, to be reciprocal.

" As to your father, the late excellent Bishop, I can lament with that ancient writer, who said, *Virgilium nunquam vidi* * : but his memorable and great name is, past, beyond the short date of human life, into the annals and veneration of posterity. I look up to him as a good and wise being far above us. This made me ambitious to trace his footsteps; and though not unversed in the history of his life and writings, yet anxious to secure some catalogue of his tracts, that I might catch when I saw, and read when I had caught them; I shall be much obliged to you for the list.

" Your description of N——ls† entertained me. *Hellus librorum*, I suppose, from the strength, depth,

* Ovid, the writer here meant, says, *Virgilium tantum vidi*. Pope says the same thing of Dryden, and Dryden of Milton.

† LL. D. of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, from whence he was expelled for stealing books from the University library, &c. He wrote the lives in the latter part of the *Biograph. Britann.* signed P. In one of them (that of Dr. Joseph Smith) was a letter from Sir Thomas Hanmer, reflecting on Bishop Warburton, in regard to Shakespeare, which the Bishop prevailed on the proprietors to cancel. But some time after the castrated sheet was published separately, by N——ls, on his lordship refusing to give this literary Cerberus a proper top.

and leger-de-main of his cassock. One of that name (if I mistake not) a few years ago was a famous book-stealer in libraries, convicted at the Old-Bailey, and perhaps now returned from transportation. Nothing is so natural as that a felon book-stealer should turn hireling panegyrist, or felon libeller, in his regenerate state. It is a *metempsychosis* devoutly to be expected. And let me add, that it completes the ridicule and infamy of modern dictionary-writing, that he should be the editor, and (as you say) even the Procrustes of your father's life.—In short, *quocunque modo*, do justice to your excellent father; "give the *Helluo* a dinner, and sit still," as I know, you love to do.

"Lord Hardwicke is not in town, but very well, and always yours. Dr. Birch is as much alive as ever. I am, dear Sir, your faithful, &c.

C. YORKE."

And in another letter, dated Dec. 26, 1769, (not a month before his much lamented death!) Mr. Y. says, "As to your friend N——Is, I am right (it seems) in my man, nor quite *out* as to his transportation. The truth is, that having formerly been liable to be transported by sentence of law, he transported himself into foreign parts for fear of the law.—I hope you will carry your point for a decent article.

* Article Hoadley, p. lxiii.

† The original is as follows:

"So where our wide Numidian wastes extend,
Sudden th' impetuous hurricanes descend,
Wheel through the air, in circling eddies play,
Tear up the sands, and sweep whole plains away.

This point was effectually carried (as mentioned above); and Dr. H. afterwards prefixed this article to a complete edition of his father's works, in 3 vols. folio, which he published in 1773, with a dedication to his Majesty. It remains only to add, that he died at St. Mary's, March 16, 1776, in the 65th year of his age, and that "here the family and name of Hoadly (as he himself has observed *) seem to have an end," no male now remaining of that numerous stock, though the Bishop's grandfather (chaplain of Edinburgh castle) had twelve children, his father (master of Norwich-school) ten, and his uncle John (rector of Halstead, Kent) five.

As a small instance of our author's talent for humour, we shall close this account with a parody on Addison's concluding simile, in the 4th act of *Cato*.

"So from on high, where Grub-street's
garrets stand,
Sudden th' impetuous hawking race
descend;
Bawl down the streets, the list'ning
alleys scare,
Till, prop'd upon their mops, the
cook-majds stare.
Th' affrighted Abigail, with wild
surprise,
Hears murders and last speeches fill
the skies,
And, by the frontispiece deluded
—buys†."

To the foregoing memoirs may be added a parody on another Addisonian Simile,

Th.

Simile, in the manner of the last, there being sufficient reason to consider it as the production of the same ingenious writer, in his juvenile years.

write as *pretty things*, but to bring them in properly and judiciously—*hic labor, hoc opus. Facilis descensus*—your *down-bill* work is easy, but your *bills* are choak-jades,

Phædra and *Hippolitus*. Act II.
Conclusion.

And 'tis with whip and spur the race is won.

So, when bright Venus yielded up her charms,
The blest Adonis languish'd in her arms;
His idle horn on fragrant myrtles hung,
His arrows scatter'd, and his bow unstrung.
Obscure in coverts lie his dreaming hounds,
And bay the fancy'd boar with feeble sounds;
For nobler sports he quits the savage fields,
And all the hero to the lover yields.

Let it be added, that Lillo's *Arden of Feversham* was revised and much improved by Dr. John Hoadly; and that *The Suspicious Husband* is supposed to have been much indebted to the same hand. When the Bishop mentioned this performance, he always called it *his son's thing*, or *the thing* which his son wrote.

A. B.

PARODY.

So, when bright Abigail resign'd her charms,
The happy Curate languish'd in her arms;
His unbrush'd beaver on the floor was cast,
His notes were scatter'd, and his bible lost.
In alehouse hid his dreaming clerk was found,
And rear'd the fancy'd slave with feeble sound:
For nobler sheets his concordance he leaves,
And all the parson to the lover gives.

Recent Account of the Person styled, in England, The Pretender; and, in Rome, Il Re, or The King. From Letters from Italy, by a Lady (Mrs. Miller), lately published.

7th of Jan. at night.

— I Told you in this letter that we passed part of (yesterday) evening at the Duchess of Bracciano's; as we were there early, before much company was arrived, she was so obliging as to enter into a particular conversation with me. We were seated on a sofa, when one of the gentlemen in waiting entered and announced "Il Re." As there were many rooms to pass

And so on—"the butter-woman's rank to market," as Shakespeare says. Nothing so easy to

Th' affrighted traveller, with wild surprise,
Sees the dry desert all around him rise,
And, bury'd in the dusty whirlwind, dies."

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"Smit with the love of rhyme," the great Addison, we see, could not resist the temptation of tagging his acts; an absurdity now exploded. Philips has been betrayed into the same.

before this personage could appear, she seized that opportunity to desire me upon no account to speak to or take the least notice of him, as it was not only what she insisted upon in her house, but that it was the Pope's desire that no stranger, particularly English, should hold any conversation with him. I assured her my principles were diametrically opposite to those of the Stuart family and their party; adding more of the like sort; but I concluded with saying, that, if he spoke to me, I could not, as a gentlewoman, refrain from answering him, considering him only in the light of a gentleman, and should treat him as I would do any other foreigner or native, with that general civility requisite on such occasions; she still insisted upon my not answering, should he speak to me, with which I refused to comply: I think I was right: my reasons were these: I knew before, that no gentlemen of the British empire make themselves known to him, but on the contrary avoid it, except such as declare themselves disaffected to the present royal family; at least, so it is understood at Rome. I had also heard, that he politely avoided embarrassing them by throwing himself in their way: but, as I am not a man, it struck me as very ridiculous for me, a woman, not to reply to the Pretender, if he spoke to me, as such a caution would bear the appearance of passing myself for being of political consequence; added to these considerations, I had great curiosity to see him, and hear him speak.—But to return: he entered, and bowing very politely to the company, advanced to the individual sofa on which

I was placed with the Duchess of Bracciano, and seated himself by me, having previously made me a particular bow, which I returned with a low curtsy; he endeavoured to enter into conversation with me, which he effected by addressing himself equally to the Duchess, another lady, and myself; at last he addressed me in particular, and asked me how many days since my arrival at Rome, how long I should stay, and several such questions. This conversation passed in French—what distressed me was how to style him—I had but a moment for reflection; it struck me that Mon Prince (though the common appellation (as in France) to every stranger whose rank as a prince is the most dubious) would not come well from me, as it might admit of a double sense in an uncandid mind—Highness was equally improper; so I hit upon what I thought a middle course, and called him Mon Seigneur. I wished to shorten the conversation, for all on a sudden he said, "Speak English, Madam." Before I could reply, the Duchess of Monte Libretti came up, and pulled me by the sleeve: I went with her to a card-table, at which she was going to play: I declined playing, not being perfect in the games; besides, you know I hate cards. At my departure, I took leave of the Duchess of Bracciano (agreeable to the custom) and the Chevalier, who played at her table, officiously civil, rose up, and wished me a good night. He is naturally above the middle size, but stoops excessively; he appears bloated and red in the face, his countenance heavy and sleepy, which is attributed to his having given into excess of drinking;

drinking; but, when a young man, he must have been esteemed handsome. His complexion is of the fair tint, his eyes blue, his hair light brown, and the contour of his face a long oval; he is by no means thin, has a noble presence, and a graceful manner: his dress was scarlet, laced with a broad gold lace; he wears the blue ribband outside of his coat, from which depends a cameo (antique) as large as the palm of my hand; and wears the same garter and motto as those of the noble order of St. George in England: upon the whole, he has a melancholic, mortified appearance. Two gentlemen constantly attend him; they are of Irish extraction, and Roman Catholics you may be sure. This evening, after quitting the Cardinal's, we were at the Princess Palestrine's conversazione, where he was also. He addressed me as politely as the evening before. The Princess desired me to sit by her; she played with him: he asked me, if I understood the game of Tarocchi, (what they were about to play at); I answered in the negative; upon which, taking the pack in his hands, he desired to know if I had ever seen such odd cards: I replied that they were very odd indeed: he then, displaying them, said, "Here is every thing in the world to be found in these cards, the sun, the moon, the stars; and here, says he, (shewing me a card) is the Pope; here is the devil, (and added) there is but one of the trio wanting, and you know who that should be." I was so amazed, so astonished, though he spoke this last in a laughing, good-humoured manner, that I did not know which way to look; and as to a reply, I made none,

but avoided cultivating conversation as much as possible, lest he should give our conversation a political turn. What passed afterwards was relative to some of the English manners and amusements; such as, whether whist was in fashion at London, the assemblies numerous, &c. I was heartily glad when my visit was finished.

A brief Account of that excellent Critic, the late Mr. Jerry Markland. By an anonymous Hand; with an Addition by ACADEMICUS.

MR. Jeremiah Markland, who died July 7, 1776, at Milton, near Dorking, in Surry, was one of the most learned scholars, and penetrating critics of the age. He became first publicly known by his "Epistola Critica," addressed to Bishop Hare. In this he gave many proofs of extensive erudition and critical sagacity. He afterwards published an edition of Statius, some plays of Euripides, and assisted Dr. Taylor in his editions of Lysias and Demosthenes, by the notes which he communicated to him. He has also very happily elucidated some passages in the New Testament, which may be found in Mr. Bowyer's edition of it; and was author of a very valuable volume of remarks on the epistles of Cicero to Brutus; and of an excellent little treatise under the title of *Quæstio Grammatica*. He was not more valued for his universal reading, than beloved for the excellence of his heart, and primitive simplicity of manners. He was educated in Christ's Hospital. Of the same royal foundation were Joshua Barnes, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, the celebrated

celebrated Greek Professor, and the late Dr. Jurin, equally eminent for his skill in physic, and the sublimer parts of mathematics.—Mr. Markland was born in August 1692. He was one of the twelve children of the Rev. Ralph Markland, and has left four surviving sisters, the youngest of whom is 70, and another of them is mother to the present Sir Robert Foley, Bart. For more than 20 years past he lived almost sequestered from the world in the little village of Milton, near Dorking, where the aged and the needy have lost a most generous benefactor. His remains were deposited in Dorking church, whither, by his own desire, he was carried by six of his poor neighbours.

The foregoing *brief* account of Mr. Jeremiah Markland, might be somewhat enlarged by a representation of his incomparable Annotations upon Maximus Tyrius, which were printed in Dr. Davis's second edition of that author in 1740, 4to. under the care of the very learned professor Ward. Mr. Markland has, in his address to the reader prefixed to them, demonstrated the truth of his discovery, that Maximus had himself published two editions of this work: a discovery sufficient to immortalize the name of this eminent critic, had he done nothing else in the republic of letters. To him we also owe "the many additions" to Arnald's "Commentary upon the Book of Wisdom," noticed at the end of the Author's preface, in the 2d edition, 1760. ACADEMICUS.

Some Account of the Life and Writings of the late Mr. Benjamin

Stillingfleet. *By a Gentleman who subscribes himself J. C.; with an Addition by ACADEMICUS.*

SIR,

I Have often been much concerned that none of the friends of the late Mr. Benjamin Stillingfleet have favoured the public with any particulars of his life, to perpetuate the memory of that amiable and sensible gentleman. I have therefore thrown together the following notices, in hopes of inducing some better qualified person to do him more ample justice.

He was grandson of the well-known Bishop of Worcester. His father Edward was Fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, F. R. S. M. D. and Gresham Professor of Physic: but marrying in 1692, he lost his lucrative offices, and his father's favour: a misfortune that affected both himself and his posterity. However, going into orders, he obtained, by his father's means, the living of Newington-Batts, which he immediately exchanged for those of Wood-Norton and Swanton in Norfolk. He died in 1708.

Benjamin, his only son, was educated at Norwich school, which he left in 1720, with the character of an excellent scholar. He then went to Trinity-College in Cambridge, at the request of Dr. Beasley, the master, who had been private tutor to his domestic father, chaplain to his grandfather, and much indebted to the family. Here he was a candidate for a fellowship; but was rejected by the master's influence. This was a severe and unexpected disappointment; and but little alleviated afterwards by the doctor's apology, that it was a pity that a gentleman of Mr. Stillingfleet's

lingfleet's parts should be buried within the walls of a college.

Perhaps, however, this ingratitude of Dr. Bentley was not of any real disservice to Mr. Stillingfleet. By being thrown into the world, he formed many honourable and valuable connexions. He dedicated some transactions of Linnæus to the late Lord Lyttelton, partly, he says, from motives of private respect and honour. The present Lord Barrington gave him, in a very polite manner, the place of the master of the barracks at Kensington; a favour to which Mr. Stillingfleet, in the dedication of his Calendar of Flora to that nobleman, alludes with equal politeness, as well as with the warmest gratitude. His Calendar of Flora was formed at Stratton in Norfolk, in the year 1755, at the hospitable seat of his very worthy and ingenious friend Mr. Martham, who had made several observations of that kind, and had communicated to the public his curious observations on the growth of Trees. But it was to Mr. Wyndham, of Felbrig in Norfolk, that he appears to have had the greatest obligations: he travelled abroad with him; spent much of his time at his house; and was appointed one of his executors (Mr. Garrick, I think, was another), with a considerable addition to an annuity which that gentleman had settled upon him in his life-time.

Mr. Stillingfleet's genius seems, if we may judge from his works, to have led him principally to the study of natural history, which he prosecuted as an ingenious philosopher, an useful citizen, and a good man. In this walk of learning he mentions, as his friends, Dr. Wat-

son, Mr. (now Dr.) Solander, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Price of Foxley, and some others: and I have heard, the ingenious Mr. Pennant acknowledge many obligations to him. Nor can I omit the flattering mention which the late Mr. Gray makes of him in one of his letters, dated from London in 1761. "I have lately made an acquaintance with this philosopher, who lives in a garret here in the winter, that he may support some near relations who depend upon him. He is always employed, consequently (according to my old maxim) always happy, always cheerful, and seems to me a very worthy honest man. His present scheme is, to send some persons, properly qualified, to reside a year or two in Attica, to make themselves acquainted with the climate, productions, and natural history of the country, that we may understand Aristotle, Theophrastus, &c. who have been Heathen Greek to us for so many ages; and this he has got proposed to Lord Bute, no unlikely person to put it in execution, as he is himself a botanist."

I know not whether Mr. Stillingfleet has published any thing in this way, except a volume of miscellaneous tracts, which is in much esteem, and does great honour to his head and heart. They are chiefly translations of some essays in the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, published by Linnæus, interspersed with some observations and additions of his own. In this volume he shews also a taste for classical learning, and entertains us with some elegant poetical effusions of his own. But his *Essay on Conversation*, published in the first volume of Dodley's *Collection of Poems*, exults him to a dis-

a distinguished rank among our English poets. And I am the rather pleased at being able to view him in this light, as some persons have affected to despise the study of natural history (particularly some of the more minute parts of it) as beneath the character of a gentleman, and rarely engaged in but by persons of inferior and unpolished understandings. This poem is addressed to Mr. Wyndham, with all that warmth of friendship which distinguishes Mr. Stillingfleet. As it is chiefly didactic, it does not admit of so many ornaments as some compositions of other kinds. However, it contains much goodness, shews a considerable knowledge of mankind, and has several passages that in point of harmony and easy versification would not disgrace the writings of our most admired poets. Here more than once Mr. Stillingfleet shews himself still sore from Dr. Bentley's cruel treatment of him; and towards the beautiful and moral close of it (where I think he gives us a sketch of himself), seems to hint at a mortification of a more delicate nature, which he is said to have suffered from the other sex.

To these disappointments it was perhaps owing that Mr. Stillingfleet neither married, nor went into orders. His London residence was at a sadler's in Piccadilly, where he died in 1771, aged above 70, leaving several valuable papers behind him, none of which, I believe, have been printed. He was buried in St. James's church, without the slightest monument of his having existed. These posthumous tributes are indeed unavailing to the dead; but sooth, however, the regret of the living, and therefore I some-

what wonder, that none of the gentlemen who greatly valued him should have indulged their own grief by at least some slender memorial of their affection for him.

J. G.

To the above account of the writings of Mr. Benjamin Stillingfleet, may be added a small 8vo. anonymous pamphlet, published about 1733, intitled, "Some Thoughts concerning Happiness;" though it is not noticed by Professor Ward in p. 283 of the "Lives of the Professors of Gresham College," where Mr. Stillingfleet is mentioned as an author.—*Genl. Mag.*

ACADEMICUS.

Memoirs of the late Mr. Peter Collinson, Fellow of the Royal Society, and the Society of Antiquaries in London; and of the Royal Societies of Berlin and Upsal.

THE satisfaction arising from the view of a life continually employed in commendable pursuits, and in acts of lasting and extensive utility, is not a small one. We participate afresh in every social action of the friend whom we loved whilst living, and pay that tribute to his name, which love and friendship demand—a grateful and honourable remembrance.

The just esteem which Mr. Peter Collinson had acquired, among the chief promoters of *natural history* in most parts of the world, and among men of understanding in general, in every part of useful science, must render any apology unnecessary for exhibiting some account of him.

Mr.

Mr. Peter Collinson was the great grandson of Peter Collinson, who lived on his paternal estate, called Hugal-Hall, near Windermere Lake, ten miles from Kendal in Westmoreland. He was born in the year 1693, and whilst a youth he discovered a strong attachment to natural history. Insects, and their several metamorphoses, employed many of those hours, which at his time of life are mostly spent by others in very different pursuits. Plants likewise engaged his attention; he began early to make a collection of dried specimens, and had access to the best gardens in the neighbourhood of London. In the year 1740 he was considered among those who were best acquainted with botany and natural history in England—his collection was very large—the specimens well chosen—his botanic garden contained many curious plants not to be met with in any other; and the number of such kept increasing to the last period of his life.

The first-rate naturalists of the age, Drs. Derham, Woodward, Dale, Lloyd, Sir Charles Wager, and Sir Hans Sloane, were among his friends.—He was one of those few who visited Sir Hans at all times familiarly, and continued so to do to the latest period:—and among the great variety of articles which formed his friend's superb collection, small was the number of those, with whose history Mr. Collinson was not well acquainted. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, December 12, 1728, and was one of the most diligent and useful members of that respectable body, not only in supplying them with many cu-

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rious observations himself, but in promoting and preserving an extensive correspondence with learned foreigners in all countries, and on every useful subject—and thus excited others to contribute largely to the instruction and entertainment of the society.

Indeed he suffered nothing useful in either art or science to escape him.—There were but few men of learning and ingenuity of all professions who were not of his acquaintance—he acquainted the learned and ingenious in distant parts of the globe with the discoveries and improvements in natural history in this country, and received the like information from the most eminent persons in almost every other. His correspondence with Cadwallader Colden, Esq; of New York, and the celebrated Dr. Franklin of Philadelphia, furnish many instances of the benefit resulting from his attention to all improvements. To him Dr. Franklin communicated his first essays on electricity. Their minds in this respect were congenial, ever intent upon promoting public good.

Perhaps in some future period, the account he procured of the management of sheep in Spain, in respect to their migrations from the mountains to the plains, and their stated returns, may not be considered among the least of the benefits accruing from his extensive and inquisitive correspondence. When America is better peopled, the mountainous parts more habitable, the plains unloaded of their vast forests and cultivated, the finest sheep in the world may possibly cover the plains of Carolina, Georgia, and the Floridas, in the winter months, and retreat to the

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moun-

mountains as the summer heats increase, and dry up the herbage. Probably it might be practised even in this island to advantage; with this difference, that the highest ground should be chosen for the winter residence of these animals, proper shelter being made for them, and the wetter low lands left for summer.

Mr. Collinson's conversation was cheerful, and usefully entertaining—it generally turned to some interesting disquisition, or imparting some beneficial information. With some of the most eminent personages in the kingdom, as distinguished by their taste in planting and horticulture as by their rank, he frequently spent a few days at their seats, imparting many advantageous hints as to the improvements they were designing. By his extensive observation and experience of the effects of different methods of cultivation; what soil, what aspect best suited different plants and trees; how best to cover incurable defects; how to improve beauties, &c.—he often prevented young planters from committing capital mistakes, rectified others who had been misled, and prevailed upon many of his friends, and young people of fortune, to embark in this rational amusement, and to persevere in it greatly to their own emolument, and the lasting advantage to their country.

Planting, he used to say, and gardening, supply a fund of entertainment, the most lasting and reasonable of any occupation in this life; pleasures not to be purchased. The trees which we ourselves have planted, the fruits we have raised, the plants we have cultivated, seem to be like our children, a kind of

new creation; their shade, their taste, their fragrance, and their beauties, affect us with a richer repast than any others. What a pleasing scene, would he observe, lies open to a young man of fortune devoted to such amusements! Each succeeding year produces new shades, other fruits, fresh beauties, and brings besides most certain profit. To behold the rising groves, barrenness made fertile, our country improved, ourselves made useful and happy, and posterity enriched! When on this favourite subject, a very natural reflection often escaped him, that he seldom knew a man possessed of a taste for such pleasures, who was not at the same time temperate and virtuous. And indeed he had a right to make the observation; for he had the satisfaction of reckoning among his most intimate friends, men of the most amiable and unblemished characters in all stations, parties, and distinctions.

Nor was he only employed in promoting this taste amongst his friends, in enlarging their views, correcting and refining their judgment, but also in furnishing them with the means of increasing their plantations: and it is but doing justice to his memory, to mention that he was the first who introduced the great variety of seeds and shrubs, which are now the principal ornaments of every garden; and that it was owing to his indefatigable industry, that so many persons of the first distinction are now enabled to behold groves transplanted from the western continent flourishing so luxuriantly in their several domains, as if they were already become indigenous to Britain. His business in the mercantile way

way was chiefly to North-America and the West-Indies, the former particularly. He had perused every performance that was wrote respecting the natural history and produce of all our own settlements, and indeed of all the European colonies in the new world. This enabled him to make enquiries after every thing that was curious and useful, and brought him acquainted with the most intelligent people who came over from America; his enquiries raised some curiosity in those countries, and excited a taste for natural history and botanical researches. It perhaps may safely be said, that every thing of this sort that has appeared in those parts of the world, was chiefly owing to his encouragement. That eminent naturalist, John Bartram, may almost be said to have been created such by Mr. Collinson's assistance: he first recommended the collecting of seeds, and afterwards assisted in disposing of them in this country, and constantly excited him to persevere in investigating the plants of America, which he has executed with indefatigable labour, through a long course of years, and with amazing success.

The quantities of new seeds he received from America, not only supplied his own garden with every thing that was curious, but furnished him with the means of procuring others, in exchange, from other parts of the globe. He had some correspondents in almost every nation in Europe; some in Asia, and even at Pekin; who all transmitted to him the most valuable seeds they could collect, in return for the treasures of America. In this exchange of good offices, there

is abundant cause to believe no man ever exceeded him in respect to punctuality, care, or generosity; few had ever more intelligent correspondents, or succeeded better in enriching this country with the vegetable produce of every other, that could either add to its advantage or ornament.

The great Linnæus, during his residence in England, contracted an intimate friendship with him, which was reciprocally increased by good offices, and continued to the last without any diminution. Mr. Collinson frequently prompted the Americans to pursue improvements alike beneficial to themselves and to his country. He often urged the benefit, nay necessity, of cultivating flax, hemp, wine, silk, and other products. In most of the northern and southern colonies, there are a variety of native grapes growing wild in the woods, and thriving among the trees and bushes for their support. These yield fruit in plenty of different kinds, and many of them capable of producing a rich good wine. It would be easy in autumn to collect a sufficient quantity of the fruit to make trial of the wine. A few have done it with success, and the fault seems not so much in the fruit, as want of skill or care in making the wine. It is certainly now high time for the Americans to apply themselves diligently to cultivate their native produce: and the measures of administration have at length forced them to do it, whether they chose it or not.

He was a member of the Society of Antiquarians from its first institution, and supplied them often with many curious articles of intelligence, and observations respecting this

this and other countries—for wherever he was, or however seemingly engaged, nothing escaped his notice, if it appeared likely to be useful or instructive. He had no greater ambition than to collect what knowledge he could, and to render this knowledge subservient as much as possible to the good of mankind. He lived many years in great domestic happiness, and his family took the same bias, and aided his pursuits. He had a pleasing and social aspect—his temper open and communicative—capable of feeling for distress, and ready to relieve. He rose very early, and whilst in the country, his time was almost constantly employed in his garden, observing and assisting the operations of nature, or in the study of other parts of physical knowledge, which contributed to his health and pleasure.

He was fond of fruit to an extreme, and of flowers a perpetual admirer: he was seldom without them in his house, from the early snowdrop to the autumn cyclamen. He would often relate with pleasure the astonishing advancement made in his time in horticulture; gave instances of many plants, which at their first introduction would not bear our winters without shelter, and now endured almost our hardest frosts; so that foreigners stood amazed at the power of vegetation in this country, and the happy temperature we enjoy, notwithstanding the unmerited murmurs of the unthinking and injudicious against a climate the most favourable of all others to the real happiness of mankind.

He hath left behind him a vast treasure of dried specimens of plants, and in spite of repeated

and cruel depredations on his garden, whereby he lost a multitude of valuable plants and shrubs, and had many others destroyed by the villains in the act of plunder, he has nevertheless left a small treasure of rare plants, in greater perfection than can be seen perhaps in any other spot.

Excepting some attacks of the gout, in general he enjoyed perfect health, and great equality of spirits; bearing those trials which are incident to man with fortitude and resignation.

In such a course he arrived at his 75th year; when being on a visit to Lord Petre, in Essex, for whom he had a singular regard, he was seized with a total suppression of urine, which baffling every attempt to relieve it, proved fatal on the 11th of August 1768, and deprived his family, his friends, and country, of a man devoted to their interest and advantage. Inclosed in his will was found a paper, importing, “that he hoped he should leave behind him a good name, which he valued more than riches; that he had endeavoured not to live uselessly; and that all his days he constantly aimed to be a friend to mankind.” Such indeed he was, to the utmost of his ability; and he may justly be considered as a latent spring to many important improvements, as well as one of the principal promoters of natural history in general, and of horticulture in particular, in the age in which he lived.

Additions to the above Memoirs, by a Gent. who subscribes himself Y.

AMONG Mr. Collinson's particular friends stands the name of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, to whom

he communicated many valuable particulars. Their minds were congenial, and ever intent on promoting the public good.—The following letter is one proof thereof, and therefore deserves a place in your valuable repository. Y.

TO MICHAEL COLLINSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

UNDERSTANDING that an account of our dear departed friend Mr. Peter Collinson is intended to be given to the public, I cannot omit expressing my approbation of the design. The characters of good men are exemplary, and often stimulate the well-disposed to an imitation, beneficial to mankind, and honourable to themselves. And as you may be unacquainted with the following instances of his zeal and usefulness in promoting knowledge, which fell within my observation, I take the liberty of informing you, that in 1730, a subscription library being set on foot at Philadelphia, he encouraged the design, by making several very valuable presents to it, and procuring others from his friends: and as the library company had a considerable sum arising annually to be laid out in books, and needed a judicious friend in London to transact the business for them, he voluntarily and cheerfully undertook that service, and executed it for more than thirty years successively; assisting in the choice of books, and taking the whole care of collecting and shipping them, without ever charging or accepting any consideration for his trouble. The success of this library (greatly owing to his kind countenance and good advice) encouraged the erecting

others in different places on the same plan; and it is supposed there are now upwards of thirty subsisting in the several colonies, which have contributed greatly to the spreading of useful knowledge in that part of the world; the books he recommended being all of that kind, and the catalogue of this first library being much respected and followed by those libraries that succeeded.

During the same time he transmitted to the directors of the library the earliest accounts of every new European improvement in agriculture and the arts, and every philosophical discovery: among which, in 1745, he sent over an account of the new German experiments in electricity, together with a glass tube, and some directions for using it, so as to repeat those experiments. This was the first notice I had of that curious subject, which I afterwards prosecuted with some diligence, being encouraged by the friendly reception he gave to the letters I wrote to him upon it. Please to accept this small testimony of mine to his memory, for which I shall ever have the utmost respect; and believe me, with sincere esteem, dear Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Lond. Mag.

B. FRANKLIN.

Some Account of the late celebrated Mr. Ferguson, by Dr. Tho. Houlston, of Liverpool.

MR. James Ferguson was born in Scotland, of very poor parents. At the earliest age his extraordinary genius began to exert itself. He first learned to read

by overhearing his father teach his elder brother: and he had made this acquisition before any one suspected it. He soon discovered a peculiar taste for mechanics, which first arose on seeing his father use a lever. He pursued this study a considerable length, even whilst very young, and made a watch in wood work, from having once seen one. As he had no instructor, nor any help from books, every thing he learned had all the merit of an original discovery; and such, with infinite joy, he believed it to be. As soon as his age would permit, he went to service, in which he met with hardships, which rendered his constitution feeble through life. Whilst he was servant to a farmer (whose goodness he acknowledges in the modest and humble account of himself which he prefixed to his last publication) he frequently contemplated the stars, and began the study of astronomy, by laying down, from his own observations only, a celestial globe. His kind master, observing these marks of his ingenuity, procured him the countenance and assistance of his superiors. By their help and instructions, he went on gaining farther knowledge, and was sent to Edinburgh. There he began to take portraits, an employment by which he supported himself and family for several years, both in Scotland and England, whilst he was pursuing more serious studies. In London he first published some curious astronomical tables and calculations, and afterwards gave public lectures in experimental philosophy, which he repeated (by subscription) in most of the principal towns in England, with the highest marks of general approbation. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal

Society, without paying for admission (an honour scarcely ever conferred on a native) and had a pension of 50*l.* per ann. given him, unsolicited, by our gracious king, at his accession, who had heard lectures from him, and frequently sent for and conversed with him on curious topics. He also received several presents from his majesty, the patron of real merit. To what a degree of consideration Mr. Ferguson mounted by the strength of his natural genius, almost every one knows. He was universally considered as at the head of astronomy and mechanics in this nation of philosophers. And he might justly be styled self-taught, or rather heaven-taught; for in his whole life he had not above half a year's instruction at school. He was a man of the clearest judgment, and the most unwearied application to study; benevolent, meek and innocent in his manners as a child; humble, courteous, and communicative; instead of pedantry, philosophy seemed to produce in him only diffidence and urbanity—a love for mankind and for his Maker. His whole life was an example of resignation and Christian piety. He might be said to be an enthusiast in his love of God, if religion, founded on such substantial and enlightened grounds as his was, could be like enthusiasm. After a long and useful life, unhappy in his family connections, in a feeble and precarious state of health, worn out with study, age, and infirmities, he was at length permitted to attain that heaven, on which his thoughts and views had long been fixed, and which is the ultimate reward of learning, virtue, patience, and piety.

Liverpool, Nov. 29, 1776.

Memoirs

Memoirs of the late Mr. George Edwards, Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies.

GEORGE EDWARDS was born at Stratford, a hamlet belonging to Westham, in Essex, on the 3d of April, 1694. He passed some of his early years under the tuition of a clergyman, named Hewit, who was then master of a public school at Layton-Stone, which is only a few miles distant from the village where he was born. After quitting the school, he was placed with another minister of the established church at Brentwood; and, being designed by his parents for business, was put apprentice to a tradesman in Fenchurch-street. His master, not less distinguished for his strict regard to religion, than for his uncommon skill in the learned languages, treated him with remarkable kindness and civility.

An event happened about the middle of the term of his apprenticeship, which it is necessary to mention. Dr. Nicholas, a person of eminence in the physical world, and a relative of his master, happened to die. His books, which were very numerous, having been removed from Covent-Garden to an apartment then occupied by our young naturalist, he availed himself of this unexpected incident, and passed all the leisure of the day, and, not unfrequently, a considerable part of the night, in turning over this collection of natural history, sculpture, painting, astronomy, and antiquities.

The expectation of obtaining that opulence, which commerce bestows on her assiduous votaries, now ceased. The shop and the

Exchange had lost all their delights; and, on the expiration of his servitude, he conceived a design to travel into foreign countries, to improve his taste, and enlarge his mind.

In 1716, having no intention of entering on business, he took shipping for Holland, and visited most of the principal towns of the United Provinces, remaining absent a month. On his return, he was two years unemployed in London and its neighbourhood, and then went on board a ship bound to Norway, at the invitation of a gentleman, who was disposed to be his friend, and whose nephew was master of the vessel in which he embarked.

Nothing material occurred on the voyage, and they soon arrived at the designed port. A country diversified with rocks of stupendous magnitude, and trees of unfading verdure, where some of the natives have scarce experienced the arts of civilization, could not fail to afford novelty, if it did not impart satisfaction to an Englishman. The sun, during his stay, set only to rise; and few hours were allotted to sleep, either by him or his company. Sometimes he wandered on the banks of creeks, the haunt of sea fowl, and other rude birds, where no articulate voice was heard; and, at other seasons, remarked the progress of vegetation among the hills: and yet, such is the force of custom in the human mind, that the rude inhabitant has no ambition to quit his native mountains, clad with perpetual snow, for the sunny regions of more southern latitudes. Our author frequently experienced among these illiterate people that hospitality,

tality, which flourishes less vigorously in more civilized countries.

In his excursion to Frederickstadt, he was not distant from the thunder of Charles the XIIth's cannon, who at that time besieged Frederickshall; where that unfortunate monarch stained his laurels by an ignominious defeat, and was deprived of his life as well as his crown.

He was disappointed of visiting that country by this circumstance, as the Swedish army was particularly assiduous in confining strangers, and those who could not give a good account of themselves when they happened to meet with them. But, notwithstanding all his precaution, he was confined by the Danish guard, who erroneously supposed him a spy employed by the enemy to obtain intelligence of their designs. However, by procuring testimonials of his innocence, a release was granted.

In July he embarked for England, but the ship, on its arrival at Scilly, was detained by contrary winds. During his confinement here, his leisure time was chiefly taken up with fishing, and such other amusements as his situation would admit of; and he was not a little delighted with the vast cliffs of that romantic island, and the harsh clamours of its feathered inhabitants. Soon after his arrival in London, he retired to his native place, where he spent the winter: but, being desirous of visiting France, went by way of Dieppe to Paris, in 1719; and, having seen its curiosities, took a lodging in a village called Greencourt, in the great park of Versailles: but, to his mortification, the menagery, at that time, had no living crea-

ture in it; the court not residing there in the king's minority, the famous collection of animals, &c. had been neglected, and all dead or dispersed.

The pompous cavalcades, and exposition of reliques, in the several churches and religious houses, excited his attention; and the labours of the sculptor and painter, in the public buildings, claimed his admiration.

During his stay in France, he made two journeys of one hundred miles each; the first to Chalons in Champagne, in May 1720; the second on foot to Orleans and Blois, in a disguised habit, with a view to escape those sons of rapine, who often make their depredations on travellers. An edict happened at that time to be unfortunately issued to secure vagrants, in order to transport them to America, as the banks of the Mississippi wanted population; and our author narrowly escaped a western voyage.

On his arrival in England, Mr. Edwards closely pursued his favourite study of natural history, applying himself to drawing and colouring such animals as fell under his notice. A strict attention to natural, more than picturesque beauty, claimed his earliest care; birds first engaged his particular attention; and, having purchased some of the best pictures of these subjects, he was induced to make a few drawings of his own; which were admired by the curious, who encouraged our young naturalist to proceed, by paying a good price for his early labours.

Among his first patrons and benefactors may be mentioned James Theobalds, Esq; of Lambeth; a gentleman

gentleman zealous for the promotion of science. Our artist, thus unexpectedly encouraged, increased in skill and assiduity, and procured, by his application to his favourite pursuit, a decent subsistence, and a large acquaintance. However, he remitted his industry in 1731, when, in company with two of his relations, he made an excursion to Holland and Brabant, where he collected several scarce books and prints, and had an opportunity to examine the original pictures of several great masters at Antwerp, Brussels, Utrecht, and other great cities.

In December 1733, by the recommendation of the great Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. president of the College of Physicians, he was chosen librarian, and had apartments in the college. This office was peculiarly agreeable to his taste and inclination, as he had the opportunity of a constant recourse to a valuable library, filled with scarce and curious books on the subjects of natural history, which he so assiduously studied. By degrees he became one of the most eminent ornithologists in this, or any other country. His merit is so well known in this respect, as to render any eulogium on his performances unnecessary: but it may be observed, that he never trusted to others what he could perform himself; and often found it so difficult to give satisfaction to his own mind, that he frequently made three or four drawings to delineate the object in its most lively character, attitude, and representation.

In 1743, the first volume of the History of Birds was published in quarto.

His subscribers exceeded even his most sanguine expectation; a second volume appeared in 1747.

The third volume was published in 1750.

In 1751 the fourth volume came from the press.

This volume being the last he intended to publish at that time, he seems to have considered it as the most perfect of his productions in natural history; and therefore devoutly offered it up to the great God of nature, in humble gratitude for all the good things he had received from him in this world.

Our author, in 1758, continued his labours under a new title, viz. *Gleanings of Natural History*.

A second volume of the *Gleanings* was published in 1760.

The third part, which made the seventh and last volume of his works, appeared in 1764.

Thus our author, after a long series of years, the most studious application, and the most extensive correspondence to every quarter of the world, concluded a work which contains engravings and descriptions of more than six hundred subjects in natural history, not before described or delineated. He likewise added a general index in French and English, which is now perfectly compleated with the Linneæan names, by that great naturalist Linnæus himself, who frequently honoured him with his friendship and correspondence.

Upon finishing the work, we find the following declaration, or rather remarkable petition of the author, where he seems afraid that his passion for his favourite subject of Natural History should get the better of nobler pursuits, viz. the contemplation of his Maker:

“ My

"My petition to God (if petitions to God are not presumptuous) is, that he would remove from me all desire of pursuing Natural History, or any other study; and inspire me with as much knowledge of his Divine Nature as my imperfect state is capable of; that I may conduct myself, for the remainder of my days, in a manner most agreeable to his will, which must consequently be most happy to myself. What my condition may be in futurity is known only to the wise Disposer of all things; yet my present desires are (perhaps vain and inconsistent with the nature of things!) that I may become an intelligent spirit, void of gross matter, gravity and levity, endowed with a voluntary motive power either to pierce infinitely into boundless ethereal space, or into solid bodies; to see and know how the parts of the great universe are connected with each other, and by what amazing mechanism they are put and kept in regular and perpetual motion. But, oh vain and daring presumption of thought! I most humbly submit my future existence to the supreme will of the one Omnipotent!"

Some time after Mr. Edwards had been appointed Librarian keeper to the Royal College of Physicians; he was, on St. Andrew's day, in the year 1750, presented with an honorary compliment by the President and Council of the Royal Society, with the gold medal, the donation of Sir Godfrey Copley; Bart. annually given on that day to the author of any new discovery in art or nature, in consideration of his Natural History just then completed. A copy of this medal he had afterwards engraved and

placed under the general title in the first volume of his History. He was a few years afterwards elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries, London, and also a member of many of the Academies of sciences and learning in different parts of Europe. In compliment to these honorary distinctions from such learned bodies, he presented elegant coloured copies of all his works to the Royal College of Physicians, the Royal Society, the Society of Antiquarians, and to the British Museum; also to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, from whom he received the most polite and obliging letter of thanks by their then Secretary Monsieur Desfouchy.

The nobility and gentry frequently honoured him with their friendship and generous support; and he mentions with peculiar pleasure being patronised by four great men, who were perhaps the greatest promoters of learning, science, and arts, of any in the present age. These were the late Duke of Richmond, Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Mead, and Martin Folkes, Esq.

His collection of drawings, which amounted to upwards of nine hundred, were purchased by the Earl of Bute, who would confer a favour on posterity by publishing engravings from them, as they contain a great number of English as well as foreign birds and other animals hitherto not accurately delineated or described.

After the publication of the last work, being arrived at his 70th year, he found his sight begin to fail, and his hand lost its wonted steadiness. He retired from public employment to a little house which
he

he purchased at Plaistow; previous to which he disposed of all the copies, as well as plates, of his works. The conversation of a few select friends, and the perusal of a few select books, were the amusement of the evening of his life; and now and then he made an excursion to some of the principal cities in England, particularly to Bristol, Bath, Exeter, and Norwich.

Mr. Edwards was of a middle stature, rather inclined to corpulence: of a liberal disposition, and a cheerful conversation. All his acquaintance experienced his benevolent temper, and his poor neighbours frequently partook of his bounty.

His diffidence and humility were always apparent, and to persons who had a taste for studies congenial to his own he was a most entertaining as well as communicative companion.

Some years before his death the alarming depredations of a cancer,

which baffled all the efforts of physical skill, deprived him of the sight of one of his eyes: he also suffered much from the stone, a complaint to which at different periods of life he had been subject. Yet it had been remarked, that in the severest paroxysms of misery he was scarcely known to utter a single complaint.

Having completed his 80th year, emaciated with age and sickness, he died on the 23d of July 1773, deservedly lamented by a numerous acquaintance. He left two sisters, to whom he bequeathed the fortune acquired by assiduous application to his favourite pursuits; they died lately, within a few hours of each other, and were buried together.

His remains were interred in the church-yard of Westham; his native parish, where his executors have erected a stone, with the following inscription, to perpetuate to posterity his skill as an artist.

E P I T A P H.

Here lies interred

The Body of GEO. EDWARDS, Esq; F. R. S.

Who departed this Life the 23d Day of July 1773.

Aged 81 Years;

Formerly LIBRARIAN

To the ROYAL COLLEGE of PHYSICIANS.

In which Capacity,

As well as in private Life,

He was universally

And deservedly esteemed.

His NATURAL HISTORY of BIRDS

Will remain

A lasting MONUMENT of his Knowledge

And Ingenuity.

Some

Some Account of the Death, &c. of the Abbé Laurence Ricci, General of the Jesuits, at the time of their Dissolution; with an authentic Copy of a Declaration, left by him in writing, concerning the Crimes imputed to himself and his Order; collected from Letters written from Rome upon that Occasion.

LAURENCE Ricci was born at Florence, the 2d of August, 1703, of an illustrious family: he entered into the Society of Jesus in the year 1720, and was made General of it on the 21st of May 1758. After the destruction of the society, he was sent prisoner to the Castle of St. Angelo, on the 22d of September 1773, where death put an end to his suffering life.

His last illness was but of a few days: the eighth was the last of pain and life, loaded with a weight of years, rendered more weighty by many heavy crosses, and by a variety and long series of afflictions; with accumulated woe on the latter period of them, by the suppression of his order; by the calumnies cast on it and himself; by the imprisonment of his own person, and a long, painful, and close confinement, especially for the first eighteen months of it;—under this complication of years and sorrows, he was little able to support a violent attack of an inflammatory fever. The relief and succours which his Holiness vouchsafed to afford him in his sick state, by giving in charge to his own physician, Doctor Sallicetti, to leave no endeavours untried for his recovery, were without effect.

Bleeding was repeated to the fourth time, and blisters were applied, but it soon appeared that all means to save his life were unavailing.

The first symptoms of his disease discovered themselves on Thursday evening, November 16. After having taken his walk, according to his custom, on the terrace of the castle, on his return to his apartment he was seized with a chillness and a cold, which immediately became very violent. The fever soon increased upon him. On Saturday evening his life was judged to be in danger; and, on the Friday following, the 24th of November, a little after noon, at a time when all opposition to his enlargement seemed to be removed, he sweetly gave up his soul to his Redeemer at the age of seventy-two years, three months, and twenty-two days, having lived fifty-five years, three months, and six days, in religion. It had been his request, that the crucifix, which he always carried about him, should be delivered to his nephew; that his little wardrobe should be distributed, by way of some small recompence, to those who had served him; and that he should be buried at the late professed house of the Jesuits.

He retained his senses to the last, and bore the pains of his illness, as he had done all the afflictions of body and mind, of which the many and great injuries and affronts offered to himself and his order, particularly by a long and close confinement, must have been productive, with the greatest patience and resignation. Before he took the sacrament, which, as well as the extreme-unction, he called for with the greatest fervour, and received

ceived with the greatest devotion; judging he ought not to be wanting to himself, by a solemn declaration of his own innocence, and that of his order, which he had governed for the space of 15 years, he began to speak, as follows, in the presence of the Vice-governor of the castle of St. Angelo, his Secretary Don Giovanni, Abbé Orlando, a serjeant, and a corporal, the apothecary, the domestics of the Governor Camillo and Pietruccio, nine soldiers and galley-slaves (all whose names we could mention) who had accompanied the sacrament into his apartment: "That he sincerely pardoned all those who had been instrumental in the destruction of the society:—He did not omit to pray particularly for those who had reduced him to this state of inability and sufferings, and to implore the blessing of heaven on them:" After which, raising his voice, and with a remarkable firm tone, he said, "that in the presence of God, whom he adored in his august sacrament, and by whom shortly he was going to be judged, he declared to the whole world, that he was entirely innocent of all that had been laid to his charge, and of whatever might have contributed to the destruction of the Society intrusted to his care, or to his own personal imprisonment. He thanked God for withdrawing him from this world, and hoped that his death would procure some alleviation to those who suffered with him in the same cause."

During his illness, several cardinals sent constantly to enquire after his health; and the Pope, on sending him his apostolical be-

nediction, accompanied it with the most tender and paternal expressions.

All those who were present at the death of this late and last General of the society of Jesus, (indeed, we may say all Rome, as they were not ignorant of the circumstances) and even to the galley-slaves of the castle, all conceived the greatest veneration for his memory, and all look on his death as precious in the sight of God. Dr. Sallicetti declared openly, that he had been present at the deaths of many persons in repute for piety and virtue, but that he had never been witness to such sentiments as those he had just been present at.

The Pope gave orders to Cardinal Corfini for the funeral of Abbé Ricci; and the will of his Holiness was, that all should be done according to the quality of the subject, and that his body should be deposited in the vault of the church of Jesus, near the other Generals of the Society his predecessors.

Accordingly the national church of Florence was hung with black, and on Saturday, November the 25th, two hours after sun-set, the corpse was conveyed in a coach attended with four flambeaux, and followed by another coach, to the said church, where, on the morning of the day following, vested in his sacerdotal habits, he was exposed on a lofty bed of state, round which were burning thirty grand tapers.

During this whole morning, which was Sunday November 26th, there was an extraordinary concourse of people to this church, of all sorts and conditions. Mass

was continued to be said at all the altars till noon. The funeral service was celebrated with great decency and solemnity, by the clergy who serve that parish. The throng of people did not discontinue, and many gave tokens of great veneration and tender affection, though curiosity perhaps was the chief motive that first led them thither.

I must not pass over in silence one remarkable token of respect given by the Bishop of Commachio. This worthy prelate, who is in equal repute for piety and learning, the same who had lately entered Rome barefoot at the head of many of his clergy, came also to the Florentine church, and placing himself on his knees near the Catafalque, he said, with a voice loud enough to be heard by many, that "he did not come to pray for the soul of the deceased, but to solicit the credit of that singularly just man, whom he regarded as a predestinated soul, and as a martyr." Many others seemed to think the same, without daring to declare their sentiments so openly. In citing this passage, I have nothing in view but to shew the high esteem his virtue was held in, and the homage paid to it.

At mid-day the church was shut, and the corpse withdrawn from the sight of the people. It was removed into the sacristy, where no one was allowed to enter. Towards midnight it was put into the same coach that had brought it thither, followed also by the second, and conveyed with lighted torches to the church of the Jesuits, where every thing was ready for the burial, according to the Pope's orders, and the request of the venerable old man. The president

of the house said the prayers of the church over the corpse, before it was let down into the vault. The body was then put into a coffin, which was placed on the side of his predecessors Centurioni and Visconti, in quality of General of the Society of Jesus. To serve by way of epitaph, a scroll of parchment was fixed to the coffin, on which were written his name, his age, the time and place of his death, and the number of years he had been General of his order.

Such was the end of this, the eighteenth and last General of the Jesuits. Some time before his death, he had the precaution to draw up, write himself, and sign with his own hand, a declaration of his own and his order's innocence; lest his last illness should prevent his vindicating both by word of mouth; and he then entrusted this declaration to one of the soldiers of the castle, on whose fidelity he thought he could best rely, and who in effect discharged his trust faithfully.

This authentic piece is preserved with great care, and from this original is drawn the Italian copy, from whence are taken the French and English translations.

It seems impossible to call in question the authenticity of this piece; for the characters and signature of his hand cannot but be known, and they may be confronted with many of his letters, some of which no doubt are still in being.

An authentic Copy of the Protestation which Abbé Lawrence Ricci left at his Death.

"THE uncertainty of the time when it will please Almighty God
to

to call me to himself, and the certainty that this time is not far distant, considering my advanced age, the multitude, the long duration and weight of my sufferings, warp me to be before-hand in the discharge of every duty I think incumbent on me;—and this precaution is the more necessary, as it may easily happen that my last sickness may disable me from doing it at the time of my death.

Therefore considering myself as at this instant going to appear before the tribunal of infallible truth and justice, such as is the sole tribunal of God;—after long and mature reflection; and after having humbly prayed to my most merciful Redeemer and awful Judge, not to permit me, especially in this my last act and deed of my life, to be led away, or influenced by passion, or by any bitterness of heart or mind, or by any other vicious end or motive; but purely, because I judge it my duty to render justice to truth and innocence;—I make the two following declarations and protestations:

First, I declare and protest, That the Society of Jesus, now extinct, has not given any cause for its own suppression. This I declare and protest with that moral certainty which a superior can have who is well informed of what passes in his order.

Secondly, I declare and protest, That I have not given the least occasion towards my own imprisonment. This I declare and protest with that great certainty and evidence which each one has in the consciousness of his own actions. My only motive for making this

second protestation is, because I judge it necessary for the credit of the Society of Jesus, now extinct, of which I was General.

But my intention is not, that, in consequence of these two protestations, any of those should be judged guilty in the sight of God, who have brought these disasters on the Society and myself: I shall religiously abstain from passing any such like judgments. The views of the mind of man, and the affections of his heart, are known by God. He alone sees the errors of the human understanding, and discerns how far they are excusable. He alone penetrates the views which set men on action, and the spirit with which he acts;—the affections and inclinations of the heart which accompany the action,—and from whence depends the rectitude or culpability of the exterior action; consequently, I leave all judgment to him, *who will examine the works of men, and search out their thoughts.* (Book of Wisdom, ch. vi. ver. 4.)

And, not to be wanting to my duty as a Christian, I protest, that, with the divine assistance, I have always pardoned, and that I do now sincerely pardon, all those who have persecuted me, first by their persecution of the Society of Jesus, and the many hardships they caused individuals, my late subjects, to undergo—then by the suppression and extinction of it—and by what soon followed, my imprisonment, with all the sufferings that have attended it, and by the injuries done to my reputation:—these are known facts, and notorious to the whole world. I pray the Lord out of his pure bounty and goodness, and out of the

the infinite merits of Jesus Christ his Son, first to pardon my own innumerable sins; and next to pardon the authors and instruments of those losses which I have sustained, and those sufferings I have undergone, in conjunction with the whole body of which I was head—and I desire to die with this prayer and these sentiments in my heart.

Lastly, I pray and intreat all those into whose hands this my declaration and protestation may fall, that they will make it public to the world as much as may be. I crave the performance of this my last request by all the claims of human benevolence, of justice, and of Christian charity; and a claim grounded on such titles cannot but be persuasive to every one to comply with this my earnest will and desire.

(Signed) *Lawrence Ricci.*"

(in his own hand).

Picture of London and its Inhabitants, &c. by the Abbé Raynal. From his Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West-Indies, &c.

THE kind of monopoly which some merchants exercise in the British islands, is practised by the capital of the mother-country, with regard to the provinces. It is almost exclusively to London

that all the produce of the colonies is sent. It is in London that most of the owners of this produce reside. It is in London that the profit arising from it is spent. The rest of the nation is but very indirectly concerned in it.

But London is the finest port in England. It is here that ships are built, and manufactures are carried on. London furnishes seamen for navigation, and hands for commerce. It stands in a temperate, fruitful, and central country. Every thing has a free passage in and out of it. It may be truly said to be the heart of the body politic from its local situation. It is not of an enormous size, though, like all other capitals, it is rather too large; it is not a head of clay, that wants to domineer over a colossus of gold. That city is not filled with proud and idle men, who only incumber and oppress a laborious people. It is the resort of all the merchants; the seat of the national assembly. There the king's palace is neither vast nor empty. He reigns in it by his enlivening presence. There the senate dictates the laws, agreeable to the sense of the people it represents. It neither fears the eye of the monarch, nor the frowns of the ministry. London has not arrived to its present greatness by the influence of government, which strains and over-rules all natural causes; but by the ordinary impulse of men and things, and by a kind of attraction of commerce. It is the sea, it is England, it is the whole world, that makes London rich and populous.

NATURAL HISTORY.

An Account of some curious Articles in the Abbé Rozier's Fifth Volume of Observations sur la Physique, &c. or, Observations in Natural Philosophy, Natural History, and the Arts, published in Paris, relating to various Experiments lately made in France, to ascertain the Truth of Sir Isaac Newton's Doctrine, concerning the Difference in the Gravitation of Bodies towards the Earth, at different Distances both above and below her Surface.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

The Judgment of certain impartial and dispassionate Philosophers, on seventeen Experiments made during the Course of Two Years and a Half, &c. which prove, that Bodies acquire an Increase of Weight on being raised to Heights above the Surface of the Earth.

THE Newtonian System of Attraction, or rather that particular branch of it that relates to the gravitating principle by which bodies tend to the earth, has lately undergone, in France and elsewhere, a scrupulous and severe examination. According to that theory, the truth of which has been confirmed by every phenomenon in the whole planetary system, that bears relation to it, bodies gravi-

tate towards the centre of the earth, in an inverse ratio of the square of the distance. In consequence of this law, it is evident, that the weight of bodies ought to diminish in proportion as they recede from the earth's surface. Father Bertier, however, and several other philosophers, affirm, that this proposition is contradicted by the experiments lately made by them. The trials on which they ground their assertion, are of a similar nature to some that were made in this country, in the last century, by certain members of the Royal Society; who very judiciously inferred from them, that this mode of trial was not adequate to the solution of the question. In relating the most essential particulars of one of the experiments made by these new *Anti-Newtonians*, we shall convey to our philosophical readers some idea of the manner in which they have, in general, been executed.

A strong and accurate balance, which would support a weight of 3000 pounds, and which would turn on the addition of a single ounce weight in either of the basons, was fixed within the steeple of a church, at the height of 170 feet from the pavement. The balance was so constructed, that after loading each bason, *above,* with

with a weight of 1120 pounds, so as to make a perfect *equilibrium*; the weight on one side could be lowered, and placed in a second basin, attached to the same side by means of a rope, so as nearly to reach the pavement of the church. In some of the experiments, strong iron wire was employed instead of the rope. When this weight, which had, above, been in *equilibrium* with that in the opposite basin, had been thus brought 170 feet nearer the surface of the earth; the *equilibrium*, we are told, was destroyed; and, instead of preponderating, in consequence of its situation, it rose; so that it was necessary to add to the weight in this lower scale. We observe, however, that one ounce and six drachms were found sufficient to restore the *equilibrium*; and that the balance might be made to incline either to the one side or the other, on the addition of another ounce to either of the basins.

The reader is not to consider this particular experiment as one of the most favourable to the cause of the *Anti-attractioinaires*. We relate it chiefly to shew the grounds on which they found their objections to the Newtonian system of attraction, and the method by which they endeavour to support them; observing only, that in the many other experiments of the same kind, related in this and other numbers of M. Rozier's work, the results have been, at different times, more or less favourable to their hypothesis.

We shall next attend to the experiments and reasonings of the opposite party, who support the

doctrine of attraction, principally collected from the following article.

ARTICLE the SECOND.

A Memoir, indicating the different Causes which may accidentally change the apparent Effects of the Gravity of Bodies, placed at unequal Heights: read before the Academy of Dijon.

THE balance that was used in the experiments related in this Memoir, would carry 250 pounds in each basin; and was so sensible, that when it was loaded with this weight, it would turn on the addition of half a drachm. The experiments were made in the tower of a church, at the height of 120 feet. They were conducted nearly in the same manner as the preceding, and with a scrupulous attention to every circumstance that might influence the results. Barometers and thermometers, in particular, were placed both above and below. In the first experiment, the balance, containing on each side 200 pounds, including the weight of a long rope in one of the basins, being in perfect *equilibrium*; this last-mentioned basin was let down 120 feet below its former station, suspended by the rope above mentioned. At first, the equilibrium was somewhat disturbed by the oscillations of this lower basin; so that it was found necessary to add two drachms to the upper weight, to render the balance even. This motion, however, at length, ceasing, it was found requisite to take out this small additional weight; and then the superior and inferior weights

weights were observed to equi-ponderate, in the same manner as when they had both been suspended at the superior station.

As the density of the air is greater near the surface of the earth than at different heights above it, the author of this Memoir calculates, from data furnished by other experiments here mentioned, the quantity of the effect which this difference must produce in the *apparent* gravity of the upper and lower weights; which were each of cast iron, and equal to two-fifths of a cubic foot. From his calculations it appears, that, in consequence of the difference between the density, or weight, of two-fifths of a cubic foot of air at the earth's surface, displaced by the lower weight, and that of an equal bulk of the same fluid displaced by the upper weights, the *lower* weight ought to weigh 52 grains and three-fifths less than the upper. On the other hand, he calculates the *increase* of gravity which, according to the Newtonian system, the *lower* weight ought to have acquired, in consequence of its greater proximity to the surface. Estimating the semidiameter of the earth to be 3,268,965 toises, he observes, that the force with which the lower weights were attracted, is to that which acted on the upper ones, placed 20 toises higher, and consequently distant 3,268,985 toises from the earth's centre, as the square of the last number is to that of the first; and finds that, on this account, the lower weights ought to have acquired an increase of gravity equal only to $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

As the lower weights therefore ought to have lost 52 grains and

three-fifths, in consequence of the *density* of the air; and, on the contrary, to have acquired $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains, in consequence of *attraction*; there remains only a difference of 30 grains and one tenth, which is too inconsiderable a quantity to be rendered sensible in a balance loaded with 500 weight.

In the second experiment the results were similar, as likewise in a third, in which iron wire was substituted for the rope. In a fourth, on using a counterpoise, consisting of dry wooden billets, instead of the metal weights, and which were first perfectly poised above; the billets evidently lost weight, on being let down to within a small distance from the pavement; so that it was found necessary to take away seven drachms from the upper basin to restore the equilibrium. This experiment is presented as offering an equivocal proof of the influence of the superior density of the air, at the lower station, in diminishing the relative gravity of bodies weighed in it. In fact, it appears from calculation, that the voluminous wooden counterpoise above mentioned ought to have lost nearly this quantity of its weight, in consequence of the superior density of the medium in which it was suspended, independent of any other cause.

ARTICLE the THIRD.

Experiments on the Weight of Bodies at different Distances from the Centre of the Earth, made in the Mines of Montrelay in Brittany. By the Chevalier de Dolomieu, &c.

THESE experiments, which likewise relate to the preceding question, were made in a different order. The scales were fixed on the surface of the earth, and after procuring an exact equilibrium between the opposite weights in that situation, those contained in one of the basons were let down to the depths of 114 and 190 yards, into a coal mine. Sometimes the undermost weight preponderated, but more frequently the superior. The quantity, however, in either case, was so small, that the author very properly concludes, from the results both of his own and the many other experiments that have lately been made on the subject, that they are insufficient to determine the question. In this opinion we readily concur with him; nor should we have taken so much notice of the subject, were not the question itself of great importance, and had it not likewise been so very extensively and warmly litigated, of late, among our neighbours on the continent. The experiments which have been produced in support of the theory of gravitation have indeed the merit of evincing the feebleness of this late attack upon it; but nothing further is or can be determined from them: nor does the Newtonian system stand in need of such feeble supports.—*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis, &c.* [Monthly Review.]

Substance of two curious Articles in the Second Part of the Sixty-fifth Volume of the Philosophical Transactions, being that for the Year

1775; viz. the *Forty-eighth, being A Proposal for measuring the Attraction of some Hills in this Kingdom by astronomical Observations; by the Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, D. D. F. R. S. and Astronomer Royal; and the Forty-ninth, being An Account of Observations made in Scotland on the Mountain of Scheshallien (as his Majesty's Expense), for finding its Attraction; by the same Gentleman.*

THESE two articles contain the history of a late important philosophical expedition, very properly undertaken and executed under the auspices of the Royal Society; with the intention of ascertaining, by decisive experiments, the truth of the great law of universal gravitation:—the basis of that noble system which the world owes to the genius and sagacity of Newton.

According to the Newtonian theory, an attractive power is not only exerted between those large masses of matter which constitute the sun and planets; but likewise between all comparatively smaller bodies, and even between the smallest particles of which they are composed. Agreeably to this hypothesis, a heavy body, which ought to gravitate or tend toward the centre of the earth, in a direction perpendicular to its surface, supposing the said surface to be perfectly even and spherical, ought likewise, though in a less degree, to be attracted and tend towards a mountain placed on the earth's surface: so that a plumb-line, for instance, of a quadrant, hanging in the neighbourhood of such

such a mountain, ought to be drawn from a perpendicular situation, in consequence of the attractive power of the quantity of matter of which it is composed, acting in a direction different from that exerted by the whole mass of matter in the earth, and with a proportionably inferior degree of force.

'It will easily be imagined,' says the Astronomer Royal, in the first of these papers, which was read before the Royal Society in the year 1772, 'that to find a sensible attraction of any hill from undoubted experiment, would be a matter of no small curiosity, would greatly illustrate the general theory of gravity, and would make the universal gravitation of matter palpable, if I may so express myself, to every person, and fit to convince those who will yield their assent to nothing but downright experiment. Nor would its uses end here; as it would serve to give us a better idea of the total mass of the earth, and the proportional density of the matter near the surface compared with the mean density of the whole earth. The result of such an uncommon experiment, which I should hope would prove successful, would doubtless do honour to the nation where it was made, and the society which executed it.'

Though Sir Isaac Newton had long ago hinted at an experiment of this kind; and had remarked that "a mountain of an hemispherical figure, three miles high and six broad, would not, by its

attraction, draw the plumb-line two minutes out of the perpendicular*:" yet no attempt to ascertain this matter, by actual experiment, was made till about, the year 1738; when the French academicians, particularly Messrs. Bouguer and Condamine, who were sent to Peru to measure a degree under the equator, attempted to discover the attractive power of Chimborazo, a mountain in the province of Quito. According to their observations, which were however made under circumstances by no means favourable to an accurate solution of so nice and difficult a problem, the mountain Chimborazo exerted an attraction equal to eight seconds. Though this experiment was not perhaps sufficient to prove satisfactorily even the reality of an attraction, much less the precise quantity of it; yet it does not appear that any steps had been since taken to repeat it.

The Royal Society having, through the munificence of his Majesty, been enabled to undertake the execution of this delicate and important astronomical experiment; the astronomer royal was chosen to conduct it. After various inquiries, the mountain *Seeballien*, situated nearly in the centre of Scotland, was pitched upon as the most proper for the purpose that could be found in this island. The observations were made by taking the meridian zenith distances of different fixed stars, near the zenith, by means of a zenith sector of ten feet radius; first on the south,

* By a very easy calculation it is found that such a mountain would attract the plumb-line 1' 18" from the perpendicular.

and afterwards on the north side of the hill, the greatest length of which extended in an east and west direction.

It is evident that if the mass of matter in the hill exerted any sensible attraction, it would cause the plumb-line of the sector, through which an observer viewed a star in the meridian, to deviate from its perpendicular situation, and would attract it contrary ways at the two stations, thereby doubling the effect. On the south side the plummet would be drawn to the northward, by the attractive power of the hill placed to the northward of it: and on the north side, a contrary and equal deflection of the plumb-line would take place, in consequence of the attraction of the hill, now to the southward of it. The apparent zenith distances of the stars would be affected contrary ways; those being increased at the one station, which were diminished at the other: and the correspondent quantities of the deflection of the plumb-line would give the observer the *sum* of the two contrary attractions of the hill, acting on the plummet at the two stations; the *half* of which will, of course, indicate the attractive power of the hill.

After describing his excellent astronomical apparatus, and relating in detail the history of a part of his various operations during his astronomical campaign, which lasted about four months; the author gives the result of them, from which it appears that the *sum* of the two contrary attractions of the mountain Schehallien, in the two temporary observatories which were successively fixed half way up the hill (where the effect

of its attraction would be greatest) was equal to $11''$. 6. — From a rough computation, founded on the known law of gravitation; and on an assumption that the density of the hill was equal to the mean density of the earth; the author finds that the attraction of the hill should amount to about the double of this quantity. From thence he infers that the density of the hill is only about half the mean density of the earth. It does not appear however that the mountain Schehallien has ever been a volcano, or is hollow; as it is extremely solid and dense, and seemingly composed of an intire rock.

Having by this curious and accurate experiment satisfactorily ascertained the attraction of matter, and its quantity in the present case, the author proceeds to consider some of the consequences which may be drawn from it, relative to several of the most important questions in natural philosophy. We shall quote, with some abridgments, what he observes on this subject:

1. It appears from this experiment, that the mountain Schehallien exerts a sensible attraction; therefore, from the rules of philosophy, we are to conclude that every mountain, and indeed every particle of the earth, is endued with the same property, in proportion to its quantity of matter.

2. The law of the variation of this force, in the inverse *ratio* of the squares of the distance, as laid down by Sir Isaac Newton, is also confirmed by this experiment. For, if the force of attraction of the hill had been only to that of the earth, as the matter in the hill

hill to that of the earth, and had not been greatly increased by the near approach to its centre, the attraction thereof must have been wholly insensible. But now, by only supposing the mean density of the earth to be double to that of the hill, which seems very probable from other considerations, the attraction of the hill will be reconciled to the general law of the variation of attraction in the inverse duplicate *ratio* of the distances, as deduced by Sir Isaac Newton from the comparison of the motion of the heavenly bodies with the force of gravity at the surface of the earth; and the analogy of nature will be preserved.

3. 'We may now, therefore, be allowed to admit this law, and to acknowledge that the mean density of the earth is at least double of that at the surface, and consequently that the density of the internal parts of the earth is much greater than near the surface. Hence also, the whole quantity of matter in the earth will be at least as great again as if it had been all composed of matter of the same density with that at the surface; or will be about four or five times as great as if it were all composed of water.—This conclusion, he adds, is totally contrary to the hypothesis of some naturalists, who "suppose the earth to be only a great hollow shell of matter; supporting itself from the property of an arch, with an immense vacuity in the midst of it. But, were that the case, the attraction of mountains, and even smaller inequalities in the earth's surface, would be very great, contrary to experiment, and would affect the measures of the degrees of the meridian much more than we find they do; and the variation

of gravity, in different latitudes, in going from the equator to the poles, as found by pendulums would not be near so regular as it has been found by experiment to be."

4. He observes, lastly, that as mountains are, by these experiments, found capable of producing sensible deflections of the plumb-lines of astronomical instruments; it becomes a matter of great importance in the mensuration of degrees in the meridian, either to chuse places where the irregular attractions of the elevated parts may be small; or, where, by their situation, they may compensate or counteract the effects of each other. [*Monthly Review.*]

Parallel between the Old and New Worlds, with regard to Extent, Situation, Climate, Soil, Inhabitants, &c. from the Abbé Raynal's Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West-Indies. Translated by Mr. Justamond.

IT is surprising that so little should have been known of the new world, for so long a time after it was discovered. Barbarous soldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper persons to give us just and clear notions of this hemisphere. It was the province of philosophy alone to avail itself of the informations scattered in the accounts of voyages and missionaries, in order to see America, such as nature hath made it; and to find out its analogy to the rest of the globe.

It is now pretty certain that the new continent has not half the extent of surface that the old has.

At the same time, the form of both is so singularly alike, that we might easily be inclined to draw consequences from this particular, if it were not always necessary to be upon our guard against the spirit of system which often stops us in our researches after truth, and hinders us from attaining it.

The two continents seem to form as it were two broad tracts of land that begin from the arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, divided on the east and west by the ocean that surrounds them. Whatever may be the structure of these two continents, and the equality or symmetry of their form; it is plain their equilibrium does not depend upon their position. It is the inconstancy of the sea that constitutes the solid form of the earth. To fix the globe upon its basis, it seemed necessary to have an element which floating incessantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other substances, and by its fluidity restore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have disturbed. Water, by its natural fluctuation and weight, is the most proper element to preserve the connection and balance of the several parts of the globe round its center. If our hemisphere has a very wide extent of continent to the north, a mass of water of equal weight at the opposite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the same latitude America will have a sea filled with fish. While forests full of trees, bending with the largest fruits, quadrupeds of the greatest size, the most populous nations, elephants and men

are a load upon the surface of the earth, and seem to absorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles are found whales with innumerable multitudes of cod and herrings, clouds of insects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the seas, as it were to support the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either side: if, indeed, elephants, whales, or men can be said to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a transient modification of the earth that composes it. In a word, the ocean rolls over this globe to fashion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers a hemisphere, a pole or a zone, which at other times it leaves bare; but in general it seems to affect the equator, more especially as the cold of the poles in some measure counteracts that fluidity which is essential to it, and from which it receives all its power of motion. It is chiefly between the tropics that the sea extends itself and is agitated, and that it undergoes the greatest change both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in those violent agitations occasionally excited in it by tempestuous winds. The attraction of the sun, and the fermentations occasioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, must have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence, and the sea, to conform itself to this double impulse, must, it should seem, flow towards the equator. Nothing but the flatness of the globe at the poles, can possibly account for that immense extent of water, that has hitherto concealed from us the lands near the

the south pole. The sea cannot easily pass the boundaries of the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones are not nearer the centre of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the sea therefore that maintains an equilibrium with the land, and disposes the arrangement of the materials that compose it. One proof that the two analogous portions of land which the two continents of the globe present at first view, are not essentially necessary to its conformation, is, that the new hemisphere has remained covered with the waters of the sea, a much longer time than the old. Besides, if there is an evident similarity between the two hemispheres, there are also differences between them, which will perhaps destroy that harmony we think we observe.

When we consider the map of the world, and see the local correspondence between the isthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the East-Indies and that of the Caribbee-Islands, and between the mountains of Chili and those of Monomotapa, we are struck with the similarity of the several forms this picture presents. Land seems on all sides to be opposed to land, water to water, islands and peninsulas scattered by the hand of nature to serve as a counterpoise, and the sea by its fluctuation constantly maintaining the balance of the whole. But if on the other hand we compare the great extent of the Pacific Ocean, which separates the East and West-Indies, with the small space the ocean occupies between the coast of Guinea and that of Brazil; the vast quantity of inhabited land to the North, with the

little we know towards the south; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from East to West, with that of the Cordeleras which run from North to South; the mind is in suspense, and we have the mortification to see the order and symmetry vanish with which we had embellished our system of the earth. The observer is still more displeased with his conjectures, when he considers the immense height of the mountains of Peru. He is then astonished to see a continent so recent and yet so elevated, the sea, so much below the tops of these mountains, and yet so recently come down from the lands that seemed to be effectually defended from its attacks by those tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the new hemisphere have been covered with the sea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

The rivers, which in America are wider and of greater extent; the immense forests to the south; the spacious lakes and vast morasses to the north; the almost eternal snows between the tropics; few of those pure sands that seem to be the remains of an exhausted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool and mild air in the same latitude as the sultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and severe climate under the same parallel as our temperate climates; and lastly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees, in the temperature of the old and new hemispheres; these are so many tokens of a world that is still in its infancy.

Why should the continent of America be much warmer and much colder in proportion than that

that of Europe, if it were not for the moisture the ocean has left behind, in quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the sea can possibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Asia. If the waters that still moisten the bowels of the earth in the new hemisphere had not covered its surface, the woods would very easily have been cut down, the fens drained, a soft and watery soil would have been made firm, by stirring up, and exposing it to the rays of the sun, a free passage would have been opened to the winds, and dikes raised along the rivers: in short, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemisphere denotes a recent world; when the sea, about its coast, still flows obscurely in its channels. A less scorching sun, more plentiful rains, and thicker vapours more disposed to stagnate, are evident marks of the decay or the infancy of nature.

The difference of climate, arising from the waters having lain so long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diversity of causes must necessarily arise a very great diversity of effects. Accordingly we see more species of animals, by two thirds, in the old continent than in the new; animals of the same kind considerably larger; monsters that are become more savage and fierce, as the countries have become more inhabited. On the other hand, nature seems to have strangely neglected the new world. The men have less strength and less courage: no beard and no hair; they have less appearances of manhood; and are but little susceptible of the

lively and powerful sentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment; the first instinct, the first band of society, without which all other artificial ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are still more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and consider them merely as subservient to their will: they rather sacrifice them to their indolence, than consecrate them to their pleasures. This indolence is the great delight and supreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims from the continual labours imposed upon them. It must, however, be confessed, that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have sentenced the women to work, have been so equitable as to take upon themselves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fishing. But their indifference for the sex, which nature has intrusted with the care of multiplying the species, implies an imperfection in their organs, a sort of state of childhood in the people of America, similar to that of the people in our continent who are not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This seems to be a natural defect prevailing in the continent of America, which is an indication of its being a new country.

But if the Americans are a new people, are they a race of men originally distinct from those who cover the face of the old world? This is a question which ought not to be too hastily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we assert that the Greenlanders first came from Norway,

way, and then went over to the coast of Labrador; others will tell us it is more natural to suppose that the Greenlanders are sprung from the Esquimaux, to whom they bear a greater resemblance than to the Europeans. If we should suppose that California was peopled from Kamtschatka, it may be asked what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-west of America. Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or Kamtschatka that the inhabitants of the old world must have gone over to the new, as it is by those two countries that the two continents are connected, or at least approach nearest to one another. Besides, how can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed spread from north to south, but it must naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cherished by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we must have recourse to the flood, which is the source and the solution of all difficulties in the history of nations.

Let us suppose that the sea having overflowed the other hemisphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordeleras, which are far higher than our mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon those heights, covered with snow and surrounded with waters? How is it possible that men who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have survived the miseries of want, the inclemency of a tainted atmosphere, and those numberless calamities, which must be the unavoidable con-

sequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preserved and propagated in those times of general calamity, and in the miserable ages that must have succeeded? Notwithstanding all these objections, we must allow that America has been peopled from these wretched remains of the great devastation. Every thing carries the vestiges of a malady, of which the human race still feels the effects. The ruin of that world is still imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a species of men degraded and degenerated in their natural constitution, in their stature, in their way of life, and in their understanding, which is but little advanced in all the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marshy ground, must necessarily have infected the first principles of the subsistence and increase of mankind. It must have required some ages to restore population, and still a greater number before the ground could be settled and dried, so as to be fit for tillage, and for the foundation of buildings. The air must necessarily be purified, before the sky could be clear, and the sky must necessarily be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection therefore of nature in America is not so much a proof of its recent origin, as of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the same time as the other hemisphere, but may have been overflowed later. The large fossil bones that are found under ground in America, shew that it had formerly elephants, rhinoceros, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have since disappeared in those regions. The gold and silver mines that are found just below the surface, are signs of a very ancient
revolution

revolution of the globe, but later than those that have overturned our hemisphere.

Suppose America had, by some means or other, been repeopled by our roving hords, that period would have been so remote, that it would still give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemisphere. Three or four centuries will not then be sufficient to allow for the foundation of the empires of Mexico and Peru; for though we find no trace in these countries of our arts, or of the opinions and customs that prevail in other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police and a society established, inventions and practices which, though they did not shew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long series of ages subsequent to this catastrophe. For, though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country surrounded with waters, mountains, and other invincible obstacles, must have forced the men inclosed in it to unite after a time, though they might at first destroy each other in continual and bloody wars; yet it was only in process of time that they could invent and establish a worship and a legislation, which they could not, possibly, have borrowed from remote times or countries. It required a greater number of ages to render familiar the single art of speech, and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, to a whole nation unconnected with any other, and which must itself have created both those arts, than it would take up days to perfect a child in them. Ages bear not the same proportion to the whole race as years do to individuals. The whole race is to occupy a vast field, both as to space

and duration, while the individuals have only some moments or instants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likenesses and uniformity observable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly shew that they are not so ancient as those of our continent which differ so much from each other; but at the same time this circumstance seems to confirm that they did not proceed from any modern hemisphere, with which they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate descent.

Experiments on Water obtained from the melted Ice of Sea-Water, to ascertain whether it be fresh or not; and to determine its specific Gravity with respect to other Water. Also Experiments to find the Degree of Cold in which Sea-Water begins to freeze. By Mr. Edward Nairne. Addressed to Sir John Pringle, Bart. President of the Royal Society; and read before that learned Body the 1st of February, 1776.

Hampstead,

SIR,

Feb. 1, 1776.

IT having been suggested, in a conversation at which I was present, that the ice of sea-water is not fresh; and that if the ice found near the poles be really so, it must probably be the ice of fresh water discharged into the sea from large rivers in those parts: I thought the present cold weather afforded an opportunity too favourable to be lost, of ascertaining by experiment, whether the water obtained from the melted ice of sea-water be free from the taste of salt or not; of comparing its gravity with that of the sea-water, &c. &c.

and

and of finding the degree of cold in which the latter begins to freeze: and I beg leave to lay before you an account of my researches in these matters, and of the methods I followed in making them. If you, Sir, should think them worthy of notice, and would communicate them to the learned body over which you preside, you would confer an honour on, &c.

THE sea-water used in the following experiments was furnished by Mr. Owen, who keeps the Mineral Water Warehouse, at Temple-Bar; who assured me, that it was taken up off the North Foreland.

On the 27th of January, 1766, at ten o'clock in the evening, I filled a jar $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, with sea-water, and exposed it to the open air, the thermometer standing at 15° . At noon the next day, on taking it in, I found it frozen very hard, except a very little at the bottom, which remained quite fluid: I now set it by a stove in a heat of 56° to thaw. The ice when taken in from the open air was one quarter of an inch above the edge of the jar. When the jar had continued in the degree of heat abovementioned during eight hours, I took out the ice, which was then $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and two inches in diameter; about two thirds of the water appeared to remain. In order to clear the ice from any brine that might adhere to it, I washed it in a pail of pump-water, in which it was suffered to remain about a quarter of an hour, and then set it in a sieve to drain off the water in which it had been washed.

On the 29th of January, 1776,

I set the beforementioned ice in a basin in a heat of about 46° , in which it continued nine hours before the whole was dissolved. The bulb of a thermometer rested on the ice during the time of the solution, and continued without variation at 32° . The water thus obtained, was, to my palate, perfectly free from any taste of salt.

In order to ascertain the comparative gravity of this water, I filled a bottle with it to a certain mark in its neck, which was very narrow, and weighed the bottle so filled very carefully. I weighed the same bottle, filled to the same mark in its neck with sea-water and other waters successively, which were all brought to, the same degree of heat by a thermometer. The results were as follow: viz.

	Grains.
Water obtained from the melted ice of the sea-water,	1614
Distilled rain-water,	1612
Water taken out of a water tub, being a mixture of rain and snow water,	1615
The sea-water,	1653
Therefiduum of the sea-water from which the ice before-mentioned had been taken,	1659

To find the degree of cold in which sea-water begins to freeze, I made the following experiments.

I exposed to the open air a decanter filled with the sea-water, in which a thermometer was suspended, the bulb of which reached to the middle of the widest part of the decanter; a jelly glass filled with the same sea-water, in which also a thermometer was put, resting on the bottom, was placed in the same exposure. The result will be seen in the following table:

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January 29, 1776:

Vessel.	Time.	Immersed Therm.	Therm. in the open Air.	Effects, &c:
Decanter, Jelly glass,	h /			
Decanter, Jelly glass,	11 30 A.M.		19	A number of beautiful feathered crystals appeared in the jelly glass; they began to shoot from the top, which was covered with ice, toward the bottom; when they reached it, the thermometer rose immediately from 25 to 28.5.
Decanter, Jelly glass,	12 0	33 25 to 28.5	19	
Decanter, Jelly glass,	12 15	31 28.5	19	Ice began to form in the decanter, though hardly perceptible at the edge of the water.
Decanter, Jelly glass,	12 20	30 28.5.	19	Crystals of a laminated appearance began to shoot downwards obliquely from the ice at the surface, which at the edge of the water was barely two-tenths of an inch thick; no appearance of ice in the middle of the surface.
Decanter, Jelly glass,	12 30	29. 28.5.		
Decanter,	1 0 P.M.	27.5.	19	Crystals began to shoot round the neck of the decanter close to the glass.
Decanter,	1 15	28.5.	19	The inside became covered with finely feathered crystals, which made it impossible to observe the height of the thermometer, without raising it till the quicksilver in the tube appeared above the ice.
Decanter,	4 0	28.5.	19	

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January 29, at eight o'clock in the evening, I exposed to the open air, two similar jars, each $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep and $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter; one of which I shall, for the sake of distinction, call A; the other B. A was filled with the sea-water; B with water taken out of a water-tub, which was a mixture of rain

and snow water. In A two thermometers were placed; one rested on the bottom; the upper part of the ball of the other was a quarter of an inch only below the surface of the water; one thermometer was also placed in B, resting on the bottom. The following table shews the result.

Vessel.	Time.	Therm. at the Top.	Therm. at the Bottom.	Therm. in the open Air.	
A	h				
B	8 o P.M.	60	60	19.5.	
A			60		
B	8 15	40	33		
A			38		
B	8 20	35	29.5		The surface of the water in B covered with ice.
			37.5		
A	8 25	31	26.5		Surface as before.
B			34		No appearance of ice.
A	8 30	29	25		The ice on the surface increased.
B			32		
A	8 32	28.5	24.5		Ice began to appear on the surface.
B			32		Quite frozen.
A	8 36	28.2	28.5.		Crystals over every part of the glass.
B			32	20	As before.

N. B. During the time in which these observations were made, the thermometer in the open air rose half of a division.

The following table shews the result of some further observations on the effects of cold on the sea-water in the jar A of the last table, which had been thawed in order to

be now exposed again to the open air. The thermometer in the jar continued in the same situation as before.

January 30, 1776, A. M.

Time.	Therm. at the Top.	Therm. at the Bottom.	Therm. in the open Air.	Effects, &c.
h				
10 32	34.5	35.5	16.5	The water fluid.
10 39	32	32		Ice began to be formed about the glass at the edge of the water.
10 42	28.5	30.5		Still continued to have ice only about the edge of the water.
10 48	28	28		The surface of the water rendered stagnant by the ice.
11 1	27	24.5	18.5	The crystals had almost reached the bottom.
11 1½ } 2 }	27+	28.5		During the half minute employed in this observation, the crystals reached the bottom of the jar; the lower thermometer rose almost instantaneously from 24.5 to 28.5, and was immediately rendered obscure by the ice.
11 45	26.5	28.5	19	The jar was taken in from the open air, and the lower thermometer lifted out of the ice to a sufficient height for the observations.

From these observations it seems that the freezing point of sea-water should be fixed in Fahrenheit's scale at 28.5.

As the water, when it began to freeze in two experiments, exhibited phenomena different from any I had observed before, it may not be improper to subjoin an account of them.

At fourteen minutes after eight in the morning of January 31, I put the jar a of the second table, containing the same water; viz. a mixture of rain and snow-water, in

a window, having the evening before placed a second thermometer in it, the bulb of which was just below the surface of the water. This as well as the thermometer at the bottom stood at 27.5, and the water was perfectly fluid; the thermometer placed near the jar within the window was at 23.5. At twenty-seven minutes after eight it began to freeze at the bottom of the jar, the thermometers at the top and bottom standing alike at 27. The instant the crystals began to encompass the ball of the thermometer

monometer below, which they very soon did after it began to freeze, the quicksilver rose in it to 32° , the upper one continuing at 27° . The crystals continued to shoot upward, and in less than half a minute reached the bulb of the thermometer at the surface, which immediately rose to 32° .

At ten minutes before six in the evening of the same day, I put the jar A of the second table into the open air, its contents the same; *viz.* sea-water. The thermometers in it were likewise the same, not having been moved; they both stood at 34° ; that in the open air at 19.5 . At six o'clock the thermometer above was at 31° , that below at 28.25 . At this time I discovered some ice on the surface of the water; but as it was by candle-light, I could not discern its first appearance. At ten minutes after six, the thermometer above was at 29° ; that below at 26.5 . At fifteen minutes after six, the upper thermometer at 28.5 ; that below at 25° . At seventeen minutes after six, both the thermometers stood at 28.5 , crystals having risen from the bottom covered the ball of that below, on which it rose, instantly from 25° to 28.5 . The thermometer in the open air continued as at first; *viz.* at 19.5 .

The scale of all the thermometers used in these experiments was Fahrenheit's. I have sent herewith specimens of the water; *viz.* of the sea water; of the water procured from its melted ice; and of the *residuum* of the sea-water from which the ice was taken.

I am, &c.

VOL. XIX.

A Comparison of the Heat of London and Edinburgh. By John Roebuck, M.D. F.R.S. in a Letter to William Heberden, M.D. F.R.S. From the Philosophical Transactions.

SIR,

I DELIVERED to you some time ago, a register of the thermometer at Hawkhill for ten years; but as these observations were made at eight o'clock in the morning, and four in the afternoon, and yours at eight o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon, the corresponding years of the morning's observations only admit of a comparison. It appears by your register, that the mean heat at London for nine years from the end of 1763 to the end of 1772, at eight o'clock in the morning, was $47^{\circ}.4$; and the mean heat at Hawkhill, during the same period of time, was 46° . The difference of which is only $1^{\circ}.4$. A difference much less than might be expected from the difference of latitude, and not sufficient to account why nonpareils, golden rennets, peaches, nectarines, and many kinds of grapes; generally come to maturity near London, and scarce ever near Edinburgh, without the aid of artificial heat. Before I proceeded further to perplex myself with this difficulty, I procured from Hawkhill and from yourself the register of the thermometer for three years at the same periods of time; copies of which I here inclose to you. And by these it appears, that the mean heat of London of these three years exceeded that of Edinburgh by $4^{\circ}.5$. And the mean heat of the

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the three hottest months in London, exceeded the mean of the same three at Edinburgh by $5^{\circ}.8$. And the mean heat of these three summer months, at two o'clock in the afternoon in London, exceeded the mean heat of the same months, at the same hour, in Edinburgh, by $7^{\circ}.3$; which sufficiently accounts why some fruit may come to maturity in one country and not in the other: and also why corn and grass, which vegetate with a more temperate heat, but require a longer continuance of it, may arrive at maturity in both countries. The reason why the mean heat of London exceeds that of Edinburgh may arise principally from the difference of latitude. But the reason why the excess is greater in proportion in the three hottest months of the year, at the hottest time of the day, than in the winter months,

arises from Edinburgh's being situated nearer to the sea than London. We might speak with more precision on this subject, if we had a register of the thermometer at Moscow, which is nearly of the same latitude as Edinburgh; though it is well known, that the heat of summer is much more intense, and the cold of winter much more severe, at Moscow than at Edinburgh. The mean heat of springs near Edinburgh seems to be 47° ; and at London 51° . It is probable, that the mean heat of good springs in any country is very nearly the mean heat of the country*. A faithful account of the heat of springs in different latitudes, and of water taken from the same depth of the sea in different latitudes, is yet wanted.

I am, &c.

* We shall have an easy method of finding the mean heat of any place, if it be always nearly equal to that of its springs. This matter might be ascertained by a proper number of observations; and it is therefore very desirable, to have an account taken of the heat of the springs, wherever a register is kept of the heat of the air. W. HENDERSON.

MEAN HEAT IN PALL-MALL, LONDON.								
	1772.		1773.		1774.		Mean Heat of Three Years.	
	8 A.M.	2 P. M.	8 A.M.	2 P. M.	8 A.M.	2 P. M.	8 A.M.	2 P. M.
January	36	38	42	44	34	39	37.3	40.3
February	38	42	36	41	38	44	37.3	42.3
March	41	47	40	51	41	52	40.7	50
April	44	51	45	55	47	55	45.3	53.7
May	49	60	50	60	51	60	50	60
June	64	73	58	67	59	67	60.3	69
July	61	72	60	68	61	69	60.7	69.7
August	60	70	62	72	62	70	61.3	70.7
September	56	65	56	63	55	63	55.7	63.7
October	56	61	51	59	48	58	51.7	59.3
November	45	55	40	47	40	44	41.7	48.7
December	41	44	41	45	39	43	40.3	44
Mean heat	49.2	56.5	48.4	56	47.9	55.3	48.5	56
Mean Heat of three Years Morning and Afternoon was 52.2.								

Mean Heat at HAWKHILL, situated about one Mile North of EDINBURGH, and 103 Feet above the Level of the Sea.								
	1772.		1773.		1774.		Mean Heat of Three Years.	
	8 A.M.	2 P. M.	8 A.M.	2 P. M.	8 A.M.	2 P. M.	8 A.M.	2 P. M.
January	31.5	34.3	38.5	40.3	29.1	33	33.3	35.8
February	30.9	36.5	35.1	40.7	36.2	40.4	34	39.2
March	37	42.8	42.1	48.4	37.1	43.2	38.7	44.8
April	42.9	48.5	45.6	51.1	44.1	48.6	44.2	49.5
May	49.1	54.5	48.6	53.1	46.6	50.8	48.1	52.8
June	57.2	62.1	55.2	60.1	51.1	59.7	54.5	60.6
July	58.7	64.6	57.7	61.9	57.4	63.3	57.9	63.3
August	57.4	63.9	58.3	64.8	57.2	62.5	57.6	63.7
September	51.5	58.1	51.3	55.8	51.7	57.8	51.5	57.2
October	48.8	51.6	46	50.7	48.3	52.8	47.7	51.7
November	40.7	44.6	38.2	42.3	38	42	39.3	42.9
December	39.7	41.6	36.4	38.5	37.3	40	37.8	40
Mean heat	45.5	50.3	46.1	50.6	44.5	49.5	45.4	50.1
Mean Heat of three Years Morning and Afternoon was 47.7.								

An Account of some curious Experiments tried lately in London and Liverpool, with very great Degrees of Heat and Cold upon animal and vegetable Bodies, and of Cold upon vegetable Bodies, proving that such Bodies, while alive, are endued with many uncommon Powers, particularly those of bearing Heat and Cold, and even generating the one, occasionally, in opposition to the other. From the Philosophical Transactions.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Experiments in an heated Room. By Matthew Dobson, M.D. In a Letter to John Fothergill, M.D. F. R. S.

Liverpool, April 25, 1775.

DEAR SIR,

I PERUSED with particular pleasure your short account of the curious experiment made by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander. The same, and some additional experiments, have been made here; the result of which I should sooner have transmitted to you, had I not been prevented by the constant engagements of my profession.

Experiments.

I. The sweating room of our Public Hospital at Liverpool, which is nearly a cube of nine feet, lighted from the top, was heated till the quicksilver stood at 224° on Fahrenheit's scale, nor would the tube of the thermometer indeed admit the heat to be raised higher. The thermometer was suspended by a string fixed to the wooden frame of the sky-light,

and hung down about the centre of the room. Myself and several others were at this time inclosed in the stove, without experiencing any oppressive or painful sensation of heat, proportioned to the degree pointed out by the thermometer. Every metallic about us soon became very hot.

II. My friend Mr. Park, an ingenious surgeon of this place, went into the stove heated to 202° . After ten minutes I found the pulse quickened to 120. And to determine the increase of the animal heat, another thermometer was handed to him, in which the quicksilver already stood at 98° ; but it rose only to $99\frac{1}{2}$, whether the bulb of the thermometer was inclosed in the palms of the hands, or received into the mouth*. The natural state of this gentleman's pulse is about 65.

III. Another gentleman went through the same experiment in the same circumstances, and with the same effects.

IV. One of the porters to the Hospital, a healthy young man, and the pulse 75, was inclosed in the stove when the quicksilver stood at 210° ; and he remained there, with little inconvenience, for 20 minutes. The pulse, now 164, and the animal heat, determined by another thermometer as in the former experiments, was $101\frac{1}{2}$.

V. A young gentleman of a delicate and irritable habit, whose natural pulse is about 80, remained in the stove ten minutes when heated to 224° . The pulse rose

* The scale of the thermometer, which was suspended by the string about the middle of the room, was of metal; this was the only one I could then procure, on which the degrees ran so high as to give any scope for the experiment. The scale of the other thermometer, which was employed for ascertaining the variations in the animal heat, was of ivory.

to 145°, and the animal heat to 102°. This gentleman, who had been frequently in the stove during the course of the day, found himself feeble, and disposed to break out into sweats for 24 hours after the experiment.

VI. Two small tin vessels, containing each the white of an egg, were put into the stove heated to 224°. One of them was placed on a wooden seat near the wall, and the other suspended by a string about the middle of the stove. After ten minutes, they began to coagulate; but the coagulation was sensibly quicker and firmer in that which was suspended, than in that which was placed on the wooden seat. The progress of the coagulation was as follows: it was first formed on the sides, and gradually extended itself; the whole of the bottom was next coagulated; and last of all the middle part of the top.

VII. Part of the shell of an egg was peeled away, leaving only the film which surrounds the white; and part of the white being drawn out, the film sunk so as to form a little cup. This cup was filled with some of the *albumen ovi*, which was consequently detached as much as possible from every thing but the contact of the air and of the film which formed the cup. The lower part of the egg stood upon some light tow in a common galipot, and was placed on the wooden seat in the stove. The quicksilver in the thermometer still continued at 224°. After remaining in the stove for an hour, the lower part of the egg, which was covered with the shell, was firmly coagulated; but that which was in the little cup was fluid and transparent. At

the end of another hour it was still fluid, except on the edges where it was thinnest; and here it was still transparent; a sufficient proof that it was dried, not coagulated.

VIII. A piece of bees wax, placed in the same situation with the *albumen ovi* of the preceding experiment, and exposed to the same degree of heat in the stove, began to melt in five minutes: another piece suspended by a string, and a third piece put into the tin vessel and suspended, began likewise to liquify in five minutes.

Observations.

That heated air should have such a speedy and powerful effect in quickening the pulse, while the animal heat is little altered from its natural standard; that the human body should so easily bear to be surrounded with air heated to 224°; that the *albumen ovi*, which begins to coagulate in water at 150°, should remain fluid in 224°; and that the same *albumen ovi*, still placed in air heated to 224°, should coagulate, if in contact either with tin or its own shell, are facts as singular as they are difficult of explanation. From the different effects of heated air on the pulse and the heat of the body, do we not discover the fallacy of that theory of animal heat which has been adopted by Boerhaave and other celebrated physiologists? They suppose that animal heat is produced by the attrition of the *globules* of the circulating fluids against the sides of the containing vessels; but in several of the preceding experiments, the circulation was amazingly quickened, with little increase of the animal heat. But whence is it that the human body

can bear, without immediate injury, to be surrounded with air heated to 224° ? And whence is it, that the *albumen ovi* does not coagulate in this degree of heat? Is it that fire as it passes into some bodies becomes latent, agreeable to a doctrine which has for some time been taught at Edinburgh by Professor BLACK? Or does fire become fixed and *quiescent*, according to a similar system adopted by Dr. Franklin*? Air we know exists either in a fixed or elastic state; and fire may in like manner exist in bodies, either in a latent, fixed, and *quiescent*; or in a sensible, fluid, and active state. Agreeable to this idea, the bees wax receives the fire in an active state, and dissolves; while the human body and the *albumen ovi*, receiving the fire in a latent state, are little altered in their temperature. Let each of these, however, be put in contact with a different body, tin for instance; and though the heat of the air continues the same, yet the fire no longer enters in a latent state, but with all its sensible and active powers; for the *albumen ovi* suspended in a tin vessel soon coagulates; and the human body, covered with the same metal, would quickly experience an intolerable and destructive degree of heat. Or are the above phenomena more satisfactorily explained, by considering different bodies as possessing different conducting powers; some being strong, others weak conductors of fire? All those bodies then which are weak conductors of fire from air, may be placed in air, without receiving the

heat of this medium. Hence the *albumen ovi* remains fluid in air heated to 224° . Hence likewise the frog, the lizard, the camelion, &c. retain their natural temperature, and feel cold to the touch, though perpetually surrounded with air hotter than their own bodies. Hence also, the human body keeps nearly its own temperature, in a stove heated to 224° ; or may even pass without injury into air heated to a much greater degree, according to the observations of DU HAMMEL and TILBERT, published in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences†. On the other hand, all those bodies which are powerful conductors of fire from air, are influenced in proportion when surrounded with this medium. The bees wax melted from the mere contact of the air in experiment VIII; and in experiment VI. the *albumen ovi* was coagulated on the intervention of another body, which is a strong conductor of fire from air. But whether this method of reasoning on the natural cause of these effects be just or not, the final cause is obvious, and is to be resolved into the wise and benevolent appointment of the Almighty. Man is happily so framed, as to possess a power of keeping nearly the same tenor of heat, in all the variations of the temperature of the air in summer and winter, in hot and cold climates; and consequently changes his situation on the surface of the globe, with much less inconvenience or injury, than he could otherwise have done. The same power likewise happily adapts different animals to their

* Exper. and Observ. p. 346. and 412.

† Memoirs pour 1761: And likewise our Volume for 1768. Second Part, p. 91.

respective

respective destinations. The lizard and the camelion remain cool under the equator, while the whale and porpoise retain a degree of heat above that of the human body, though surrounded with the waters of the coldest Northern seas, and amidst mountains of ice in the neighbourhood of the Pole.

Should you think these experiments and observations on heated air of sufficient importance to be communicated to the Royal Society, they are at your disposal.

I have the pleasure to find, that Dr. Priestley is prosecuting his very ingenious inquiries on air. In a letter I lately received from him he informs me, that he has discovered a species of air, which will preserve animal life six times longer than atmospheric air.

I remain with great esteem, &c.

ARTICLE the SECOND.

Experiments on Animals and Vegetables, with respect to the Power of producing Heat. By John Hunter, F. R. S.

THE ingenious experiments and observations lately presented to this learned Society, upon a power which animals seem to possess of generating cold, induced me to look over my notes of certain experiments and observations made in the year 1766, which indicate an opposite power in animals; whereby they are capable of resisting any external cold while alive, by generating within themselves a degree of heat sufficient to counteract it. These experiments were not originally instituted in view of the discovery, which in the event resulted from them, but

for a very different purpose; which was no other than to satisfy myself, whether an animal could retain life after it was frozen, as had been confidently asserted both of fish and snakes. I mention this, to account for what might otherwise be attributed to negligence and inattention; namely, that little nicety was used in measuring the precise degrees of the cold applied in these experiments. Accuracy in this particular was not aimed at, being of no consequence in the inquiry more immediately before me. The cold produced was first by means of ice and snow with *sal ammoniac* or sea salt, and was about 10° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. Then ice, so cooled, was mixed with spirit of nitre; but what degree of cold was thus produced I did not examine. This cold mixture was made in a tub surrounded with woollen cloths, and covered with the same, to prevent the effects of the heat of the atmosphere upon the mixture itself, and to preserve, as much as possible, a cold atmosphere within the vessel. The animal juices, the blood for example, freeze at 25°; so that a piece of dead flesh could be frozen in such an atmosphere.

Experiments.

I. The first experiment was made on two carp. They were put into a glass vessel with common river water, and the vessel put into the freezing mixture; the water did not freeze fast enough; and therefore, to make it freeze sooner, we put in as much cooled snow as to make the whole thick. The snow round the carp melted; we put in more fresh snow, which melted

melted also; and this was repeated several times, till we grew tired, and at last left them covered up in the yard, to freeze by the joint operation of the surrounding mixture and the natural cold of the atmosphere. They were frozen at last, after having exhausted the whole powers of life in the production of heat. That this was really the case, could not be known, till I had completed that part of the experiment, for which the whole was begun; *viz.* the thawing of the animals. This was done very gradually; but the animals did not with flexibility recover life. While in this cold, they shewed signs of great uneasiness by their violent motions. In some of these experiments, where air was made the conductor of the cold and heat, that the heat might be more readily carried off from the animal, a leaden vessel was used. It was small for the same reason; and as it was necessary, for the animal's respiration, that the mouth of the vessel should communicate with the open air, it was made pretty deep, that the cold of the atmosphere round the animal might not be diminished fast by the warmth of the open air, which would have spoiled it as a conductor.

II. The second experiment was upon a dormouse. The vessel was sunk in the cold mixture almost to its edge. The atmosphere

round the animal soon cooled; its breath froze as it came from the mouth; an hoar-frost gathered on its whiskers, and on all the inside of the vessel; and the external ends of the hair became covered with the same. While this was going on, the animal shewed signs of great uneasiness: sometimes it would coil itself into a round form, to preserve its extremities, and confine its heat, but finding that ineffectual, it then endeavoured to make its escape*; its motions became less violent by the sinking of the vital powers; and its feet were frozen; but we were not able to keep up the cold a sufficient time to freeze the whole animal, its hair being such a bad conductor of heat, that the consumption was not more than the animal powers were capable of supporting †.

III. The third experiment was made upon another dormouse. From the failure of the last experiment, I took care that the hair should not a second time be an obstruction to the success of our experiment. I therefore first wetted it all over, that the heat of the animal might be more instantaneously carried off; and then it was put into the leaden vessel. The whole was put into the cold mixture as before. The animal soon gave signs of its feeling the cold, by repeated attempts to make its escape. The breath, and the evaporating water from its body

* This shews, that cold, carried to a great degree, rather rouses the animal into action than depresses it; but it would appear, from many circumstances and observations, that a certain degree of cold produces inactivity both in the living and sensitive principle, which will be farther illustrated hereafter.

† These experiments were made in presence of Dr. George Fordyce, and Dr. Ervin, teacher of Chemistry at Glasgow; the latter of whom came in accidentally in the middle of our operations.

were soon frozen, and appeared like a hoar-frost on the sides of the vessel, and on its whiskers; but while the vigour of life lasted, it defied the approach of the cold. However, from the hair being wet, and thereby rendered a good conductor of heat, there was a much greater consumption of it than in the former experiment. This hastened on a diminution of the power of producing it. The animal died, and soon became stiff; upon thawing it, we found it was dead.

IV. The fourth experiment was upon a toad. It was put into water just deep enough not to cover its mouth, and the whole was put into the cold mixture, now between 10° and 15° . It allowed the water to freeze close to it, which as it were closed it in; but the animal did not die, and therefore was not frozen: however, it hardly ever recovered the use of its limbs.

V. The fifth experiment was with a snail, which froze very soon, in a cold between 10° and 13° ; but this experiment was made in the winter, when the living powers of those animals are very weak: it might have resisted the cold more strongly in the summer.

To ascertain whether vegetables could be frozen, and afterwards retain all their properties when thawed, or had the same power of generating heat with animals, I made several experiments. Vegetable juices when squeezed out of a green plant, such as cabbage and spinach, froze in a cold about 20° ; and between 29° and 30° thawed again, which is about 4° above the point at which the animal juices freeze and thaw.

I. I took a young growing bean, about three inches long in the stalk, and put it into the leaden vessel with common water, and then immersed the whole into the cold mixture. The water very soon froze all round it; however, the bean itself took up a longer time in freezing than the same quantity of water would have done; yet it did freeze, and was afterwards thawed, and planted in the ground, but it soon withered. The same experiment was made upon the bulbous roots of tulips, and with the same success.

II. A young Scotch fir, which had two complete shoots and a third growing, and which consequently was in its third year, was put into the cold mixture, which was between 15° and 17° . The last shoot froze with great difficulty, which appeared to be owing in some measure to the repulsion between the plant and the water. When thawed, the young shoot was found flaccid. It was planted; the first and second shoot we found retained life, while the third, or growing shoot, withered.

III. A young shoot of growing oats with three leaves, had one of the leaves put into the cold mixture at 22° , and it soon was frozen. The roots were next put in, but did not freeze; and when put into the ground, the whole grew, excepting the leaf which had been frozen. The same experiment was made upon the leaves and roots of a young bean, and attended with the same success.

IV. A leaf taken from a growing bean was put into the cold mixture, and frozen, and afterwards thawed, which served as a standard.

standard. Another fresh leaf was taken and bent in the middle upon itself; a small shallow leaden vessel was put upon the top of the cold mixture, and the two leaves put upon its bottom; but one half of each leaf was not allowed to touch the vessel by the bend; the cold mixture was between 17° and 15° , and the atmosphere at 22° . The surfaces of the two leaves which were in contact with the lead were soon frozen in both; but those surfaces which rose at right angles, and were therefore only in contact with the cold atmosphere, did not freeze in equal times; the one that had gone through this process before, froze much sooner than the fresh one. The above experiment was repeated when the cold mixture was at 25° , 24° , and the atmosphere nearly the same, and with the same success; only the leaves were longer in freezing, especially the fresh leaf.

V. The vegetable juices above mentioned being frozen in the leaden vessel, the cold mixture at 28° , and the atmosphere the same, a growing fir-shoot was laid upon the surface, also a bean leaf; and upon remaining there some minutes, they were found to have thawed the surface on which they lay. This I thought might arise from the greater warmth of these substances at the time of application; but by moving the fir-shoot to another part, we had the same effect produced.

VI. A fresh leaf of a bean was exactly weighed; it was then put into the cold atmosphere and frozen. In this state it was put back into the same scale, and allowed to thaw. No alteration in the weight was produced.

It appears from the above experiments, that an animal must be deprived of life before it can be frozen. Secondly, that there is an exertion, or an expence of animal powers, in doing this, in proportion to the necessity; and that the whole animal life may be exhausted in this way. Thirdly, that this power is in proportion to the perfection of the animal, the natural heat proper to each species, and to each age. It may also perhaps depend, in some degree, on other circumstances not hitherto observed: for from experiment II. and III. upon dormice, I found that in these animals, which are of a constitution to retain nearly the same heat in all temperatures of the air, it required the greatest cold I could produce to overcome this power; while in experiment IV. and V. this power in the toad and snail, whose natural heat is not always the same, but is altered very materially according to the external heat or cold, was exhausted in a degree of cold not exceeding 10° or 15° : and the snail being the most imperfect of the two, its powers of generating heat were by much the weakest.

That the imperfect animals will allow of a considerable variation in their temperature of heat and cold, is proved by the following experiments. The thermometer being at 45° , having introduced the ball by the mouth into the stomach of a frog, which had been exposed to the same cold, it rose to 49° . I then put the frog into an atmosphere made warm by heated water, and allowed it to stay there twenty minutes; when, upon introducing the thermometer into the stomach, it raised the quick-
silver

silver to 54° . But to what degree the more imperfect animals are capable of being rendered hotter and colder, at one time than another, I have not been able to determine. The torpidity of these animals in our winter is probably owing to the great change wrought in their temperature by the external heat and cold. The cold in their bodies is carried to such a degree, as in great measure to put a stop, while it lasts, to the vital functions. In warmer climates no such effect is produced. In this respect they resemble vegetables.

From the foregoing experiments it appears; first, that plants when in a state of actual vegetation, or even in such a state as to be capable of vegetating under certain circumstances, must be deprived of their principle of vegetation before they can be frozen. Secondly, vegetables have a power within themselves of producing or generating heat; but not always in proportion to the diminution of heat by application of cold, so as to retain at all times an uniform degree of heat; for the internal temperature of vegetables is susceptible of variations to a much greater extent indeed than that of the more imperfect animals; but still within certain limits. Beyond these limits the principle of vegetable, as of animal life, resists any further change. Thirdly, the heat of vegetables varies, according to the temperature of the medium in which they are, which we discover by varying that temperature, and observing the heat of the vegetable. Fourthly, the expence of the vegetating powers in this case is proportioned to the necessity,

and the whole vegetable powers may be exhausted in this way. Fifthly, this power is most probably in proportion to the perfection of the plant, the natural heat proper to each species, and the age of each individual. It may also perhaps depend, in some degree, on other circumstances not hitherto observed; for in experiment II. the old shoot did not lose its powers, while that which was young or growing did; and in experiment III. and IV. we found that the young growing shoot of the fir was with great difficulty frozen at 10° , while a bean-leaf was easily frozen at 22° ; and in experiment V. the young shoot of the fir thawed the ice at 28° , much faster than the leaf of the bean. Sixthly, it is probably by means of this principle, that vegetables are adapted to different climates. Seventhly, that suspension of the functions of vegetable life, which takes place during the winter season, is probably owing to their being susceptible of such a great variation of internal temperature. Eighthly, the roots of vegetables are capable of resisting cold more than the stem or leaf; therefore, though the stem be killed by cold, the root may be preserved, as daily experience evinces. The texture of vegetables alters very much by the loss of life, especially those which are watry and young: from being brittle and crisp, they become tough and flexible. The leaf of a bean when in full health is thick and massy, repels water as if greasy, and will often break before it is considerably bent; but if it is killed slowly by cold, it will lose all these properties, becoming then pliable and flaccid; deprived of

of its power of repelling water, it is easily made wet and appears like boiled greens. If killed quickly, by being frozen immediately, it will remain in the same state as when alive; but upon thawing, will immediately lose all its former texture. This is so remarkable, that it would induce one to believe, that it lost considerably of its substance: but from experiment VI. it is evident that it does not. The same thing happens to a plant when killed by electricity*. If a growing juicy plant receives a stroke of electricity sufficient to kill it, its leaves droop, and the whole becomes flexible.

So far animal and vegetable life appear to be the same; yet an animal and a vegetable differ in one very material circumstance, which it may be proper to take particular notice of in this place, as it shews itself with remarkable evidence in these experiments. An animal is equally old in all its parts, excepting where new parts are formed in consequence of diseases; and we find, that these new or young parts in animals, like the young shoots of vegetables, are not able to support life equally with the old; but every plant has in it a series of ages. According to its years, it has parts of all the successive ages from its first formation; each part having powers equal to its age, and each part, in this respect, being similar to animals of so many different ages. Youth in all cases is a state of imperfection; for we find that few animals that come into the world

in winter live, unless they are particularly taken care of; and we may observe the same of vegetables. I found that a young plant was more easily killed than an old one; as also the youngest part of the same plant.

This power of generating heat seems to be peculiar to animals and vegetables while alive. It is in both a power only of opposition and resistance; for it is not found to exert itself spontaneously and unprovoked; but must always be excited by the energy of some external frigorific agent. In animals it does not depend on the motion of the blood, as some have supposed, because it belongs to animals who have no circulation; besides, the nose of a dog, which is nearly always of the same heat in all temperatures of the air, is well supplied with blood: nor can it be said to depend upon the nervous system, for it is found in animals that have neither brain nor nerves. It is then most probable, that it depends on some other principle peculiar to both, and which is one of the properties of life; which can, and does, act independently of circulation, sensation, and volition; viz. that power which preserves and regulates the internal machine, and which appears to be common to animals and vegetables. This principle is in the most perfect state when the body is in health, and in many deviations from that state, we find that its action is extremely uncertain and irregular; sometimes rising higher than the standard, and at

* To kill a whole plant by electricity, it is necessary to apply the conductor, or give a shock to every projecting part; for any part that is out of the line of direction will still retain life.

other times falling much below it. Instances of this we have in different diseases, and even in the same disease, in very short intervals of time. A very remarkable one fell under my own observation, in a gentleman who was taken with an apoplectic fit; while he lay insensible in bed, and covered with blankets, I found that his whole body would, in an instant, become extremely cold in every part; continue so for some time; and, in as short a time, he would become extremely hot. While this was going on for several hours alternately, there was no sensible alteration in his pulse.

Two Cases of great Fatness and Somnolency; treated by Dr. Fothergill; in one of which the Patient happily recovered by persevering in the Regimen prescribed by that Gentleman; while the Patient, in the other, unfortunately perished by neglecting it for the Advice of Friends. From an Article, by the Doctor himself, in Medical Observations and Inquiries, by a Society of Physicians in London.

A Country tradesman, aged about thirty, of a short stature, and naturally of a fresh sanguine complexion, and very fat, applied to me for assistance. He complained of perpetual drowsiness and inactivity. His countenance was almost livid; and such a degree of somnolency attended him, that he could scarce keep awake whilst he described his situation. In other respects he was well.

I advised him immediately to quit all animal food, to live solely on vegetables, and every thing pre-

pared from them, allowed him a glass of wine or a little beer occasionally, but chiefly to confine himself to water. He pursued the plan very scrupulously, lost his redundant fat, grew active as usual in about six months. I recommended a perseverance for a few months longer; then to allow himself light animal food once or twice a week, and gradually to fall into his usual way of living. He grew well, and continued so.

A young unmarried woman, about twenty-three years of age, of a low stature, and very fat, applied to me for assistance in a great difficulty of breathing, somnolency, and incapacity for any exercise. It was a hardship to her to be obliged to go up stairs, and at last to cross the floor of her apartment.

It seemed to me that mere obesity was her principal malady; indeed she had no other complaint but such as apparently might be accounted for from this supposition. She was ordered to pursue a vegetable diet, and in the summer to drink the waters at Scarborough. She conformed to these directions, became more agile, less sleepy, less averse to exercise. She walked up the steps at Scarborough from the spaw, a task of no little difficulty to people much less encumbered. I urged a continuance of the same diet: she was dissuaded from it by her friends, and died of fat in the twenty-seventh year of her age. She left permission with her sister, to be opened, if it was desired: the case was too singular to be neglected: all the viscera were perfectly sound, but larded with fat beyond apprehension. In dividing the external teguments, we

we cut through $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches of fat. She died suddenly.

Some instances of a similar nature, in which a vegetable diet has safely contributed to reduce immoderate corpulency, induces me to think that a prudent trial in the case I am treating of (an *Angina Pectoris*) would be advisable. Perhaps a reasonable use of wine, not a generous one, should be here allowed, lest the strength should be diminished too much in proportion; and if the power of absorption should by this means fail, we may probably lose more ground, by the increase of the *serosa colluvies* in the cavity of the thorax, than what we gain by subtracting the fat.

All the means of increasing the thinner secretions are evidently pointed out as necessary, from this dissection; and if to these we join small doses of chalybeates, or other medicines, and an abstinence from animal food, so far as the patient's health, situation, and manner of life will admit of it, we are perhaps rendering all the reasonable assistance we can, till future discoveries make us better acquainted with the real causes of this singular distemper.

Some Account of a very remarkable Medical Case, in which all the Bones, particularly those of the Thighs and Legs, lost their Solidity; by Mr. Henry Thomson, Surgeon to the London-Hospital. From Medical Observations and Inquiries by a Society of Physicians in London.

JAMES Stevenson, a shoemaker in Wapping, aged thirty-three, five feet seven inches

high, enjoyed a good state of health till about the year 1766, when he was seized with violent pains in his knees and feet, and was tormented with a head-ach, which came on at irregular periods; these pains he supposed to be rheumatic, and had recourse to a variety of medicines, and to empirical aid, without finding any alleviation whatever of his complaints. In the month of November of the same year, he injured his left shoulder by a fall, which occasioned him considerable pain; and he was unable to move it for several months afterwards.

In November 1768, he slipped down in his shop, and fancied he had sprained his right thigh; this injury confined him to his bed about a week; and he was afterwards unable to walk without the support of a person's arm and a crutch-stick. On the twenty-first of December following, as he was endeavouring to go up stairs to bed, supported by his wife, he struck the toe of his right foot upon the edge of the step, and instantly cried out that his thigh was broke! He was put to bed, and an apothecary being sent for the next morning, who, paying little attention to the injured thigh, attributed the great pain he suffered to an increase of his rheumatic complaints, and gave him medicines accordingly. In this situation he continued upwards of a fortnight, when Dr. Dickson, physician to the London Hospital, was called in. Upon his viewing the thigh so much complained of, he found it crooked and much shorter than the other, and therefore advised a surgeon to be sent for.

I saw him the following day, and

and on examination, found a fracture of the thigh-bone near its upper extremity. I effected the reduction as well as I could, by means of very little extension, and had reason to suppose that the ends of the bone were in due contact, by the limb being of an equal length with the other. It was secured in this position with the usual apparatus; and I was in hopes that his pain would now cease: the event however proved different; his pains continued, though not so violent. This circumstance obliged me frequently to unbind the splints, and to re-accommodate the bandage, judging that either the puckering of the bandage, or tightness of the splints, might occasion in some measure the uneasiness which he felt. About the end of five weeks from the time I had replaced the thigh-bone, desirous of knowing how far the union was completed, I undid the whole apparatus, and requested his wife to lift up the leg, by placing one hand under the ham, and the other to embrace the leg above the ankle, whilst I examined the degree of firmness where the fracture had been. In doing this, I was surprized to find the thigh-bone yield and fall in, about a hand's-breadth above the knee, similar to that of a fracture, excepting that in this case, there was no sensation of grating, as is usual, where the broken bone is of a solid texture. Upon turning my head about to give his wife directions to lower the leg upon the pillow, I became more astonished, for I found the leg almost doubled in her hands; a similar separation of the *tibia* and *fibula* (the two bones of the leg) had taken place

about a hand's breadth below the tuberosity, as has been just before noticed, in the *os femoris* (the thigh bone). Both these separations were unaccompanied with any remarkable signs of additional pain to the patient.

This deplorable situation of the patient urged me to a particular inquiry into the cause of so uncommon a calamity. I could however learn nothing satisfactory, further than concerning the rheumatic complaints before mentioned, which gave me some suspicion that a venereal virus might possibly have laid the foundation for the sufferings he had undergone. I questioned him upon this head; he acknowledged that he had had a venereal complaint between two and three years before he married; that he never thought himself cured of it, though he had then been married about six years; that he had scorbutic blotches upon him for some years, and declared he had then a gleet.

Upon viewing the eruption, I was confirmed in my opinion, that it was venereal; I therefore resolved that he should begin a mercurial course, and accordingly directed a drachm of the strong mercurial ointment to be rubbed in every night, under the ham of the sound limb.

Previous to my dressing up the miserable leg and thigh, I examined the separation (for I could not call it fracture) which had been produced in the *tibia* (the great bone of the leg). The skin being very thin, from the emaciated condition of the patient, I could perceive by the finger a regular transverse cleft in the *tibia*; there was no appearance of ecchymosis (livid spots or blotches

blotches in the skin) nor tumefaction, nor did any appear afterwards; upon tracing the surface of the *tibia* with my fingers, below the fissure, I found a remarkable softness and yielding of the bone down to its lower extremity, similar to a fluid being contained therein. So extraordinary a circumstance excited my curiosity, and I determined to explore the nature of so uncommon a feel, by laying it open. The following day I made an incision, about five inches in length, with a scalpel, through the skin, along the spine of the *tibia*, and turning the knife about an inch across upon the surface of the bone, I made a second incision parallel with the first, and then removed this incised portion clear from the *periosteum* (the skin covering the bone), which was remarkably thin. Finding upon examination by my fingers, that the external part of the bone was extremely pliant, and yielding, I passed my knife through it, and removed all that had been denuded with the greatest ease, its texture being only about the solidity and thickness of the rind of cheese.

This being done, I found a dusky red, or liver-coloured flesh, occupying the whole internal part of the bone, devoid of sensibility, and from which the osseous covering had been removed, without the least hæmorrhage: in short, it appeared to me an unorganized mass, similar to the flesh-like substance or coagulum which may be formed upon a stick or feather, by stirring fresh drawn blood in a basin.

The mercurial unction was continued every night for the space of a fortnight: the pyralism gradually advanced, and he spat about a pint

in the twenty-four hours, when it arrived to its height. The wound of the leg suppurred in the most kindly manner, and healed in a short time. The spitting alleviated the pains in his limbs, the eruption upon the skin gradually disappeared, and upon the whole, his health seemed much amended.

The right leg and thigh began to shorten, and acquired soon a considerable degree of deformity. The bandage and splints were discontinued, as being no longer serviceable; and finding the left *tibia* become softened in the manner which had been observed in that of the right, I lamented his fate, as judging him past all hope of relief. However, his case being made known to the Medical Society, who from time to time assisted him with money, several of its members visited and directed the use of various things. He drank wort for a considerable time, and likewise the antiscorbutic juices, and for a great while took a decoction of the bark with elixir of vitriol, by the order of Dr. Dickson, who frequently saw him; but nothing which was tried having any effect in checking the progress of this deplorable disease, the poor man grew tired of medicines, and calmly expected his dissolution.

From the time of my first attendance upon him, to the day of his death, he was never able to be removed out of his bed; he lay upon his back, nor could he ever bear to be turned upon his side.

The left leg and thigh lost its straightness, and became deformed in like manner with the right; and in proportion as the contraction and deformity took place, he gradually lost all sense of muscular action;

action; but when it became necessary to smooth the sheet under him, he was very sensible of pain, upon lifting up and laying down the limbs.

His appetite remained good the whole time of his confinement, till within three weeks of his death; he was sometimes costive, and had recourse to a laxative electuary at these times: his urine for the first two years generally deposited a whitish sediment, which upon evaporation became like mortar; and he voided three or four small jagged stones some time after a complaint in his loins.

He was at last seized with a hientery, which put an end to a miserable existence, on the 18th of February 1775, after a confinement to his bed of above six years.

Dr. Hunter did me the favour of assisting in the examination of the body. Upon opening the *thorax* (chest), we found the ribs and *sternum* (the breast-bone) had lost all their solidity, being easily cut through with a common scalpel; the cartilages of the ribs were unaltered; the contents of the *thorax* and *abdomen* (belly) appeared in a healthy state, and were no otherwise affected than by situation, owing to the deformity of what originally formed the bony supports of the *thorax*, the *spine*, and *pelvis* (hips). The gall-bladder however was destitute of bile, greatly contracted, and contained a considerable number of very small, black, jagged stones, resembling coal dust. We next proceeded to examine the state of every bone in the body; the result was, that we could easily pass the knife through those of the

cranium (skull), *sternum*, ribs, *vertebrae* (joints of the back-bone), *pelvis*, and all the cylindrical bones which formed the extremities; and the *phalanges* of the fingers were even so much altered, that they were capable of being slit through longitudinally. All these originally bony parts consisted of a mere cortical or outside osseous covering, of the thickness of rind of cheese, and of an inside flesh-coloured mass. The cartilaginous coverings of the *epiphyses* of the bones of the extremities appeared to have lost much of their original thickness: in many parts of the *epiphyses* it appeared as if this cartilaginous covering was in a manner annihilated, whilst in other parts it appeared prominent and full of bumps. The *epiphyses* were equally compressible and springy to the touch as the *diaphyses* of the same bones; and though there was an apparent diminution of cartilaginous covering, yet it by no means appeared to be abraded, since what remained preserved its pearly colour and smooth polish; and it is remarkable, that though the joints of the lower extremities, in particular, had been destitute of motion above six years, the *synovia* was perfectly good, and in great quantity.

I have only to add, that the muscular parts in general, but more particularly of the lower extremities, were exceedingly pale, having lost the appearance of flesh; and it would scarcely have been possible to have traced them by dissection, from their contortion and adhesion to each other.

Some Account of a new Species of Mortification lately observed by Percival Pott, Esq. F. R. S. and Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital; and the happy Discovery of the extraordinary Efficacy of Opium in the Cure of it, made by the said Gentleman, after the Bark had failed. From a new Work of his lately published, intitled, Chirurgical Observations relative to the Cataract, Ruptures, Mortifications of the Toes and Feet, &c.

MR. Pott describes the above disorder, as "making its first appearance on the inside, or at the extremity of one of the smaller toes, by a small black or bluish spot: from this spot the cuticle is always found to be detached, and the skin under it to be of a dark red colour—Its progress in some is slow; in others rapid, and horribly painful: it generally begins on the inside of each small toe, before it is visible either on its under or upper part; and when it makes its attack on the foot, the upper part of it first shews its distempered state by tumefaction, change of colour, and sometimes by vesication; but wherever it is, one of the first marks of it is a separation or detachment of the cuticle.

"The common method of treating this distemper is, by spirituous fomentations, cataplasms actually and potentially warm, by dressings of the digestive kind, as they are called, animated with warm pungent oils and balsams, &c. and internally by the Peruvian bark."

This method, Mr. Pott says, he has seldom or never known to succeed. He has tried the bark, he says, as fully and fairly, and as

variously as any man has or can; but in the species of mortification above described, he cannot ascribe to it a merit which it does not deserve.

He proceeds, after describing the various ways in which he has used the bark, to relate the case which led to the discovery of the virtues of opium in the following words:

"Some time ago I had a patient labouring under this complaint, who could not be prevailed on to take the bark in any form whatever. I made use of every argument, but to no purpose: fomentation, poultice, and the usual dressings were applied in the usual manner; the disease advanced some days more, some days less, and at the end of a fortnight, the small toes were all completely mortified, the great one became blackish, the foot much swollen, altered in colour, and the disease seeming to advance with such hasty strides, that I supposed a very few days would determine the event. The pain in the foot and ankle was so great, and so continual, as totally to deprive the patient of sleep. On this account, and merely to procure some remission, I gave two grains of opium at night, which not having the desired effect, I repeated it in the morning. Finding, during the following day, some advantage, I repeated the same dose night and morning, for three days; at the end of which time the patient became quite easy, and the appearances on the foot and ankle were visibly more favourable. Encouraged by this I increased the quantity of the medicine, giving one grain every three or four hours, taking care to watch

watch its narcotic effect, and to keep the belly empty by glysters. In nine days from the first administration of the opium, all the tumefaction of the foot and ankle totally subsided, the skin recovered its natural colour, and all the mortified parts plainly began to separate; in another week they were all loose and casting off, the matter was good, and the incarnation florid.

"During the whole of this time, I continued the use of the opium, varying its quantity, as circumstances required, but never gave less than three or four grains in twenty-four hours.

"When the sloughs were all cast off, the bones separated, and I had only a clean sore to dress and heal, I gradually left off the medicine.

"I am very willing to acknowledge, that however well pleased I might be with the event of this case, yet I really regarded it as accidental; so much so, that having very soon after another opportunity, I did not care to trust to opium alone, but joined the bark with it. The event was equally fortunate. But although I had joined the cortex with the extractum thebaicum, and did therefore attribute the success to their united powers, yet the effect was so very unlike to what I had ever seen from the bark without opium, that I could not avoid seriously and often reflecting on it, and determining to use it by itself, whenever another opportunity should offer. I did so, and succeeded in the same happy manner, though under the very disagreeable circumstances of seventy years of age, a broken distempered constitution, and the disease making a hasty progress.

An Account of some Experiments tried on the Urine of a Man about thirty-three, labouring under a confirmed Diabetes, with the very extraordinary Result thereof, by Matthew Dobson, Esq. M. D. of Liverpool. From Medical Observations and Inquiries, by a Society of Physicians in London.

EXPERIMENT I.

SOME of this patient's urine, which was quite transparent, and of a very pale straw colour, sweet and not the least urinous to the taste, was set by in an open vessel to observe its spontaneous changes. This was in the month of November, when Fahrenheit's thermometer stood about 52 during the warmest part of the day.

In 24 hours a separation began to take place: some woolly clouds appeared, which gradually subsiding, covered the bottom of the vessel with a loose white precipitate. At the same time air-bubbles were detached, which carried small portions of the woolly clouds to the surface, where they remained suspended. This intestine motion continued for several days, and produced a thin head on the surface of the urine, much resembling that which is formed on the surface of fermenting liquors. On shaking the vessel, the intestine motion was increased, and a vinous smell was easily distinguished. Soon after this, the fluid became sourish; and the resolution going on, the next change was to the keen smell of vinegar. The further and last change was to the putrid and offensive.

100. ANNUAL REGISTER, 1776.

EXPERIMENT II.

Eight ounces of blood taken from the arm of this patient, exhibited, after standing a proper time, the following appearances. The *crassamentum* had a slight buff, a due degree of firmness, and was in the usual proportion to the *serum*. The *serum* was opaque, and much resembled common cheese whey; it was sweetish, but I thought not so sweet as the urine.

EXPERIMENT III.

The urine of this patient, exposed to a boiling heat, suffered no degree of coagulation.

EXPERIMENT IV.

Neither was it coagulated, on being mixed with the mineral acids.

EXPERIMENT V.

Two quarts of this urine were, by a gentle heat, evaporated to dryness, under the inspection of Mr. Poole, apothecary to the hospital, and Mr. Walthal, one of the house apprentices. There remained, after the evaporation, a white cake which weighed ℥iv. 3ij. and ʒij. This cake was granulated, and broke easily between the fingers; it smelled sweet like brown sugar, neither could it, by the taste, be distinguished from sugar, except that the sweetness left a slight sense of coolness on the palate. It had no saltiness, nor was there any effervescence, on the addition of the acid elixir of vitriol: but on the addition of a more concentrated vitriolic acid, an effervescence ensued, and some fumes arose which had the pungent smell of the marine acid.

EXPERIMENT VI.

The same experiment was repeated after the patient was so far recovered as to pass only 14 pints of urine in the 24 hours, to have a moist and soft skin; and to have gained flesh and strength. There was now a strong urinous smell during the evaporation, and the residuum could not be procured in a solid form, but was blackish, and much resembled very thick treacle.

Singular Instances, amongst many others which might be brought from the same Work, of a revived, or newly discovered Property in Carrots, grated and reduced with Water into the Form of a Poultice, as first recommended by Mr. Soultzer, to subdue, very speedily, the intolerable Stench, and abate the great Pain, attending cancerous Ulcers; and of Wort, or the Infusion of Malt, by correcting the Habit, effectually to cure, in Time, the said nauseous and desperate Complaints; by Mr. Henry Gibson, Surgeon at Newcastle upon Tyne. From Medical Observations and Inquiries, &c.

ANN Sandham, a woman about twenty years of age, was admitted a patient of the Infirmary, the 19th of January 1768. She had been afflicted, during two or three years, with a large phagedenic ulcer on the foot, extending over the whole of the upper part of the *metatarsus*, and about two-thirds of the *tarso*; the edges of the ulcer hard and inflamed; the whole foot swelled, and the inflammation of the integuments reaching

reaching halfway up the leg; the sore very foul, with a gangrenous aspect, attended with such a foetid smell as is not to be expressed.

This miserable creature, weary of her life, came with an intention to have her limb taken off. She had been my patient five years before, for a mortification of all the toes of the same foot, which, with much difficulty, after their separating, had been healed; so that, having some reason to suspect, that the toes had formerly sphacelated from an ossification of the arteries, my brethren of the Infirmary, as well as myself, on consultation, were averse to amputation, though much solicited to it by the miserable creature herself; her blood also appeared to be in a putrid dissolved state; her breath very foetid, and her whole look cadaverous. Having experienced in a late case, the excellency of the carrot poultice, in removing the nauseous smell of an ulcerated cancer, I ordered it to be applied here, with an intention principally to get the better of that disagreeable symptom, which, in this case, was to the greatest degree that the rest of the surgeons or myself had ever known; and as she had formerly, while her toes were sphacelated, taken vast quantities of the *cortex* and wine, yet had mended very slowly, she was ordered to drink at pleasure, from a quart to three pints, of the infusion of malt, (according to Dr. Macbride) daily; and that the bad smell might not be injurious to any of the other patients, she was ordered into the lazaretto. The very next day, the poultice had entirely suppressed the stench; and moreover had substituted its own sweet smell; the

pain was considerably assuaged; the inflammation and swelling diminished; she was able to move her ankle, and most thankfully expressed, that she had had a better night than for a year and a half before! In short, from this time, the ichorous discharge changed for the better every day in colour, consistence, and quantity, and in little more than a week became very laudable; the hard inflamed lips softened; the surface of the ulcer put on a healing appearance; the patient's constitution manifestly mended, and she was discharged cured the 12th of May following; in which time she had taken no other medicine than the malt infusion, nor had any other topical application besides the carrot poultice, except when the sore was contracted to the size of a shilling; then edgings of *cerat. abl.* were used along with it, because when the discharge was become small, I thought the dryness of the poultice brought off with it some of the new cicatrised skin. In fact, this application agreed so well with this ulcer, that what was meant at first only to remove the bad smell, answered fully every curative intention; I mean as a topic; and I have great reason to believe, that had we been able to have produced carrots in perfection during the months of February and March, this cure would have been performed in much less time; for it was very observable, that when none but the old full-grown carrots could be bought, which were become less succulent by keeping, or the young spring ones with their juices less exalted, that the cure advanced more slowly; and possibly that might be the cause why we

H 3

made



made no progress the last two months in the case of the other ulcer, after such promising appearances.

Upon the whole, I dare not pretend to assert, that a cataplasin of carrots will cure an ulcerated cancer; but I dare advance, that it will subdue the *intolerable stench*, frequently attending foul, gangrenous cancerous ulcers, which has heretofore been no inconsiderable *desideratum* in surgery, both in respect to the patients themselves, and to the people who are about them.

Mr. Lambert, Mr. Keenlyside, Mr. Stodart, my worthy friends and colleagues at the Infirmary, were very attentive to the progress of this cure, and will bear testimony to what I have related concerning it. To conclude, it appears from this history, that the subduing and conquering the bad smell, and abating the pain, were due to the *carrot poultice*; but that the correcting the patient's bad habit, may be attributed to the *malt infusion*; and indeed, it seemed to agree wonderfully well with her; it kept her in a gentle laxative state, usually procuring her daily two stools. She was obstructed before she was admitted, and in the course of her recovery, she became regular. In fine, she improved in health every day from her being put upon this course, though, when my patient before, she was more months in recovering under a course of the *cortex*, &c. than weeks at this time.

I have, in the course of this year, had three or four other scorbutic patients, with foul ulcers of long standing, under this course of malt infusion, with all of whom it

agreed very well; it generally kept them in a gentle laxative state, and apparently did them service; but no one so clearly received benefit from it as the subject of the last related case; and I make no doubt, but in long voyages at sea, where recent vegetables cannot be had, that it will prove a noble substitute, and fully answer the intention of the benevolent, humane, original proposer of it.

Physical Observations on the surprising Efficacy of Salt in feeding, fattening, and multiplying Cattle; and of course improving Land for every other Purpose.—By a Gentleman who subscribes himself
W. W.

IN looking over the first volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, I met with a paper entitled, "Physical Observations on the Effects of Salt in fattening Cattle." The title excited my curiosity; and on reading the memoir, the author's reasoning appeared to me not only plausible, but convincing. His views are certainly enlarged, and directed to objects of the most important kind, viz. the improvement of land, and the increase of cattle. He lays it down as an axiom, or self-evident truth, that by increasing cattle, land may be improved; and, by improving land, cattle may be multiplied.

The farmer, he says, who has a more than ordinary flock of working cattle, reaps a double advantage: one, by having his work done in season; the other, by enriching a greater proportion of his land

land by means of their additional manure; the only difficulty is, how to maintain an increased number without increasing the expence. This, he asserts, may be done by the use of salt; and advances the three following propositions:

1. That salt, given with the food of cattle, augments the nourishment of that food.

2. That, in proportion to the quantity of salt eaten by cattle, the effects of that augmentation will be perceivable.

3. That no ill consequence will follow from excess of salt eaten by cattle, even though it should be given them without stint.

These propositions he endeavours to support by unquestionable facts.

In the jurisdiction of Arles, in the county of Provence, there is, he says, a district called the Crau, extending in length about six leagues, and in breadth about three, the whole surface of which is covered with small rough stones, and not a tree or bush is to be seen in the whole district, except here and there on the borders; yet on this spot, so seemingly sterile, by the free use of salt, more numerous flocks of sheep are bred and reared, than upon any other common of equal extent throughout the whole kingdom; and what is no less remarkable, the sheep are healthier, and hardier, and endure the severity of the winter with less loss, though they have fewer sheep-cots for covering, than those bred and fed on more copious pastures, and that have, besides, the advantage of more convenient shelter. Add to this, that the wool of the flocks bred and brought up in the Crau, is not only the finest in the whole country, but bears the highest price

of any in France.—From hence he concludes, that it is to the unlimited use of salt that these surprising effects are to be ascribed; for it frequently happens that the Crau is so burnt up in the summer, that the poor animals are forced to turn up the very stones to come at the few blades of grass that grow round them: and yet none perish for want of food. Let every excellence, therefore, that can reasonably be supposed inherent in the herbage, be allowed to it, yet the quantity of it is so small, that, without the abundant use of salt, a fourth part of the sheep kept in the Crau, could not subsist in it.

But, as a still further demonstration, that this astonishing effect is solely to be attributed to salt, we have, says the writer, in Languedoc, on the borders of the Rhone, a spot of the same kind of stony land, in every respect similar to that of the Crau; yet, for want of the free use of salt, that of Languedoc does not maintain a tenth part of the number of sheep that are brought up in the Crau, though in other respects it is no ways inferior, the wines and other fruits produced on the borders of both being, in their goodness and other essential qualities, equal.

Having proved his first proposition incontrovertibly, he proceeds, in proof of the second, to recommend an easy experiment, which it is in every farmer's power to make; and that is, to give to one half of his cattle salt, and to the other half none. By this simple trial, he says, in less than a month, the difference will be discernible. The cattle to whom the salt is given will shew it in their looks, in the sleekness of their coats, in their

growth, and in their strength and fitness for labour. He adds, that with little more than half their usual food all these effects will be produced.

To establish his third proposition, he appeals to the practice about Arles, where the cattle have as much salt as they will eat, and none are so healthy, or thrive so fast, as those that eat the most of it.

From these observations, there cannot remain a doubt of the good effects of salt in the feeding and fattening of cattle; but it is much to be regretted, that the writer is totally silent with respect to the method of giving the salt to the labouring cattle. He has, indeed, informed his readers, that in 8 days his flock of 300 sheep eat 15 lb. of salt, being one pound to every score; and it should seem by his manner of expressing himself, that he gave them the whole quantity in one day, as he cautions the farmer against suffering his sheep to drink on the day the salt is administered, apprizing him at the same time how much it sharpens their appetite; and that he had seen them not only browse upon stubbs after eating the salt, but even gnaw pieces of wood of a surprising bigness.

As the subject of the above Memoir appeared to me of importance, I have only to request of you, Mr. Urban, the immediate insertion of the few hints which are here extracted from it; as, during the present scarcity of hay, it may be interesting to many; and as it has, in its consequences, a tendency to lower the price of provisions, it is to be hoped, that a discovery that promises so much benefit to the

public, will not wholly be overlooked.

Surry, Dec. 17.

W. W.

[Genl. Mag. for Dec. 1776.]

The highest Exertions of Human Art in Mosaic Work, compared with the Mosaic Work of the Wing of a Butterfly.

IT cannot but be extremely pleasing to a *devout mind*, to contemplate the extreme difference between the productions of human art, and those of the God of nature, when observed with exactness, in point of elegance and truth of workmanship. The disgusting irregularity that appears in the finest needle, when examined by a microscope, has been compared with the wonderful accuracy of the sting of a bee or a wasp; and the unequal contexture of the most delicate cambrick, when compared with some natural productions, has been observed, and devoutly acknowledged; but I do not recollect that I have any where seen a comparison instituted, between the subjects I am now proposing to consideration, which yet well deserve our notice, and may perhaps be as amusing as any of them.

Few are totally unacquainted with what is meant by Mosaic work. "It is a kind of Painting," says Dr. Johnson, in his dictionary, "in small pebbles, cockles, and shells of sundry colours." This is not the most happy of his descriptions; many other materials are used, and some more frequently than those he has mentioned, particularly pieces of marble, of burnt clay, and of glass.

glass. In truth, Mosaic work means in general, the forming flourishes and figures with *small bodies of different colours*.

Beautiful pavements of antient Mosaic, are sometimes found in our country, the remains of old Roman magnificence in this island. The *Antiquarian* society has published plates of several; as the *Royal* society, before them, gave an account of others, in some of their first volumes.

The diameter of the square tessellæ* of a pavement in *Suffex*, we are told by Dr. Tabor, was about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch. I suppose the *diagonal* was intended, since we are informed immediately after, that the longest side of those that were *oblong* at the head, little exceeded $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch†. If the *diagonal* of the square tessellæ was meant, then the *sides* of the square must be in course about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch; and if $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch, then 100 tessellæ would cover nine square inches, and consequently eleven tessellæ would nearly cover one inch square.

But the *moderns* have greatly improved the art of making Mosaic work. They form pictures, it seems, for altar-pieces most amazingly fine. I do not know any author that has described this sort of work more minutely, or has carried it to an higher degree of perfection, than Keyser. The substance of what that celebrated traveller has said, is as follows: "That the materials used by the *moderns* in these works are small

" pieces of glass, of all the different shades of every tint or colour, like those of the fine English worsted used in needle-work. The glass is first cast into thin cakes, which are afterwards cut into long pieces of different thicknesses. Many of the pieces used in roofs, or ceilings, which are consequently only seen at a great distance, appear to be a finger's breadth, but the more elegant pieces consist of glass pins (if that term might be made use of) not thicker than a common sewing needle, so that a portrait of four feet square shall take up *two millions* of such pins."

He goes on to inform us, "that these pins are so closely joined together, being fixed in a sort of paste which he describes, that after the piece is polished, (which is done in the same manner as looking-glass;) it can hardly be discerned to be an arrangement of an infinite number of particles of glass, but rather looks like a picture painted with the finest colours, with crystal placed before it. That it may be easily seen how much this curious art has been improved during the two last centuries, by comparing some of the old cupolas of the chapels in St. Peter's church‡. with the other pieces lately erected there. The studs in the old works are made of clay burnt, and the surface only tintured with various colours; but that they

* This word means the little pieces of stone, brick, &c. of which Mosaic work is composed.

† Phil. Trans. Abrid. Vol. 5. part 2. chap. 2. art. 23.

‡ At Rome.

"were to be gradually removed,
 "and their places supplied by the
 "more elegant performances of the
 "moderns."

Keyfler adds, "that a piece of
 "10 square feet, if performed
 "with tolerable care and delicacy,
 "would employ eight artists
 "the space of two years." Consequently it will take an artist a
 twelvemonth, to make five square
 feet of this curious kind of Mosaic.

Such is the substance of Keyfler's
 account; let us now compare this
 very great improvement, and these
 high exertions of human genius and
 industry, with the *divine* Mosaic of
 the wing of a butterfly.

I took a piece of paper, and cut
 a quarter of an inch square out of
 it, as exactly as I could. I afterwards
 fastened this small square, with
 paste, to one of the wings of
 a common *peacock* butterfly*. I then
 cut out a portion of the wing (it
 was one of the upper ones) as near
 as could be a quarter of an inch
 square, by cutting close to the
 edge of the paper to which it was
 fastened. I told in this, by the
 help of the third magnifier of an
 opaque microscope, 70 rows of
 scales, and about 90 scales in a
 row. I found, consequently, that
 there were 6300 scales on one side
 of this small portion of the creature's
 wing: for $70 \times 90 = 6300$. To be more
 sure, I afterwards took a piece of
 paper of a considerable size, on which
 I drew lines, nearly dividing it into
 small squares, and applying the
 piece of the wing, thus fastened to
 the first-mentioned small paper square,
 to the large

paper divided by those lines, at first
 gently, and afterwards more forcibly,
 I told the scales, that I found
 sticking to the large paper from
 time to time, which I could pretty
 easily do by the help of a small
 eye-glass, as they were divided
 into small parcels by the lines
 I had drawn. Upon repeating
 this operation 6 or 7 times, I found
 the scales, that were detached
 from the piece of wing to be about
 5752 in number, which added to
 those that were left (for several
 remained after rubbing it pretty
 hard), which I found to be 544 at
 least, make 6296, and comes very
 near the number found by telling
 the rows and the scales in each
 row, and multiplying them together.

If now we multiply 6296 by 16,
 the number of small squares contained
 in an inch square, of the size of
 this piece of the wing, the product
 will be found to be 100736, which
 will be the number of scales placed
 on a square inch of one side of
 the wing of this kind of butterfly.

But in the curious Mosaic pictures
 which Keyfler describes, there were
 but about 870 pins in an inch
 square. For he says a *picture of
 four feet square will take up two
 millions of pins*. Now such a
 picture contains 16 square feet,
 and there being 144 square inches
 in a square foot, such a picture
 contains 2304 square inches. If
 therefore we divide two millions
 (the number of pins in such a
 picture) by 2304, the number of
 square inches in it, the quotient
 will be the number of pins in a
 square inch:

* So called from its having an eye, in each of its wings, a good deal resembling
 those in the tail of a peacock. The insect is extremely common.

now $\frac{2,000,000}{2304} = 868$ and something more: if therefore we let the number of glass pins at 870, in a square inch, it will make the number in the whole picture 2,004,480, which is 4480 more than Keyser supposed would be used in such a picture; but, if a few more should be wanted, 4480 must be thought sufficient.

The *coarseness* of such a picture compared with the Mosaic on the wing of this insect, is in the proportion of 115 at least to one. That is, such a picture is 115 times coarser than this natural Mosaic. In truth, almost 116 times: for 100,736, the number of scales in a square inch, divided by 870, the supposed number of glass pins, gives 115 with a large remainder.

An admired picture then of this kind, compared with this butterfly's wing, is proportionably much coarser, than a tessellated pavement, composed of pebbles, small bricks, or pieces of marble, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch square at the top, is coarser than such a modern picture, one of the highest productions of human industry and genius: for there being, as I observed at the beginning of this account, 100 such tessellæ in 9 square inches, 25,600 tessellæ would be required to cover the 2304 square inches of a picture four feet square. But such a pavement would not be 79 times coarser than such a picture*, whereas the picture is above 115 times coarser than the Mosaic of the animal.

This, however, is by no means placing the matter in so strong a point of light as it deserves. The wings of a butterfly, when it first breaks out of the integument of its Aurelia† state, are much smaller than afterward. It is true, the wings expand themselves, and even come to their full growth in a few minutes; but, if they are watched with care, they will be found to be very small at first, yet all the tessellæ are then placed in them. Nay, they may be discerned, in some butterflies, through the sufficiently transparent integument, to be placed in due order some days before their quitting the Aurelia state; and consequently, they may be examined then with the greatest ease, by opening the case in which they are inclosed, and taking them out of it. This will shew that they possess a much greater superiority still in point of *fineness of workmanship*, to the most celebrated Mosaic pictures.

To make this examination in the surest and easiest manner, I pursued the following method. By means of paste, I fastened a piece of catgut, extended as evenly as I could, to a card, in which I had cut an hole near $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ wide. This catgut, I found, had 1792 meshes in a square inch, having 56 meshes in the length of an inch one way, and 32 the other‡. Upon measuring an upper and under wing of this peacock butterfly, which was pretty large, by the meshes of this catgut, as carefully as I

* For $\frac{2,004,480}{25,600}$ is equal but to 78 $\frac{7680}{25,600}$.

† The Aurelia state means the middle state between the creature's being a caterpillar and a butterfly.

‡ For $56 \times 32 = 1792$.

well could, I found the surface of one side of the two wings, equal to 2396 meshes, consequently those of both sides were equal to 4792, and the surfaces of all four wings (measured on both sides) were equal to 9584 meshes, equal to somewhat more than five square inches and one third. Consequently, there were on the four wings of this butterfly alone above 537,258 scales, supposing the scales of all the wings, and on both the sides, were, one with another, equal in bigness to those I told.

Applying the *same measuring instrument* to the upper and under wings of a butterfly of this species, taken prematurely out of its Aurelia state, but with its tessellæ placed in due order, I found they took up no more than 259 meshes, this number multiplied by 4 gives the measure of both the surfaces of the four wings, that is to say 1036

meshes, which is not much more than half a square inch *. But to be more exact, 9584 (the number of meshes found in the four wings that were fully expanded) being divided by 1036 (the number of meshes found in the diminutive wings of a butterfly of this species, taken prematurely out of its Aurelia state) gives $9\frac{1}{4}$. Consequently the Mosaic of this last must be $9\frac{1}{4}$ times finer than that of the first; and a square inch of this finer sort must contain 931,808 scales, whereas a square inch of a full grown wing contains but 100,736. And, if the Mosaic of this last butterfly be $9\frac{1}{4}$ times finer than of the first, it must be above 1063 times finer than the Mosaic of the boasted pictures of modern Rome, where ingenuity, animated by zeal, has exerted its utmost efforts.

The following short table will exhibit the difference between the several particulars I have been mentioning, at one view.

The Sussex pavement, —	} contains {	11	} Tessellæ in one inch square.
A modern Roman picture, —		870	
The wing of a butterfly expanded, —		100,736	
Ditto in its Aurelia state, —		931,808	

And, however dazzling a Roman Mosaic picture may be to the naked eye, I doubt not but the glass pins would appear through a microscope, to be stuck into the paste in a *very rude and inartificial* manner; whereas the scales of the butterfly will appear, through the best glasses, ranged in *most exquisite* order.

There is another difference between them, which ought also to be remarked, and that is, that *ends* only of those minute glass pins are seen in the Roman pictures; whereas a considerable part of the *broadest surface* of those minute scales that adorn the wing of a butterfly, is spread out before the eye there, a good deal after

* I measured the wings of two others, and found those of one of them rather larger, of the other considerably less; but I made my computation from one of a size between them, as being most unexceptionable.

the

the manner in which the scales of fish are placed.

How different too the managements of an earthly artist from those of the Heavenly, in another respect! The first is glad to take advantage of the *distance* of a cupola or a ceiling from the eye, and there the man that employs, it may be, 8 or 900 glass pins to cover an inch square of a *near* picture, employs much coarser materials; but the *Creator of the world* ranges the tessellæ of the wing of a *despised insect* with the nicest care, and then *expands* the wing to nine or ten times its former size, that *the human eye may better take in the beauty*, though, after all, these scales are so minute, as to appear on the fingers like the finest dust.

The ladies of Great-Britain will not pretend to vie with the workmanship of the Author of Nature: how far they may be disposed to endeavour to rival the Roman artists, I must not pretend to guess. I have seen some beautiful pieces of bead-work, made in the time of our great grandmothers, but none equal to the Roman pictures as to the smallness of the tessellæ made use of. I found in a piece of work of this kind, which I had an opportunity of minutely examining, that the glass beads were of different sizes, and that 27 of the smallest of them, when closely strung, extended an inch in length, and that 14 of them only, when I measured over them the other way, made an inch in

length, and consequently, that 378 of these beads would cover an inch square*, in this curious kind of work, consequently, the finest part of it was considerably more than twice as coarse as the modern Mosaics†.

If from the bead work of ancient times we turn to their tapestry, we perhaps shall get no advantage. In a piece of old tapestry, at least, that I examined, there were only 21 stitches in the length of an inch one way, and 13 the other; consequently only 273 stitches in a square inch, which is considerably above three times coarser than the modern Mosaic work.

Part of a piece of modern needle-work, which I examined on this occasion, came much nearer than the old tapestry. It was an easy chair, wrought partly with what they call cross-stitch, and partly with tent-stitch: in that part which was wrought with the smallest stitches, I found no more than 484 stitches in an inch square, and consequently, minute as they appeared, the work was almost as coarse again as the Roman Mosaic pictures.

However, I doubt not but that some of our British *Female* productions equal the elegant minuteness of the Mosaic artists at Rome, though unfortunately I have not observed them.

The adding a table relating to these last-mentioned matters, similar to that before given, perhaps may not be disagreeable.

Old tapestry	—	} contained {	273 stitches	} in an inch
Bead work	—		378 beads	
Modern needle-work,	—		484 stitches	
Roman Mosaic,	—		870 tessellæ	

* For $27 \times 14 = 378$.

† $\frac{870}{378}$ producing $2 \frac{114}{738}$ for the quotient.

P R O J E C T S.

On the Air properest for persons labouring under Consumptions, or chronic Diseases of the Lungs, according to the several Seasons of the Year, particularly in the Neighbourhood of London; with a Word or two upon the Use and Abuse of Exercise, Milk, and Spirits, as an Addition to Milk, in the same Complaints; extracted from an Address of Dr. Fothergill's to the Medical Society. From Medical Observations and Inquiries, &c.

CHANGE of air is of much consequence in all chronic diseases of the lungs, sometimes even from good to bad. It is not seldom that we see asthmatic persons breathe more freely in the dampest confined parts of this metropolis than in the country, at least I have met with many such instances. In consumptive cases, however, the air of all large cities is found by experience to be particularly injurious. Whence this arises, is in this place unnecessary to explain; the fact is indisputable. When the physician advises his patient to a change of air, to point out the most proper change becomes an important object.

In the neighbourhood of most great towns of England, as well as London, there are places which have acquired a reputation amongst the inhabitants for the peculiar healthiness of their situation. I will suppose these situations are well chosen; that the soil is dry; no stagnant waters in the neighbourhood; properly ventilated, yet not exposed to the keen north-east winds; where it will be easy to find sheltered walks, and every invitation to be abroad in fit weather, without hazard for wet and cold. Such, I believe, from the few places I know of this kind, are those selected for the retreat of consumptive patients, in the vicinage of large towns and cities. And here it may not be improper to take a general view of such as are recommended for the like purpose, in the neighbourhood of London.

The town is surrounded almost, by a ridge of eminences, inclosing besides the city, a low plain to the westward, of considerable extent; on the north, Highgate, Hampstead, and Kensington Gravel-pits; on the South-East, Blackheath, Clapham, and Putney. The summits of these may be called, comparatively, high ground, and are very much exposed to the
 sharp

sharp north - east and easterly winds.

To direct our patients to any of these places, early in the spring, whilst these winds are for the most part as stationary as the trade winds, seems to be exposing them too much to an air that is very unfriendly to such complaints.

The vales, especially to the south-east and west of London, as Camberwell, Peckham, the lower parts of Clapham, the drier parts of Lambeth, and Battersea, Fulham, Chelsea, Brumpton, and Kensington, and other sheltered, dry places about the town, would in the spring undoubtedly be the most proper.

As the more temperate season advances, higher situations may be allowed; and it would seem as improper to send a consumptive patient in summer to the low marshy grounds on the banks of the Thames, amongst the gardeners grounds at Battersea, or at Fulham, abounding with the most putrid exhalations of manure and corrupting vegetables, as it would be to order them in winter to the top of Highgate and Hampstead hill, or the bleaker air of Blackheath. Islington, the general refuge of the city, would be less exceptionable, was it not quite open to the keenest north-east winds in the spring; and in summer to the smoke of the city, driven upon it by the southerly winds.

Nor is it a matter perfectly indifferent whether we send our patients to the villages at the east or west end of this metropolis; the south or the north. The town itself is covered almost continually with an atmosphere of smoke, embodied with other ex-

halations, so as to form a cloud, more or less dense, which is visible at a great distance.

This vast body of smoke is seen to extend for several miles beyond the limits of the city and its suburbs, and is driven by the winds that prevail in the several seasons, according to their direction; in the summer season, for instance, whilst the southerly winds prevail, this dense body is driven to the north and north-east parts of the environs, and covers the herbage, the trees, and every thing, both living and dead, with black penetrating soot. In the winter and spring, while the northerly winds prevail, the opposite villages on the south-west and west side of London receive this thick atmosphere; but with this most remarkable difference; the winter winds passing through this warmed atmosphere, lose no small part of their rigorous effects; they are softened by it, and are proportionably less injurious to animals, and even to plants; for vegetation is much earlier in general to the south and south-west of London, than on the opposite extremities.

I have seen the double-blossomed almond tree in bloom at Chelsea sooner by twelve days at least than any where to the north or eastward of the town in similar situations. It seems therefore necessary to consider the season and situation before we fix the abode of consumptive patients, to whom it is not merely sufficient to advise them to go into the country; they must be assisted also to determine upon a proper place, and proper conduct whilst they are there. They must have had but little experience, who are not perfectly satisfied, how little
ought

ought to be left to the discretion of the sick, in most diseases; to the consumptive especially, in respect to their conduct. I have known divers instances of persons who have gone into the country, in consequence of their physicians advice in such cases, and have had so little discretion, as to sleep with the windows of their chambers purposely left open, for the benefit of the air, in the most inclement part of the spring. The consequence was, that in a few nights, the malady was increased beyond the power of art to relieve it. A physician, therefore, must descend to the minutest particulars in his directions.

If an attention to circumstances like these is necessary, to enable us to determine upon the choice of a proper residence in our own neighbourhood, how much greater must be our difficulty, when we propose to them a migration to the continent of Europe?

But before I enter upon this subject, it may not be improper to suggest some hints, relative to the different parts of our own country.

Bristol will naturally claim our attention, in the first instance, when change of air is recommended, as in the neighbourhood of that place there are two great advantages, the water and a good air.

But if, from any particular dislike, or other more substantial reason, this is not complied with, perhaps a journey would be much more advantageous than a fixed residence in any spot, however healthy. I shall only add, that a journey is always preferable to an equal number of miles rode over

in one and the same tract of country.

In the spring this journey should be to the southward; to the western counties; or the sea-coasts;—and in the summer, to the northward, or to Wales;—the cooler parts of Great-Britain;—Buxton or Matlock, or where any similar water is to be met with, seems advisable. To meet the advancing spring, to return from the approaching winter, and by these means to avoid the severity of cold, so injurious to tender breasts, is the evident rule of conduct in such cases. If it requires some consideration, a knowledge of places in detail in this country, nay, even in the environs of London, to determine with propriety on the choice of places for the retreat of invalids, what must be our difficulty when called upon to fix the route and residence of a consumptive patient, who seeks an asylum on the continent?

And here I cannot but lament the want of an institution, which, at no great national expence, might be attended with vast national advantages. Was a physician, or some medical person to be placed in the suite of every British ambassador, envoy, or resident, we should soon be informed, and with some degree of certainty, of the proper places to which we might send our patients with the greatest prospect of success. Neither the partial opinion of the patients who have resided at different places, nor the transient visits of the most observing travellers, nor even the observations of ingenious, sensible physicians themselves, without a longer residence

residence in the place than falls to the lot of most of them, can enable us to judge with accuracy of their comparative advantages.

The south of France, Italy, Portugal, I mention them in the order they are usually proposed to us, are the places of general resort.

Wherever the winter is shortest, the least severe, and the least changeable, every thing else being alike, is the most adviseable. To which may be added likewise, the place of the most easy access. Thus, for instance, Portugal by some would be strongly objected to, on account of the sea-voyage; whilst others, perhaps, would chuse it for the sake of this easy conveyance. But if there be just reason to give one place in the neighbourhood of London, and within the compass of a very few miles, the preference to another, the difficulty of giving advice in this case, with the precision we could wish, is too apparent, and it must remain so, till further observations enable us to form a better judgment on this subject.

Of all the places we are acquainted with, perhaps the island of Madeira enjoys the most equal temperature; but the voyage, and other circumstances attending it, afford very formidable objections.

Nice has of late been the general retreat of the English consumptive patients. Some places in the neighbourhood of Marseilles are also well spoken of. The neighbourhood of Naples in Italy is also much commended; and in Portugal, the vicinage of Lisbon and Cintra, a pleasant spot, not far from that capital. In all these places regard should be had to si-

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tuation; that it may be dry, near no stagnant water, not environed with thick woods, where the water is good, and the air free, but not stormy and impetuous.

To those who object to the continent, a trial of the western counties of England may be properly recommended: Should it not prove salutary, the passage by sea to Lisbon from thence is, for the most part, both safe and short. Even sea-sickness is often beneficial to the consumptive, as well as the sea air. Impaired digestion, and, not seldom, a redundancy of bile attend these cases; and perhaps repeated mild emetics; sufficient to cleanse the first passages; would often be of use.

One great misfortune attending these migrations, whether from London or other great cities, into the neighbouring country, or to Bristol and other places in this kingdom, or to the continent, is that, for the most part; they are undertaken too late, both in respect to the progress of the disease, and the season.

Instead of removing at a time when a change of air and its consequences might prevent the most serious evils, they are in haste to quit their country, when perhaps neither this can be beneficial, nor is the season for a journey a proper one.

It seems too often to be the fate of consumptive patients; to do that last, which they ought to have done first; and by this preposterous conduct, shorten their own lives, and afflict all who have any regard for them. It happens not seldom that when their physicians and their friends have in vain urged their departure at the proper season, they

they have resolved to set out on the most fatiguing journies in the depth of winter; by which they are exposed to every kind of inconvenience and hardship; if they escape with life, they aggravate their disease, and too frequently die in the journey, martyrs to their own indiscretion.

The benefit of exercise in this distemper has been strongly urged by many writers; as it has been treated of so pertinently by Dr. Dickson, one of your colleagues, I shall say little more on the subject*. It is however evident, that this great auxiliary may be abused, and that consumptive patients may use it improperly. They ride out when they ought not, and increase their disease through indiscretion. Moderate journies, in temperate seasons, and as much as may be on horseback, are of excellent use in consumptive cases, observing, at the same time, exact temperance, both in respect to diet and liquors. To ride out early in the spring, in very sharp, or in damp, cold, and foggy weather, and at unseasonable hours, as, early in the morning, or late at night, is most certainly prejudicial.

Hitherto no mention has been made of the use and abuse of a milk diet in this distemper. It may, however, be remarked, that there are constitutions in which this most excellent nutriment seems to disagree; a proneness to generate bile, or too strong a tendency to acrescency from weak organs of digestion, both require the physician's attention. Whey, either from cows or goats milk, would probably agree best with

the former; and lime-water, added to the milk, would counteract acidity.

There is one usual addition made to milk, which I think should either be totally proscribed, or the most express directions given concerning it. I mean the common addition of rum or brandy to asses or cows milk. These have done more mischief to consumptive patients than any but physicians can conceive. These additions are mostly committed to the management of servants; these, for the most part, think every thing of this nature cordial, an idea they annex to growing strong; and therefore too often give liberal doses. Ardent spirits not only heat but coagulate milk, added beyond a certain quantity. By which means the milk disagrees, and the spirit augments the disease.

A Relation of some of the simple, though most efficacious Means, by which Captain James Cook, under the Divine Favour, preserved himself and his Ship's Company, in all one hundred and eighteen Men, in his last Voyage round the World, in his Majesty's Ship the Resolution; a Voyage of three Years and eighteen Days, and throughout all the Climates, from fifty-two Degrees North, to seventy-one South, with the Loss of only one Man by Disease, and that justly supposed to have begun before the Ship sailed; in a Letter from the Captain to Sir John Pringle, Bart: President of the Royal Society, &c.

* See Medical Observations, vol. iv. p. 212.

Mil-mil, March 5, 1776.

SIR,

AS many gentlemen have expressed some surprize at the uncommon good state of health which the crew of the *Resolution*, under my command, experienced during her late voyage; I take the liberty to communicate to you the methods that were taken to obtain that end. Much was owing to the extraordinary attention given by the Admiralty, in causing such articles to be put on board, as either by experience or conjecture were judged to tend most to preserve the health of seamen. I shall not trespass upon your time in mentioning all those articles, but confine myself to such as were found the most useful.

We had on board a large quantity of malt, of which was made sweet-wort, and given (not only to those men who had manifest symptoms of the scurvy, but to such also as were, from circumstances, judged to be most liable to that disorder) from one to two or three pints in the day to each man, or in such proportion as the surgeon thought necessary; which sometimes amounted to three quarts in the twenty-four hours. This is without doubt one of the best antiscorbutic sea-medicines yet found out; and if given in time will, with proper attention to other things, I am persuaded, prevent the scurvy from making any great progress for a considerable time: but I am not altogether of opinion, that it will cure it in an advanced state at sea.

Sour-kROUT, of which we had also a large provision, is not only

a wholesome vegetable food, but, in my judgment, highly antiscorbutic, and spoils not by keeping. A pound of it was served to each man, when at sea, twice a week, or oftener when it was thought necessary.

Portable soup, or broth, was another essential article, of which we had likewise a liberal supply. An ounce of this to each man, or such other proportion as was thought necessary, was boiled with their pease three days in the week; and when we were in places where fresh vegetables could be procured, it was boiled, with them and with wheat or oatmeal, every morning for breakfast, and also with dried pease and fresh vegetables for dinner. It enabled us to make several nourishing and wholesome messes, and was the means of making the people eat a greater quantity of greens than they would have done otherwise.

Further, we were provided with rob of lemons and oranges; which the surgeon found useful in several cases.

Amongst other articles of victualling we were furnished with sugar in the room of oil, and with wheat instead of much oatmeal, and were certainly gainers by the exchange. Sugar, I imagine, is a very good antiscorbutic; whereas oil, such at least as is usually given to the navy, I apprehend has the contrary effect. But the introduction of the most salutary articles, either as provision or medicines, will generally prove unsuccessful, unless supported by certain rules of living.

On this principle, many years experience, together with some hints I had from Sir Hugh Palliser,

the Captains Campbell, Wallis, and other intelligent officers, enabled me to lay down a plan whereby all was to be conducted. The crew were at three watches, except upon some extraordinary occasions. By this means they were not so much exposed to the weather as if they had been at watch and watch; and they had generally dry cloaths to shift themselves when they happened to get wet. Care was also taken to expose them as little as possible. Proper methods were employed to keep their persons, hammocks, bedding, cloaths, &c. constantly clean and dry. Equal pains were taken to keep the ship clean and dry between decks. Once or twice a week she was aired with fires; and when this could not be done, she was smoaked with gunpowder moistened with vinegar or water. I had also frequently a fire made in an iron pot at the bottom of the well, which greatly purified the air in the lower parts of the ship. To this and cleanliness, as well in the ship as amongst the people, too great attention cannot be paid; the least neglect occasions a putrid offensive smell below, which nothing but fires will remove; and if these be not used in time, those smells will be attended with bad consequences. Proper care was taken of the ship's coppers, so that they were kept constantly clean. The fat, which boiled out of the salt beef and pork, I never suffered to be given to the people, as is customary; being of opinion that it promotes the scurvy. I never failed to take in water wherever it was to be procured, even when we did not seem to want it; because I look upon

fresh water from the shore to be much more wholesome than that which has been kept for some time on board. Of this essential article we were never at an allowance, but had always abundance for every necessary purpose. I am convinced that with plenty of fresh water, and a close attention to cleanliness, a ship's company will seldom be much afflicted with the scurvy, though they should not be provided with any of the antiscorbutics before mentioned. We came to few places where either the art of man or nature did not afford some sort of refreshment or other, either of the animal or vegetable kind. It was my first care to procure what could be met with of either by every means in my power, and to oblige our people to make use thereof, both by my example and authority; but the benefits arising from such refreshments soon became so obvious, that I had little occasion to employ either the one or the other.

These, Sir, were the methods, under the care of providence, by which the *Resolution* performed a voyage of three years and eighteen days, through all the climates from 52° North to 71° South, with the loss of one man only by disease, and who died of a complicated and lingering illness, without any mixture of scurvy. Two others were unfortunately drowned, and one killed by a fall; so that of the whole number with which I set out from England I lost only four.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Cook to Sir John Pringle, Bart. dated

dated Plymouth Sound, July 7, 1776.

I ENTIRELY agree with you that the dearth of the rob of lemons and oranges will hinder them from being furnished in large quantities, but I do not think this so necessary; for though they may assist other things, I have no great opinion of them alone. Nor have I a higher opinion of vinegar: my people had it very sparingly during the late voyage; and towards the latter part, none at all; and yet we experienced no ill effects from the want of it. The custom of washing the inside of the ship with vinegar I seldom observed, thinking, that fire and smoke answered the purpose much better.

Remarks on the foregoing Paper, containing a Summary of the Discovery of the great antiscorbutic Virtues of Wort, by Dr. Macbride; with an Application of the Principles, on which these Virtues were first attributed to Wort, to other vegetable Preparations, particularly a most cheap and easy Beverage used with amazing Success by the Russians, on board their Fleets and in their Jails, &c. and to a similar Mef adopted with the same Success by the Captain of an English Man of War. From Sir John Pringle's Discourse on the Royal Society's crowning Captain Cook's Paper with Sir Godfrey Copley's Medal.

CAPTAIN Cook begins his list of stores with malt: "Of

"this," he says, "was made
"sweet-wort, and given not only
"to those men who had manifest
"symptoms of the scurvy, but to
"such also as were judged to be the
"most liable to it." Dr. Macbride, who first suggested this preparation, was led, as he says, to the discovery by some experiments that had been laid before this Society; by which it appeared, that the air produced by alimentary fermentation was endowed with a power of correcting putrefaction. The fact he confirmed by numerous trials, and finding this fluid to be *fixed air*, he justly concluded, that whatever substance proper for food abounded with it, and which could be conveniently carried to sea, would make one of the best provisions against the scurvy; which he then considered as a putrid disease, and as such to be prevented or cured by that powerful kind of antiseptic*. Beer, for instance, hath always been esteemed one of the best antiscorbutics; but as that derived all its *fixed air* from the malt of which it is made, he inferred, that malt itself was preferable in long voyages, as it took up less room than the brewed liquor, and would keep longer found. Experience hath since verified this ingenious theory, and the malt hath now gained so much credit in the navy, that there only wanted so long, so healthful, and so celebrated a voyage as this, to rank it among the most indispensable articles of provision. For though Captain Cook remarks, that "a proper attention to other
"things must be joined, and that
"he is not altogether of opinion,

* Macbride's Experimental Essays, *passim*.

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" that the wort will be able to
 " cure the scurvy in an advanced
 " state at sea; yet he is persuaded,
 " that it is sufficient to prevent
 " that distemper from making
 " any great progress, for a con-
 " siderable time;" and therefore
 he doth not hesitate to pronounce
 it " one of the best antiscorbutic
 " medicines yet found out *."

This salutary *gas*, or *fixed air*,
 is contained more or less in all fer-
 mentable liquors, and begins to
 oppose putrefaction as soon as the
 working or intestine motion com-
 mences.

In wine it abounds, and per-
 haps no vegetable substance is
 more replete with it than the fruit
 of the vine. If we join the grate-
 ful taste of wine, we must rank it
 first in the list of antiscorbutic li-
 quors. Cyder is likewise good,
 with other vinous productions from
 fruit, as also the various kinds of
 beer. It hath been a constant ob-
 servation, that in long cruizes or
 distant voyages, the scurvy is never
 seen whilst the small beer holds
 out at a full allowance; but that
 when it is all expended, the dis-
 order soon appears. It were there-
 fore to be wished, that this most
 wholesome beverage could be re-
 newed at sea; but our ships afford

not sufficient convenience. The
 Russians however make a shift to
 prepare at sea, as well as at land,
 a liquor of a middle quality be-
 tween wort and small-beer, in the
 following manner. They take
 ground malt and rye-meal in a cer-
 tain proportion, which they knead
 into small loaves, and bake in the
 oven. These they occasionally infuse
 in a proper quantity of warm water,
 which begins so soon to ferment,
 that in the space of twenty-four
 hours their brewage is completed,
 in the production of a small,
 brisk, and acidulous liquor, which
 they call *quas*, palatable to themselves,
 and not disagreeable to the taste
 of strangers. The late Dr. Mount-
 sey, member of this Society †, who
 had lived long in Russia, and had
 been *Archliater* under two successive
 sovereigns, acquainted me that the
quas was the common and whole-
 some drink both of the fleets and
 armies of that empire, and that
 it was particularly good against the
 scurvy. He added, that happening
 to be at Moscow when he perused
 the " Observations on the Jail-
 Fever," published here, he had been
 induced to compare what he read
 in that treatise with what he should
 see in the several prisons of that
 large city; but to his surprise,

* Having been favoured with a sight of the Medical Journal of Mr. Pat-
 ton, surgeon to the *Refolution*, I read the following passage in it, not a little
 strengthening the above testimony. " I have found the *wort* of the utmost
 " service in all scorbutic cases during the voyage. As many took it by way
 " of prevention, few cases occurred where it had a fair trial; but these, how-
 " ever, I flatter myself, will be sufficient to convince every impartial person,
 " that it is the best remedy hitherto found out for the cure of the sea-scurvy:
 " and I am well convinced, from what I have seen the *wort* perform, and from
 " its mode of operation, that if aided by *portable soup*, *sour-kraut*, *sugar*,
 " *sago*, and *currants*, the scurvy, that maritime pestilence, will seldom or never
 " make its alarming appearance among a ship's crew, on the longest voyages,
 " proper care with regard to cleanliness and provisions being observed."

† The Royal Society.

after

after visiting them all, and finding them full of malefactors, for the late empress then suffered none of those who were convicted of capital crimes to be put to death, yet he could discover no fever among them, nor learn that any acute distemper peculiar to jails had ever been known there. He observed that some of those places of confinement had a yard, into which the prisoners were allowed to come for the air; but that there were others without this advantage, yet not sickly: so that he could assign no other reason for the healthful condition of those men than the kind of diet they used; which was the same with that of the common people of the country, who not being able to purchase flesh-meat, live mostly on rye-bread, (the most ascetic of any bread) and drink *quas*. He concluded with saying, that upon his return to Petersburg, he had made the same enquiry there, and with the same result.

Thus far my informer: from whose account it would appear, that the rye-meal assisted both in quickening the fermentation, and adding more fixed air; since the malt alone could not so readily produce so acidulous and brisk a liquor. And there is little doubt but that whenever the other grains can be brought to a proper degree of fermentation, they will more or less in the same way become useful. That oats will; I am satisfied, from what I have been told by one of the intelligent friends of Captain Cook. This gentleman being on a cruise in a large ship*, in the beginning of the

late war, and the scurvy breaking out among his crew, he bethought himself of a kind of food, he had seen used in some parts of the country, as the most proper on this occasion. Some oatmeal is put into a wooden vessel, hot water is poured upon it, and the infusion continues until the liquor begins to taste sourish; that is, till a fermentation comes on, which in a place moderately warm may be in the space of two days. The water is then poured off from the grounds, and boiled down to the consistence of a jelly†. This he ordered to be made, and dealt out in messes, being first sweetened with sugar, and seasoned with some prize-wine he had taken, which though turned sour, yet improved the taste, and made this aliment no less palatable than medicinal.

Observations on the Method of burying the Parish Poor in London, and on the Manner in which some of the capital Buildings in it are constructed and kept, as two great Sources of the extraordinary Sicknesses and Mortality, by putrid Fevers, so sensibly felt in that Capital; with Hints for the Correction of these Evils. By a Gentleman who signs himself
HÆBIA.

THE least attention to the mode of interment in this city, particularly of the bodies of the poor, would lead one to consider it as a principal cause of this species of disease. In some burying-grounds, near the centre of this metropolis, the graves or pits for the reception of the poor are made

* The Essex, a seventy gun ship.

† This rural food, in the North, is called *sooins*.

sufficiently wide to contain 3 or 4 wooden coffins a-breast, and deep enough to hold twice as many in depth: these pits, after each burial, are covered with a few loose boards, and a little mould to hide the coffin from common view; but they are never filled up till the whole complement of corpses has been interred. When this is done, a second grave is opened upon the same plan, close to the first, leaving the sides of the former coffins still exposed; by which means these wholesale receptacles of the dead become so offensive, as frequently to oblige the ministers, and others upon funeral duty, to stand at a considerable distance, to avoid the stench arising from them. Barely to mention the existence of a nuisance of this kind, is sufficient to shock every man of reflection and humanity; and the testimonies of numerous writers confirm the insalubrity of such a practice*.

As much as possible the interment of dead bodies in large cities should be prohibited; and the numerous places hitherto appro-

priated to that use, should be converted into lawns, walks, gardens, squares, and such like useful and ornamental objects. To supply the defect of burying-places arising from this change, other grounds should be chosen at proper distances and on the north side of a city, as southern winds are more sultry, and likely to convey to the inhabitants any noxious exhalations, the diffusion of which, it is well known, northern winds tend rather to check than to promote.

If, however, the practice of burying the dead within the city be continued, some regulation should be adopted to prevent its pernicious effects, by fixing the depth of every grave at five feet at the least, and the number of bodies deposited in each to two at the most, and in case of two the grave should be made one foot deeper; but on no condition whatever should any grave be left open after the interment of a corpse.

With respect to vaults, they should be discouraged as perpetual sources of putrid exhalations; and

* "I have known instances of the hospital fever beginning in a ward when there was no other cause but one of the men having a mortified limb."

Pringle's Diseases of the Army.

Forestus says "he was an eye-witness to a plague which arose from the same cause."

He likewise mentions "a malignant fever which broke out in North Holland, occasioned by the rotting of a whale that had been left upon the shore." In a French treatise *Sur la Peste*, mention is made of "a malignant fever affecting the crew of a French ship, upon the putrefaction of some cattle they had killed in the island of Nevis, in the West Indies."

Diodorus Siculus mentions "the putrid steams rising from the bodies of those who lay unburied, as one of the causes of that dreadful distemper that broke out among the Carthaginians at the siege of Syracuse."

Pringle mentions, "amongst the causes of malignant fevers, burials within the towns, and the bodies not laid deep."

Diseases of the Army. See also Secreta de Feb. Castror.

Forestus mentions "a plague that raged at Venice in his time, owing to the corruption of a small kind of fish in that part of the Adriatic."

See also Mead, Sir John Colbatch, &c.

no dead body should be permitted to be deposited in a vault, unless inclosed in a leaden coffin, well soldered down.

From the increase of trade in this metropolis, and the larger and more frequent assemblies of people at public markets, coffee-houses, and other places of business and amusement, it is probable that many persons sustain considerable injury in their health. The Royal-Exchange affords a striking instance to this purpose. The 'change hours, a few years ago, seldom exceeded two o'clock, and now three is considered as the time of high change. The crowds of people that usually remain at this place for upwards of an hour, must certainly be pernicious, of which every one may be convinced who enters upon full 'change immediately from the fresher atmosphere of the street; he feels the former not only much hotter, but also so offensive as to render respiration, at first, somewhat difficult. Before the company retire all the gates are shut, leaving only one small outlet; and thus the air, tainted, and rendered noxious, is pent up and confined against the evening, when the gates are again opened; and valetudinarians, who have not leisure to go into the country, under a notion of purchasing a mouthful of fresh air, rush into an atmosphere loaded with human effluvia, which of all others, when become vitiated, is the most dangerous to health and life.

To this place, likewise, many children are conducted, particularly in the early part of the day, to breathe the aurora matutina; but instead of that salutary regale, they inspire chiefly the fœculæ of

yesterday, which are retained under the deep piazzas for want of free ventilation.

It is not expected that, by these suggestions, persons engaged in business will be induced to avoid the Exchange, neither do I think the danger exceedingly imminent, as the pepper-vaults under this edifice, and the regale gentlemen partake of in the neighbouring coffee-houses, must mutually tend to obviate infection; but, certainly, in the place of the present close wooden gates, open iron gates might be substituted, by which a freer circulation of air could be promoted. It cannot, however, at any time, be advisable to frequent this place for the sake of salubrity of air.

The transfer offices, at the Bank, are insalubrious, not only from the multitudes of people who daily crowd them, but also from their peculiar construction, which not having side windows and common chimnies, like all regular and wise buildings, cannot possibly admit that free circulation of air, which the health of the people who are stately employed there indispensably requires. The air, also, that issues from the superb stoves, instead of compensating for the want of vital air, which seems to have been designedly excluded from those costly apartments, serves only to increase the general insalubrity, by diffusing the pernicious particles with which it is impregnated.

Among various other sources of putridity, may be included levees, play-houses, public exhibitions, kitchens under ground, night cellars, routs, masquerades, and nocturnal revels of all kinds. Meeting-houses, also, being usually built with low roofs, must prove pernicious

cious to the health of many individuals, as every thing that destroys the purity of the air debilitates the body, and conduces to the production of putrid and other diseases.

Illuminations, and the vast increase in the use of lamps and candles, must tend to impair the purity of the circumambient air, as all burning bodies have the property of rendering it less fit for respiration, of which we may be convinced by the difficulty of breathing over a charcoal fire. It has been, I know, a general received opinion, that fires check the progress of plagues, and pestiferous winds; but experience in London affords a strong proof to the contrary; great fires were made during the ravages of the plague in this city, which were so far from abating it, that the week after the general conflagration the deaths were almost doubly augmented: there is reason, therefore, to conclude, that, as burning bodies emit a mephitic matter, large fires tend to destroy the purity of the air.

In this city, where coal fires are principally used, with the inflammable, mephitic, and other matters thrown out, probably an acid is decomposed, and exhaled from the sulphur in the coal; and thereby certain miasmata, of a putrid tendency, may be neutralized; but, from the instances in the plague abovementioned, there is reason to presume that the injury introduced into the atmosphere overbalances the good effects arising from the acid decomposition.

One of the most universal and dangerous channels of infection, has its source in the state of the hospitals in this city, which are usually

so contrived as to be peculiarly adapted to generate contagion. From twenty to forty persons are generally confined to one room, and were they all in health, it might reasonably be suspected, that the breath and effluvia from such a number of people would soon render the air unfit for respiration, and at length give rise to diseases of the putrid kind: what then can be expected, when as many patients, under various diseases, breathe day and night in one confined apartment?

I have now, Mr. Editor, cursorily mentioned a few sources of injury to the health of my fellow-creatures. I am sorry that want of leisure will not permit a more minute detail of these and other causes of disease; but should the hints I have given preserve one useful member of the community, it will afford an ample compensation to

HYGEIA.

[Gentleman's Magazine.]

Easy Method of effectually preserving Dead Bodies, as practised by the Capuchins of Palermo in Italy—From a Voyage to Sicily and Malta, by Mr. John Dryden, Junior, Son to Mr. Dryden the Poet.

BUT the oddest and most surprising sight we ever beheld was at the Capuchins, about some half a mile out of the gate that leads to Monreal, where one of those fathers conducted us down into a long cross vault under their church and convent. Here we saw an abundance of Capuchins standing in a row one by another against the

the wall, seemingly in a devout posture; when coming near to them, we found they were so many dead men, all dry'd up, but with all the flesh and skin on their hands and faces entire, nor were the nerves rotted. This wonderful way of preserving their dead bodies they perform with the greatest ease imaginable, only by extending their dead on four or five cross sticks, over a receptacle or small place built up of brick, hollow, and in form of a coffin; and so the dead body continuing to lie thus extended or at full length over this hollow, supported by the cross sticks, vents all it's corruption away, and in a year's time the skin and flesh remain dry on the bones: and we saw several standing up that had been but a year, with an inscription on the bodies who they were; for, notwithstanding the bodies were all clothed in Capuchins habits, yet an abundance of them had been laymen and persons of the best quality in Palermo; and that which is almost incredible, the faces retained some resemblance of the persons to whom they did belong; for not only Mr. Gifford at first sight called them by their names, saying, This was a very honest fellow and my broker, this such a one, and so of the rest, but the father who led us down did in particular point to one of the dead bodies, who had been a Capuchin, saying, This father was a very handsome comely man; and, indeed, it appeared so, not only below, in respect of the other dead, but also above stairs, where he showed us the picture of that dead father, which he did to convince us that the dead had not lost

the resemblance of what they had been formerly when alive.

Among these dead bodies there were many of an hundred years standing, which were as entire as the newest, and you might handle their faces and hands without damaging them.

This way of preserving the dead among the living is easy; I imagine, to be practised in any country; but in my mind it is but a very melancholy renewing of an acquaintance with our friends to see them in this posture; tho' in Catholic countries it serves to put those who come to see them in mind of praying for their souls. Mr. Gifford told us, that he had already taken a place for himself to stand in among the dead of this vault.

The posture of two among those dead bodies was very remarkable; the one on it's knees, with it's arms extended, and hands closed, as at prayers; the other with it's arms quite out at full stretch, standing upright in posture of one crucified. The account the fathers gave of these two was, that they had both been very devout in their life time; and that the body of that person which is in the posture of a crucifix could by no means be altered by the fathers, who had tied down the arms more than once when the corps was fresh, and still found it soon returned to that posture, which therefore they judged to be the will of God that it should so remain, since it was known that person had been a great and devout contemplator of our Blessed Saviour's passion: the same kind of an account they gave of the other body in the kneeling posture, aver-

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ring that they found it raised of itself in that fashion, going in to visit the bodies that lay aventing in the close vault, which they open only for that end, or to put in a fresh body.

Some Account of Mr Braidwood's Academy in Edinburgh, for the teaching of Persons, born deaf and dumb, to speak, write, and read, with understanding. From Mr. Pennant's Tour into Scotland.

MR. Braidwood, professor of the academy of dumb and deaf, has under his care a number of young persons, who have received the Promethean heat, the divine *inspiratus*; but from the unhappy construction of their organs, were (till they had received his instructions) denied the power of utterance. Every idea was locked up, or appeared but in their eyes, or at their fingers ends, till their master instructed them in arts unknown to us, who have the faculty of hearing. Apprehension reaches us by the grosser sense. They *see* our words, and our uttered thoughts become to them visible. Our ideas expressed in speech strike their ears in vain: Their eyes receive them as they part from our lips. They conceive by intuition, and speak by imitation. Mr. Braidwood first teaches them the letters and their powers; and the ideas of words written, beginning with the most simple. The art of speaking is taken from the motion of his lips; his words being uttered slowly and distinctly. Their answers are slow, and somewhat harsh.

When I entered the room, and

found myself surrounded with numbers of human forms so oddly circumstanced, I felt a sort of anxiety, such as I might be supposed to feel had I been invironed by another order of beings. I was soon relieved, by being introduced to a most angelic young creature, of about the age of thirteen. She honoured me with her new acquired conversation; but I may truly say, that I could scarcely bear the power of her piercing eyes: she looked me through and through. She soon satisfied me that she was an apt scholar. She readily apprehended all I said, and returned me answers with the utmost facility. She read; she wrote well. Her reading was not by rote. She could clothe the same thoughts in a new set of words, and never vary from the original sense. I have forgot the book she took up, or the sentences she made a new version of; but the effect was as follows:

Original Passage.

Lord Bacon has divided the whole of human knowledge into history, poetry, and philosophy, which are referred to the three powers of the mind, memory, imagination, and reason.

Version.

A nobleman has parted the total or all of man's study, or understanding, into an account of the life, manners, religion, and customs of any people or country, verse or metre, moral or natural knowledge, which are pointed to the three faculties of the soul or spirit; the faculty of remembering what is past, thought or conception, and right judgment.

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I left Mr. Braidwood and his pupils with the satisfaction which must result from a reflection on the utility of his art, and the merit of his labours: Who, after receiving under his care a being that seemed to be merely endowed with a human form, could produce the *divina particula auræ*, latent, and but for his skill, condemned to be ever latent in it; and who could restore a child to its glad parents with a capacity of exerting its rational powers, by expressive sounds of duty, love, and affection.

The rural Industry and Oeconomy of the Chinese, proposed as an Example to all the other nations of the Universe, by the Abbé Raynal—From that Gentleman's Philosophical and Political History, &c.

IN a country where the government is so ancient, we may every where expect to find deep traces of the continued force of industry. Its roads have been levelled with the exactest care; and, in general, have no greater declivity than is necessary to facilitate the watering of the land, which they consider, with reason, as one of the greatest helps in agriculture. They have but few, even of the most useful trees, as their fruits would rob the corn of its nourishment. There are gardens, it is true, interspersed with flowers, fine turf, shrubberies, and fountains; but however agreeable these scenes might be to an idle spectator, they seem to be concealed and removed from the public eye, as if the owners were afraid of shewing how much their amusements had encroached upon the soil that ought

to be cultivated for the support of life. They have no parks or extensive forests, which are not near so serviceable to mankind by the wood they furnish, as prejudicial by preventing agriculture; and while they contribute to the pleasure of the great by the beasts that range in them, prove a real misfortune to the husbandman. In China, the beauty of a country-seat consists in its being happily situated, surrounded with an agreeable variety of cultivated fields, and interspersed with trees planted irregularly, and with some heaps of a porous stone, which at a distance have the appearance of rocks or mountains.

The hills are generally cut into terraces, supported by dry walls. Here there are reservoirs, constructed with ingenuity, for the reception of rain and spring water. It is not uncommon to see the bottom, summit, and declivity of a hill watered by the same canal, by means of a number of engines of a simple construction, which save manual labour, and perform with two men what could not be done with a thousand in the ordinary way. These heights commonly yield three crops in a year. They are first sown with a kind of radish, which produces an oil: then with cotton, and after that with potatoes. This is the common method of culture; but the rule is not without exception.

Upon most of the mountains which are incapable of being cultivated for the subsistence of man, proper trees are planted for building houses or ships. Many of them contain iron, tin, and copper mines, sufficient to supply the empire. The gold mines have been neglected,

neglected, either because their produce did not defray the expence of working them, or because the gold dust, washed down by the torrents, was found sufficient for the purposes of exchange.

The sandy plains, saved from the ravages of the ocean, (which changes its bed as rivers do their course, in a space of time so exactly proportioned to their different moments, that a small encroachment of the sea causes a thousand revolutions on the surface of the globe) form, at this day, the provinces of Nankin and Tchekiang, which are the finest in the empire. As the Egyptians checked the course of the Nile, the Chinese have repulsed, restrained, and given laws to the ocean: They have re-united to the continent tracts of land which had been disjoined by this element. They still exert their endeavours to oppose that overruling effect of the earth's motion, which in conformity with the celestial system drives the ocean from east to west. To the action of the globe the Chinese oppose the labours of industry; and while nations, the most celebrated in history, have, by the rage of conquest, increased the ravages that time is perpetually making upon this globe; they exert such efforts to retard the progress of universal devastation, as might appear supernatural, if daily experience did not afford us strong evidence to the contrary.

To the improvements of land this nation adds, if we may be allowed the expression, the improvement of the water. The rivers, which communicate with each other by canals, and run under the walls of most of the towns, present us with the

prospect of floating cities, composed of an infinite number of boats filled with people, who live constantly upon the water, and whose sole employment is fishing. The sea itself is covered with numberless vessels, whose masts, at a distance, appear like moving forests. Anson mentions it as a reproach to the fishermen belonging to these boats, that they did not give themselves a moment's intermission from their work to look at his ship, which was the largest that had ever anchored in those latitudes. But this inattention to an object, which appeared to a Chinese sailor to be of no use, though it was in the way of his profession, is, perhaps, a proof of the happiness of a people, who prefer business to matters of mere curiosity.

The manner of culture is by no means uniform throughout this empire, but varies according to the nature of the soil and the difference of the climate. In the low countries towards the south they sow rice, which being always under water, grows to a great size, and yields two crops in a year. In the inland parts of the country, where the situation is lofty and dry, the soil produces a species of rice, which is neither so large, so well-tasted, or so nourishing, and makes the husbandman but one return in the year for his labour. In the northern parts the same kinds of grain are cultivated as in Europe, which grow in as great plenty, and are of as good a quality as in any of our most fertile countries. From one end of China to the other, there are large quantities of vegetables, particularly in the south, where together with fish they supply the place of meat, which is the
general

general food of the other provinces. But the improvement of lands is universally understood and attended to. All the different kinds of manure are carefully preserved, and skilfully distributed to the best advantage; and that which arises from fertile lands, is applied to make them still more fertile. This grand system of nature, which is sustained by destruction and reproduction, is better understood and attended to in China than in any other country in the world.

A philosopher, whom the spirit of observation has led into their empire, has found out and explained the cause of the rural economy of the Chinese.

The first of these causes is that character of industry by which these people are particularly distinguished, who in their nature require a less share of repose. Every day in the year is devoted to labour, except the first, which is employed in paying and receiving visits among relations; and the last, which is sacred to the memory of their ancestors. The first is a social duty, the latter a part of domestic worship. In this nation of sages, whatever unites and civilizes mankind is religion; and religion itself is nothing more than the practice of the social virtues. These sober and rational people want nothing more than the controul of civil laws to make them just; their private worship consists in the love of their parents whether living or dead; and their public worship in the love of labour; and that labour which is held in the most sacred veneration is agriculture.

The generosity of two of their emperors is much revered, who, preferring the interests of the state

to those of their family, kept their own children from the throne to make room for men taken from the plough. They revere the memory of these husbandmen, who sowed the seeds of the happiness and stability of the empire in the fertile bosom of the earth; that inexhaustible source of whatever conduces to the nourishment, and consequently to the increase of mankind.

In imitation of these royal husbandmen, the emperors of China become husbandmen officially. It is one of their public functions to break up the ground in the spring; and the parade and magnificence that accompanies this ceremony, draws together all the farmers in the neighbourhood of the capital. They flock in crowds to see their prince perform this solemnity in honour of the first of all the arts. It is not as in the fables of Greece, a god, who tends the flocks of a king; it is the father of his people, who, holding the plough with his own hands, shews his children what are the true riches of the state. In a little time he repairs again to the field he has ploughed himself, to sow the seed that is most proper for the ground. The example of the prince is followed in all the provinces; and at the same seasons the viceroys repeat the same ceremonies in the presence of a numerous concourse of husbandmen. The Europeans, who have been present at this solemnity at Canton, never speak of it without emotion; and make us regret that this festival, whose political aim is the encouragement of labour, is not established in our climate, instead of that number of religious feasts, which seem

to be invented by idleness to make the country a barren waste.

Rules for the constructing of Wine-Cellars, particularly those intended for the keeping of Wines of a delicate Texture and Flavour; by Sir Edward Barry, Bart. From that Gentleman's Observations historical, critical, and medical, on the Wines of the Ancients, lately published.

THE size of the cellar ought to be in proportion to the quantity of wine for which it is designed; as it is more easy to defend a small cellar from the admission of a greater quantity of the external air, and to renew it occasionally, than one of a larger size.

The situation ought to be low and dry, therefore not on any great declivity, where the under currents from the superior ground must always keep it moist, and infect the air with its putrid exhalations: this communication however may be prevented by intermediate trenches.

A small anticellar, built before all large cellars, would be a considerable defence, and improvement to them; in which a quantity of wine, sufficient for a few days, may be kept, and the necessity prevented of more frequently opening the large cellar, and admitting the external air; which must always in some degree alter the temperature of it, and in sudden, or continued great heats, or frosts, may be particularly injurious to the wine.

It is usual to cover the bottles in the bins with saw-dust; to which I should prefer dry sand, whose

density is much greater. I saw a remarkable instance of the benefit arising from an intermediate defence of this kind. A hoghead of claret, which had been lately bottled, was heaped up in a corner of a merchant's common large cellar, with a view of removing it soon to the wine-cellar. In the mean time, a load of salt, from the want of a more convenient place, was thrown on the bottles, and remained there several months before it was removed. This wine was afterwards found to be much superior to the wine of the same growth, which had been imported and bottled about the same time, and had been immediately placed in the wine-cellar. The large quantity of salt formed a compact vault over the bottles, which entirely defended the wine from the influence of the air, though greatly exposed to it; and probably the coldness of the salt contributed to this improvement.

The ancients certainly more effectually preserved their wine in larger earthen vessels pitched externally, than we can in our bottles, as they are more capable, from their superior density and capacity, of resisting the frequent changes in the air; and it is a common observation, that the wine, received into bottles which contain two quarts, proves better than that which had been kept in single quarts.

It appears to me very probable, that our best modern wines, especially those of a delicate texture and flavour, may be more effectually preserved in earthen vessels, of a larger size than our bottles, well glazed externally and internally. The vessels of this kind, which

which were formerly used for this purpose, were pitched externally, and lined internally, on account of their being porous, and imperfectly vitrified; but our artists are arrived to such a perfection in this article of manufactory, that their glazed vessels are impervious to the air, and incapable of communicating any bad taste to any liquors contained in them; however, pitching them externally would be a greater defence, especially when the glazing is not equally firm.

The largest vessel in which the Greeks and Romans usually kept their wines in the vaults, was the Amphora, which contained ten gallons, or eighty Roman pounds. The Urna contained half that quantity. Several others were used of an inferior size, and gradually decreasing in the same proportion. They sometimes varied from this general rule, and made them of a finer earth, ornamented with different figures.

The form and capacity of these vessels is well known, and seems well adapted to the intention of them. They were regularly ranged in the cellar; and as their capacity gradually decreased to the bottom, whenever any lees had subsided there, on removing the vessel they were less apt to rise and mix with the wine, than when contained in bottles; the surface at the bottom being so much greater in them, and the quantity of wine which they contain so much less. The wine was drawn from them by a syphon, and the opening at the upper part so large that they were easily cleaned; and the size of the cork, well pitched, was a more effectual defence than our small corks.

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In such habitations, where no vaults have been made, or can be conveniently constructed, an artificial wine-cellar may be easily contrived, which may perhaps more effectually preserve the wine from the variations of the external air, than the common vaults, which are liable to many defects. These may be prevented by burying these earthen vessels in cavities made in the ground, exactly adapted to the size and form of them, which may be lined with brick, or slate; and so deep, that the upper part of the vessel lodged in them be, at least, a foot and a half lower than the surface of the ground: the intermediate space might be filled up with dry sand, over which a leaden cover may be placed to mark the size of the vessel, and the time when it was buried there.

I am sensible that this plan, which I have only sketched out in a superficial view, is very imperfect, and capable of many improvements, in respect to the form and capacity of the vessels, and the materials of which they are composed. The form and size of the Amphora may be a proper one, when a great quantity of wine is deposited in large cellars. A hog-head of wine may be received into ten vessels, each of which contains somewhat more than two dozen of our quarts; neither would twenty of half their capacity take up any considerable space in a vault, or when buried under ground in any convenient ground-floor. Whenever any vessel is taken up for use, it may be suspended on the side of the cellar or anti-cellar, and the quantity of wine, which is occasionally wanted, drawn off by a syphon. It was usual to pour a

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small quantity of oil over the wine, especially when the pitched cork was removed, and it was designed for immediate use; which, spreading over its surface, preserved it equally fresh, during the time of drinking it.

These vessels would be less expensive, and more durable than bottles, and less liable to frequent frauds, and a considerable waste of the wine, when decanted from bottles, in which a sediment had subsided. But these considerations are of another kind: my intention is only to preserve the wine in a more healthy and firm state.

An Account of several Trials made on a Boat, or Sloop, fit for inland Navigation, coasting Voyages, and short Passages by Sea, which is not, like ordinary Vessels, liable to be overjet or sunk by Winds, Waves, Water-Spouts, or too heavy a Load; contrived and constructed by Monsieur Bernieres, Director of the Bridges and Causeways in France, &c. &c.

SOME of these trials were made on the first of August of the present year, at the gate of the invalids in Paris, in the presence of the provost of the merchants, of the body of the town, and a numerous concourse of spectators of all conditions.

The experiments were made in the way of comparison with another common boat of the same place, and of equal size. Both boats had been built ten years, and their exterior forms appeared to be exactly similar. The common boat contained only eight men; who rocked it, and made it incline

so much to one side, that it presently filled with water, and sunk; so that the men were obliged to save themselves by swimming; a thing common in all vessels of the same kind, either from the imprudence of those who are in them; the strength of the waves or wind, a violent or unexpected shock, their being overloaded or overpowered in any other way.

The same men, who had just escaped from the boat which sunk, got into the boat of M. Bernieres, rocked it, and filled it, as they had done the other, with water. But, instead of sinking to the bottom, though brim full, it bore being rowed about the river, loaded as it was with men and water, without any danger to the people in it.

M. Bernieres carried the trial still farther. He ordered a mast to be erected in this same boat, when filled with water, and to the top of the mast had a rope fastened, and drawn till the end of the mast touched the surface of the river, so that the boat was entirely on one side, a position into which neither winds nor waves could bring her; yet, as soon as the men who had hauled her into this situation let go the rope, the boat and mast recovered themselves perfectly, in less than the quarter of a second; a convincing proof, that the boat could neither be sunk, nor overturned, and that it afforded the greatest possible security in every way. These experiments appeared to give the greater pleasure to the public, as the advantages of the discovery are not only so sensible; but of the first importance to mankind.

A boat of the same sort had been tried; October 11, 1771, at Choisy, before Lewis XV. and his present majesty,

majesty, then Dauphin, &c. to whom M. Bernieres, as much distinguished by his disinterestedness and his virtues as a citizen, as by his inventive genius, referred for the satisfactory result of the experiments.

In consequence of the above trials, the provost of the merchants, and the corporation of Paris, at their meeting on the 20th of September, gave the Sieur de Bernieres permission to establish his boats on the river Seine, at the port near Pont-Royal; and moreover promised him all the protection and encouragement in their power. And the Sieur de Bernieres, on his side, proposes to supply the public with a certain number of these boats before the end of the next year.

The known humanity of the inventor warrants the pleasing belief, that this very capital discovery will neither be unnecessarily concealed, nor illiberally restricted. It is due to mankind; and we doubt not but that its importance will be enhanced by an early, free, and extensive communication.

In England especially, where so much business of every kind is transacted on the water, we must more anxiously wish to derive, from the ingenuity and benevolence of the Sieur Bernieres, a comfortable resource against the many distressful and dangerous accidents to which we are perpetually exposed.

The Effects of rifling Gun-barrels, and feathering Arrows, ascertained, and accounted for, by Mr. Emerson. — From that Gentleman's Miscellanies, or MEM-

cellaneous Treatises, lately published.

IT is hardly possible for a ball to be shot out of a gun, without its rubbing against one side or another of the barrel; and the friction it receives by that means, gives it a whirling motion round an axis, which is always perpendicular to the axis of the barrel, or to the tract of the ball. The consequence of this is, that one side of the ball meets with a greater resistance of the air than the other side; and the air acting obliquely against that side with the greater resistance, will force it to move towards that side where is the least resistance; and the quantity of this deviation will be as the difference of the resistance of one side above the other. And consequently the ball will always deflect towards that side of the barrel where the friction happened; for that side of the ball being retarded in its motion, meets with the least resistance. But it is impossible to know beforehand, on which side of the barrel the friction will happen. But when the shot is over one may nearly determine on which side it was. For if the shot be over the mark, it is on the upper side; if short, on the under one. If on the right or left, it is on the right or left side respectively. And besides, this tract of deviation must be a curve line. For as this disturbing force is continual, every succeeding part of the tract will deviate (the same way) from the former part; which is the nature of a curve line.

I have been long acquainted with this irregular force and its effects, which I found by experience

rience when I used to practise shooting; and it presently occurred to me, that the greater resistance on one side of the ball was the true cause of its going out of the line of direction. And to satisfy myself about it, I suspended a wooden ball, loaded with lead, in a string, and tied it to a tree that hung over a river, that it might play freely in the stream; and noting the place where it rested, I then twisted the string, by turning the globe often about, and putting it into its former place; it rested but a little while, for as the string began to untwist, it moved gradually towards the side which conspired with the motion of the water. And being at its furthest extent, it rested till the motion began to diminish, and then it came gradually back to its first place, and rested there till the motion of the globe twisted the string the contrary way; and then it moved to the other side. And thus it made several vibrations to and fro, till the motion was spent, and then it rested in the first place. This I several times repeated.

I also tried the same in a strong wind, with the like success; for the ball always deviated from the plane of the wind's motion towards that hand where it was least resisted.

Now to remedy this reflection, one way is, to use bullets that are not round, but oblong, something like a slug. But then they ought to be turned in a lathe or throw, that the fore end may be regular, and all sides alike, that the air may act equally on all sides. Such a body as this, shot out of a gun, cannot by friction be made to revolve about an axis, and therefore that irregular force and its effect will be prevented.

Another way to prevent this deflection is to make the guns rifled; these rifled barrels are made with several threads of a screw running spiral ways on the inside of the barrel; between these threads are channels cut in the bore, all which must be exactly parallel to one another, and make about one revolution in the length of the barrel, going uniformly about. The number of these threads are different, according to the wideness of the barrel.

There are different methods of charging these pieces: one is this. After the powder is put in, they take a bullet something bigger than the bore of the gun, and grease it well, and putting it into the mouth of the piece, they ram it down with an iron hammer, hollow at the end; in ramming down the bullet, the spiral threads enter and cut into the bullet, and cause it to turn round in going down, and being shot out, it follows the same direction of the rifles; which causes it to turn round an axis parallel to the gun's bore.

Another way is to charge them at the breech, where there is a hole to put in the powder and ball, and then a screw screws in to fill up the hole. But some barrels screw off at the breech to be charged. These guns are made stronger at the breech than common; and it is plain they can only be used for lead bullets, for iron will receive no impression.

And thus a bullet shot out of a rifled barrel, besides its direct motion, gains a motion round the axis of the gun, by which the resistance on the fore side of the bullet will be the same on all sides; for if it should be greater on one part

part than another, that part, by the circular motion, is presently transferred to the opposite side, and then it acts the contrary way; and such irregularities rectify one another; so that the ball will always go right forwards.

This may be explained by the motion of an arrow; for if an arrow that is not feathered, be shot from a bow, its motion will be very irregular; for if it be the least crooked imaginable, it will move towards that hand where the concave side lies. But when it is feathered truly, to give it a circular motion and make it spin, the concave part is turned every way, so that it will always fly straight forward. See Exam. 36th, Fig. 220, of my *Mechanics*, 4to.

But in your common guns that are not rifled, I know no way to prevent that deflection, but to polish the inside of the barrel, and oil the bullet when it is charged; for by this means the friction within the barrel will be made as small as possible; except you chuse to shoot with an oblong bullet, as before-mentioned.

An easy and effectual Remedy for the Head-ach, and Alleviative for the Asthma. From Dr. Percival's Philosophical, Medical, and Experimental Essays, lately published.

ON the 19th of October, 1774, a physician, the Doctor tells us, was affected with a severe head-ach in consequence of having been disturbed in the night. At two o'clock in the afternoon he took eighteen drops of laudanum, and immediately afterwards three dishes of very strong coffee. He lay

down upon the bed, and endeavoured to compose himself to sleep. His pain abated in half an hour; and in an hour was entirely removed: but he felt not the least disposition to sleep, although he is often drowsy after dinner, and sometimes indulges himself in sleeping at that time.

November 1st, he repeated, on a similar occasion, the use of laudanum and coffee in the like quantity as before. The effects were precisely the same: ease from pain, but no disposition to sleep.

Nov. 16th, he took eighteen drops of laudanum when under the head-ach, but without coffee. The opiate composed him to sleep in an hour; but did not entirely remove the pain in his head. These facts confirm a remark which Dr. Percival made, in a former volume, that coffee is taken in large quantities, with peculiar propriety, by the Turks and Arabians, because it counteracts the narcotic effects of opium, to the use of which these nations are much addicted.

The Doctor then informs us, that having learned, by a letter from Sir John Pringle, that an ounce of the best Mocco coffee, newly burnt, made immediately after grinding it, and taken in one dish, without milk or sugar, is the best abater of the paroxysms of the periodic asthma; and that Sir John Floyer, during the latter part of his life, after the publication of his book on the asthma, had contrived to preserve himself from, or at least live easy under, that disorder by the use of strong coffee; he had frequently directed coffee in the asthma with great success. The dish may be repeated after the interval of a quarter or half an hour.

ANTIQUITIES.

General State of the Roman Empire, in the Height of its Prosperity, with regard to the Number and Greatness of its Cities, and the easy Communication between them by Sea and Land. From The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Edward Gibbon, Esq.

WE have computed the inhabitants, and contemplated the public works, of the Roman empire. The observation of the number and greatness of its cities will serve to confirm the former, and to multiply the latter. It may not be unpleasing to collect a few scattered instances relative to that subject, without forgetting, however, that from the vanity of nations, and the poverty of language, the vague appellation of city has been indifferently bestowed on Rome and upon Laurentum. *Ancient* Italy is said to have contained eleven hundred and ninety-seven cities; and for whatsoever æra of antiquity the expression might be intended, there is not any reason to believe the country less populous in the age of the Antonines, than in that of Romulus. The petty states of Latium were contained within the metropolis of the empire, by whose superior influence

they had been attracted. Those parts of Italy which have so long languished under the lazy tyranny of priests and viceroys, had been afflicted only by the more tolerable calamities of war; and the first symptoms of decay, which *they* experienced, were amply compensated by the rapid improvements of the Cisalpine Gaul. The splendor of Verona may be traced in its remains; yet Verona was less celebrated than Aquileia or Padua, Milan or Ravenna. II. The spirit of improvement had passed the Alps, and been felt even in the woods of Britain. York was the seat of government, and London was already enriched by commerce, Gaul could boast of her twelve hundred cities; and though, in the northern parts, many of them, without excepting Paris itself, were little more than the rude and imperfect townships of a rising people; the southern provinces imitated the wealth and elegance of Italy. Many were the cities of Gaul, Marseilles, Arles, Nîmes, Narbonne, Thoulouse, Bourdeaux, Autun, Vienne, Lyons, Langres, and Treves, whose ancient condition might sustain an equal, and perhaps advantageous comparison with their present state. With regard to Spain, that country flourished

fished as a province, and has declined as a kingdom. Exhausted by the abuse of her strength, by America, and by superstition, her pride might possibly be confounded, if we required such a list of three hundred and sixty cities, as Pliny has exhibited under the reign of Vespasian. III. Three hundred African cities had once acknowledged the authority of Carthage, nor is it likely that their numbers diminished under the administration of the emperors: Carthage itself rose with new splendor from its ashes; and that capital, as well as Capua and Corinth, soon recovered all the advantages which can be separated from independent sovereignty. IV. The provinces of the East present the contrast of Roman magnificence with Turkish barbarism. The ruins of antiquity scattered over uncultivated fields, and ascribed, by ignorance, to the power of magic, scarcely afford a shelter to the oppressed peasant or wandering Arab. Under the reign of the Cæsars, the Proper Asia alone contained five hundred populous cities, enriched with all the gifts of nature, and adorned with all the refinements of art. Eleven cities of Asia had once disputed the honour of dedicating a temple to Tiberius, and their respective merits were examined by the senate. Four of them were immediately rejected as unequal to the burden; and among these was Laodicea, whose splendor is still

displayed in its ruins. Laodicea collected a very considerable revenue from its flocks of sheep, celebrated for the fineness of their wool, and had received, a little before the contest, a legacy of above four hundred thousand pounds by the testament of a generous citizen. If such was the poverty of Laodicea, what must have been the wealth of those cities whose claim appeared preferable, and particularly of Pergamus, of Smyrna, and of Ephesus, who so long disputed with each other the titular primacy of Asia. The capitals of Syria and Egypt held a still superior rank in the empire: Antioch and Alexandria looked down with disdain on a crowd of dependent cities, and yielded, with reluctance, to the majesty of Rome itself.

All these cities were connected with each other, and with the capital, by the public highways, which issuing from the Forum of Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and were terminated only by the frontiers of the empire. If we carefully trace the distance from the wall of Antoninus to Rome, and from thence to Jerusalem, it will be found that the great chain of communication, from the north-west to the south-east point of the empire, was drawn out to the length of four thousand and eighty Roman miles*. The public roads were accurately divided by mile stones, and ran in a direct line from one city to another, with very

* The following Itinerary may serve to convey some idea of the direction of the road, and of the distance between the principal towns. I. From the wall of Antoninus to York 222 Roman miles. II. London 227. III. Rhutupia or Sandwich 67. IV. The navigation to Boulogne 45. V. Rheims 174. VI. Lyons 339. VII. Milan 324. VIII. Rome 426. IX. Brundisium 369.

very little respect for the obstacles either of nature or private property. Mountains were perforated, and bold arches thrown over the broadest and most rapid streams. The middle part of the road was raised into a terrace which commanded the adjacent country, consisted of several strata of sand, gravel, and cement, and was paved with large stones, or in some places, near the capital, with granite. Such was the solid construction of the Roman Highways, whose firmness, has not entirely yielded to the effort of fifteen centuries. They united the subjects of the most distant provinces by an easy and familiar intercourse; but their primary object had been to facilitate the marches of the legions; nor was any country considered as completely subdued, till it had been rendered, in all its parts, pervious to the arms and authority of the conqueror. The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to establish, throughout their extensive dominions, the regular institution of posts. Houses were every where erected at the distance only of five or six miles; each of them was

constantly provided with fresh horses, and by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel an hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads*. The use of the posts was allowed to those who claimed it by an imperial mandate; but though originally intended for the public service, it was sometimes indulged to the business or convenience of private citizens†. Nor was the communication of the Roman empire less free and open by sea than it was by land. The provinces surrounded and enclosed the Mediterranean; and Italy, in the shape of an immense promontory, advanced into the midst of that great lake. The coasts of Italy are, in general, destitute of safe harbours; but human industry had corrected the deficiencies of nature; and the artificial port of Ostia, in particular, situate at the mouth of the Tiber, and formed by the emperor Claudius, was a useful monument of Roman greatness. From this port, which was only sixteen miles from the capital, a favourable breeze frequently carried vessels in seven days to the columns of Hercules, and in nine or ten to Alexandria in Egypt.

X. The navigation to Dyrrachium 40. XI. Byzantium 711. XII. Anticyra 283. XIII. Tarsus 301. XIV. Antioch 141. XV. Tyre 252. XVI. Jerusalem 168. In all 4080 Roman, or 3740 English miles. See the Itineraries published by Wesseling, his annotations: Gale and Stukeley for Britain, and M. Danville for Gaul and Italy.

* In the time of Theodosius, Cæsarius, a magistrate of high rank, went post from Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night, he was in Cappadocia (165 miles from Antioch) the ensuing evening, and arrived at Constantinople the sixth day about noon. The whole distance was 725 Roman, or 665 English miles. See Libanius Orat. xxii. and the Itineraria, p. 572—581.

† Pliny, though a favourite and a minister, made an apology for granting post horses to his wife on the most urgent business. Epist. x. 121, 122.

A general

A general Review of the Rise, Progress, and Amount of the Roman Revenues:—From The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Edward Gibbon, Esq.

THE siege of Veii in Tuscany, the first considerable enterprize of the Romans, was protracted to the tenth year, much less by the strength of the place than by the unskillfulness of the besiegers. The unaccustomed hardships of so many winter campaigns, at the distance of near twenty miles from home, required more than common encouragements; and the senate wisely prevented the clamours of the people, by the institution of a regular pay for the soldiers, which was levied by a general tribute, assessed according to an equitable proportion on the property of the citizens *. During more than two hundred years after the conquest of Veii, the victories of the republic added less to the wealth than to the power of Rome. The states of Italy paid their tribute in military service only, and the vast force, both by sea and land, which was exerted in the Punic wars, was maintained at the expence of the Romans themselves. That high-spirited people (such is often the generous enthusiasm of freedom) cheerfully submitted to the most excessive but voluntary burdens, in the just confidence that they should speedily enjoy the rich harvest of their labours. Their expectations were not disappointed.

In the course of a few years, the riches of Syracuse, of Carthage, of Macedonia, and of Asia, were brought in triumph to Rome. The treasures of Perseus alone amounted to near two millions sterling, and the Roman people, the sovereign of so many nations, was for ever delivered from the weight of taxes. The increasing revenue of the provinces was found sufficient to defray the ordinary establishment of war and government, and the superfluous mass of gold and silver was deposited in the temple of Saturn, and reserved for any unforeseen emergency of the state †.

History has perhaps never suffered a greater or more irreparable injury, than in the loss of that curious register bequeathed by Augustus to the senate, in which that experienced prince so accurately balanced the revenues and expences of the Roman empire. Deprived of this clear and comprehensive estimate, we are reduced to collect a few imperfect hints from such of the ancients as have accidentally turned aside from the splendid to the most useful parts of history. We are informed, that, by the conquest of Pompey, the tributes of Asia were raised from fifty to one hundred and thirty five millions of drachms; or about four millions and a half sterling. Under the last and most indolent of the Ptolemies, the revenue of Egypt is said to have amounted to twelve thousand five hundred talents; a sum equivalent to more than two millions and a half of our money,

* See the 4th and 5th books of Livy. In the Roman Census, property, power, and taxation, were commensurate with each other.

† See a fine description of this accumulated wealth of ages, in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, l. iii. v. 155, &c.

but which was afterwards considerably improved by the more exact economy of the Romans, and the increase of the trade of Æthiopia and India. Gaul was enriched by rapine as Egypt was by commerce, and the tributes of those two great provinces have been compared as nearly equal to each other in value. The ten thousand Euboic or Phœnician talents, about four millions sterling, which vanquished Carthage was condemned to pay within the term of fifty years, were a slight acknowledgment of the superiority of Rome, and cannot bear the least proportion with the taxes afterwards raised both on the lands and on the persons of the inhabitants, when the fertile coast of Africa was reduced into a province.

Spain, by a very singular fatality, was the Peru and Mexico of the old world. The discovery of the rich western continent by the Phœnicians, and the oppression of the simple natives, who were compelled to labour in their own mines for the benefit of strangers, form an exact type of the more recent history of Spanish America. The Phœnicians were acquainted only with the sea-coast of Spain; avarice, as well as ambition, carried the arms of Rome and Carthage into the heart of the country, and almost every part of the soil was found pregnant with copper, silver, and gold. Mention is made of a mine near Carthage which yielded every day twenty-five thousand drachms of silver, or about three hundred thousand pounds a year. Twenty thousand pound weight of gold was annually received from the provinces of Asturia, Galicia, and Lusitania.

We want both leisure and materials to pursue this curious inquiry through the many potent states that were annihilated in the Roman empire. Some notion, however, may be formed of the revenue of the provinces where considerable wealth had been deposited by nature, collected by man, if we observe the severe attention that was directed to the abodes of solitude and sterility. Augustus once received a petition from the inhabitants of Gyarus, humbly praying that they might be relieved from one third of their excessive impositions. Their whole tax amounted indeed to no more than one hundred and fifty drachms, or about five pounds, but Gyarus was a little island, or rather a rock, of the Ægean sea, destitute of fresh water and every necessary of life, and inhabited only by a few wretched fishermen.

From the faint glimmerings of such doubtful and scattered lights we should be inclined to believe 1st, That (with every fair allowance for the difference of times and circumstances) the general income of the Roman provinces could seldom amount to less than fifteen or twenty millions of our money; and, 2^{dly}, That so ample a revenue must have been fully adequate to all the expences of the moderate government instituted by Augustus, whose court was the modest family of a private senator, and whose military establishment was calculated for the defence of the frontiers, without any aspiring views of conquest, or any serious apprehension of a foreign invasion.

Notwithstanding the seeming probability of both these conclusions, the latter of them at least is positively

positively disowned by the language and conduct of Augustus. It is not easy to determine whether, on this occasion, he acted as the common father of the Roman world, or as the oppressor of liberty; whether he wished to relieve the provinces, or to impoverish the senate, and the equestrian order. But no sooner had he assumed the reins of government, than he frequently intimated the insufficiency of the tributes, and the necessity of throwing an equitable proportion of the public burden upon Rome and Italy. In the prosecution of this unpopular design he advanced, however, by cautious and well-weighted steps. The introduction of customs was followed by the establishment of an excise, and the scheme of taxation was completed by an artful assessment on the real and personal property of the Roman citizens, who had been exempted from any kind of contribution above a century and a half.

I. In a great empire like that of Rome, a natural balance of money must have gradually established itself. It has been already observed, that as the wealth of the provinces was attracted to the capital by the strong hand of conquest and power; so a considerable part of it was restored to the industrious provinces by the gentle influence of commerce and arts. In the reign of Augustus and his successors, duties were imposed on every kind of merchandise, which through a thousand channels flowed to the

great centre of opulence and luxury; and in whatsoever manner the law was expressed, it was the Roman purchaser, and not the provincial merchant, who paid the tax. The rate of the customs varied from the eighth to the fortieth part of the value of the commodity; and we have a right to suppose, that the variation was directed by the unalterable maxims of policy: that a higher duty was fixed on the articles of luxury than on those of necessity, and that the productions raised or manufactured by the labour of the subjects of the empire, were treated with more indulgence than was shewn to the pernicious, or at least the unpopular, commerce of Arabia and India*. There is still extant a long but imperfect catalogue of eastern commodities, which about the time of Alexander Severus were subject to the payment of duties; cinnamon, myrrh, pepper, ginger, and the whole tribe of aromatics, a great variety of precious stones, among which the diamond was the most remarkable for its price, and the emerald for its beauty†: Parthian and Babylonian leather, cottons, silks, both raw and manufactured, ebony, ivory, and eunuchs. We may observe, that the use and value of those effeminate slaves gradually rose with the decline of the empire.

II. The excise, introduced by Augustus after the civil wars, was extremely moderate, but it was general. It seldom exceeded one *per*

* See Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. vi. c. 23. l. xii. c. 18). His observations, that the Indian commodities were sold at Rome at a hundred times their original price, may give us some notion of the produce of the customs, since that original price amounted to more than eight hundred thousand pounds.

† The ancients were unacquainted with the art of cutting diamonds.

cent.; but it comprehended whatever was sold in the markets or by public auction, from the most considerable purchases of lands and houses, to those minute objects which can only derive a value from their infinite multitude and daily consumption. Such a tax, as it affects the body of the people, has ever been the occasion of clamour and discontent. An emperor, well acquainted with the wants and resources of the state, was obliged to declare by a public edict, that the support of the army depended in a great measure on the produce of the excise.

III. When Augustus resolved to establish a permanent military force for the defence of his government against foreign and domestic enemies, he instituted a peculiar treasury for the pay of the soldiers, the rewards of the veterans, and the extraordinary expences of war. The ample revenue of the excise, though peculiarly appropriated to those uses, was found inadequate. To supply the deficiency, the emperor suggested a new tax of five *per cent.* on all legacies and inheritances. But the nobles of Rome were more tenacious of property than of freedom. Their indignant murmurs were received by Augustus with his usual temper. He candidly referred the whole business to the senate, and exhorted them to provide for the public service by some other expedient of a less odious nature. They were divided and perplexed. He insinuated to them that their obstinacy would oblige him to propose a general

land-tax and capitation. They acquiesced in silence. The new imposition on legacies and inheritances was however mitigated by some restrictions. It did not take place unless the object was of a certain value, most probably of fifty or an hundred pieces of gold; nor could it be exacted from the nearest of kin on the father's side*. When the rights of nature and property were thus secured, it seemed reasonable, that a stranger, or a distant relation, who acquired an unexpected accession of fortune, should cheerfully resign a twentieth part of it for the benefit of the state.

Such a tax, plentiful as it must prove in every wealthy community, was most happily suited to the situation of the Romans, who could frame their arbitrary wills, according to the dictates of reason or caprice, without any restraint from the modern fetters of entails and settlements. From various causes the partiality of paternal affection often lost its influence over the stern patriots of the commonwealth, and the dissolute nobles of the empire; and if the father bequeathed to his son the fourth part of his estate, he removed all ground of legal complaint. But a rich childless old man was a domestic tyrant, and his power increased with his years and infirmities. A servile crowd, in which he frequently reckoned praetors and consuls, courted his smiles, pampered his avarice, applauded his follies, served his passions, and waited with impatience for his death. The arts

* As the Roman law subsisted for many ages, the *Cognati*, or relations on the mother's side, were not called to the succession. This harsh institution was gradually undermined by humanity, and finally abolished by Justinian.

of attendance and flattery were formed into a most lucrative science; those who professed it acquired a peculiar appellation, and the whole city, according to the lively descriptions of satire, was divided between two parties, the hunters and their game. Yet, while so many unjust and extravagant wills were every day dictated by cunning, and subscribed by folly, a few were the result of rational esteem and virtuous gratitude. Cicero, who had so often defended the lives and fortunes of his fellow-citizens, was rewarded with legacies to the amount of an hundred and seventy thousand pounds; nor do the friends of the younger Pliny seem to have been less generous to that amiable orator*. Whatever was the motive of the testator, the treasury claimed, without distinction, the twentieth part of his estate; and, in the course of two or three generations, the whole property of the subject must have gradually passed through the coffers of the state.

In the first and golden years of the reign of Nero, that prince, from a desire of popularity, and perhaps from a blind impulse of benevolence, conceived a wish of abolishing the oppression of the customs and excise. The wisest senators applauded his magnanimity; but they diverted him from the execution of a design, which would have dissolved the strength and resources of the republic. Had it indeed been possible to realize

this dream of fancy, such princes as Trajan and the Antonines would surely have embraced with ardour the glorious opportunity of conferring so signal an obligation on mankind. Satisfied, however, with alleviating the public burden, they attempted not to remove it. The mildness and precision of their laws ascertained the rule and measure of taxation, and protected the subject of every rank against arbitrary interpretations, antiquated claims, and the insolent vexation of the farmers of the revenue. For it is somewhat singular, that, in every age, the best and wisest of the Roman governors persevered in this pernicious method of collecting the principal branches at least of the excise and customs†.

The sentiments, and, indeed, the situation of Caracalla, were very different from those of the Antonines. Inattentive, or rather averse to the welfare of his people, he found himself under the necessity of gratifying the insatiate avarice which he had excited in the army. Of the several impositions introduced by Augustus, the twentieth on inheritances and legacies was the most fruitful, as well as the most comprehensive. As its influence was not confined to Rome or Italy, the produce continually increased with the gradual extension of the *Roman City*. The new citizens, though charged, on equal terms, with the payment of new taxes, which had not

* See his epistles. Every such will gave him an occasion of displaying his reverence to the dead, and his justice to the living. He reconciled both, in his behaviour to a son who had been disinherited by his mother (v. 1.)

† The tributes (properly so called) were not farmed; since the good princes often remitted many millions of arrears.

affected them as subjects, derived an ample compensation from the rank they obtained, the privileges they acquired, and the fair prospect of honours and fortune that was thrown open to their ambition. But the favour, which implied a distinction, was lost in the prodigality of Caracalla, and the reluctant provincials were compelled to assume the vain title, and the real obligations, of Roman citizens. Nor was the rapacious son of Severus contented with such a measure of taxation, as had appeared sufficient to his moderate predecessors. Instead of a twentieth, he exacted a tenth of all legacies and inheritances; and, during his reign (for the ancient proportion was restored after his death) he crushed alike every part of the empire under the weight of his iron sceptre.

When all the provincials became liable to the peculiar impositions of Roman citizens, they seemed to acquire a legal exemption from the tributes which they had paid in their former condition of subjects. Such were not the maxims of government adopted by Caracalla and his pretended son. The old as well as the new taxes were, at the same time, levied in the provinces. It was reserved for the virtue of Alexander to relieve them in a great measure from this intolerable grievance, by reducing the tributes to a thirtieth part of the sum exacted at the time of his accession. It is impossible to conjecture the motive that engaged him to spare so trifling a remnant of the public evil;

but the noxious weed, which had not been totally eradicated, again sprang up with the most luxuriant growth, and in the succeeding age darkened the Roman world with its deadly shade. In the course of this history, we shall be too often summoned to explain the land tax, the capitation, and the heavy contributions of corn, wine, oil, and meat, which were exacted from the provinces, for the use of the court, the army, and the capital.

An Account of the Fall of Palmyra under Zenobia; and of that accomplished Princess herself, and her Secretary, the learned and sublime Longinus. From the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Edward Gibbon, Esq.

AURELIAN had no sooner secured the person and provinces of Tetricus, than he turned his arms against Zenobia, the celebrated queen of Palmyra and the East. Modern Europe has produced several illustrious women who have sustained with glory the weight of empire; nor is our own age destitute of such distinguished characters. But Zenobia is perhaps the only female, whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex by the climate and manners of Asia. She claimed her descent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, equalled in beauty her ancestor Cleopatra, and far surpassed that princess in chastity * and va-

* She never admitted her husband's embraces but for the sake of posterity. If her hopes were baffled, in the ensuing month she reiterated the experiment.

lour. Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely as well as the most heroic of her sex. She was of a dark complexion (for in speaking of a lady, these trifles become important). Her teeth were of a pearly whiteness, and her large black eyes sparkled with uncommon fire, tempered by the most attractive sweetness. Her voice was strong and harmonious. Her manly understanding was strengthened and adorned by study. She was not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but possessed in equal perfection, the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages. She had drawn up for her own use an epitome of oriental history, and familiarly compared the beauties of Homer and Plato under the tuition of the sublime Longinus.

This accomplished woman gave her hand to Odenathus, who from a private station raised himself to the dominion of the East. She soon became the friend and companion of a hero. In the intervals of war, Odenathus passionately delighted in the exercise of hunting; he pursued with ardour the wild beasts of the desert, lions, panthers, and bears; and the ardour of Zenobia in that dangerous amusement was not inferior to his own. She had inured her constitution to fatigue, disdained the use of a covered carriage, generally appeared on horseback in a military habit, and sometimes marched several miles on foot at the head of the troops. The success of Odenathus was in a great measure ascribed to her incomparable prudence and for-

titude. Their splendid victories over the Great King, whom they twice pursued as far as the gates of Ctesiphon, laid the foundations of their united fame and power. The armies which they commanded, and the provinces which they had saved, acknowledged not any other sovereigns than their invincible chiefs. The senate and people of Rome revered a stranger who had avenged their captive emperor, and even the insensible son of Valerian accepted Odenathus for his legitimate colleague.

After a successful expedition against the Gothic plunderers of Asia, the Palmyrenian prince returned to the city of Emesa in Syria. Invincible in war, he was there cut off by domestic treason, and his favourite amusement of hunting was the cause, or at least the occasion, of his death. His nephew, Maëonius, presumed to dart his javelin before that of his uncle; and though admonished of his error, repeated the same insolence. As a monarch and as a sportsman, Odenathus was provoked; took away his horse, a mark of ignominy among the barbarians, and chastised the rash youth by a short confinement. The offence was soon forgot, but the punishment was remembered; and Maëonius, with a few daring associates, assassinated his uncle in the midst of a great entertainment. Herod, the son of Odenathus, though not of Zenobia, a young man of a soft and effeminate temper*, was killed with his father. But Maëonius obtained only the pleasure of revenge by this bloody deed. He

* Odenathus and Zenobia often sent him, from the spoils of the enemy, presents of gems and toys, which he received with infinite delight.

had scarcely time to assume the title of Augustus, before he was sacrificed by Zenobia to the memory of her husband*.

With the assistance of his most faithful friends, she immediately filled the vacant throne, and governed with manly counsels Palmyra, Syria, and the East, above five years. By the death of Odenathus, that authority was at an end which the senate had granted him only as a personal distinction; but his martial widow, disdaining both the senate and Gallienus, obliged one of the Roman generals, who was sent against her, to retreat into Europe, with the loss of his army and his reputation. Instead of the little passions which so frequently perplex a female reign, the steady administration of Zenobia was guided by the most judicious maxims of policy. If it was expedient to pardon, she could calm her resentment; if it was necessary to punish, she could impose silence on the voice of pity. Her strict œconomy was accused of avarice; yet on every proper occasion she appeared magnificent and liberal. The neighbouring states of Arabia, Armenia, and Persia, dreaded her enmity, and solicited her alliance. To the dominions of Odenathus, which extended from the Euphrates to the frontiers of Bithynia, his widow added the inheritance of her ancestors, the populous and fertile kingdom of Egypt. The Emperor Claudius acknowledged her merit, and was content, that, while *he* pursued the Gothic war, *she* should assert the dignity of the

empire in the East. The conduct, however, of Zenobia was attended with some ambiguity; nor is it unlikely that she had conceived the design of erecting an independent and hostile monarchy. She blended with the popular manners of Roman princes the stately pomp of the courts of Asia, and exacted from her subjects the same adoration that was paid to the successors of Cyrus. She bestowed on her three sons a Latin education, and often shewed them to the troops adorned with the imperial purple. For herself she reserved the diadem, with the splendid but doubtful title of Queen of the East.

When Aurelian passed over into Asia, against an adversary whose sex alone could render her an object of contempt, his presence restored obedience to the province of Bithynia, already shaken by the arms and intrigues of Zenobia. Advancing at the head of his legions, he accepted the submission of Ancyra, and was admitted into Tyana, after an obstinate siege, by the help of a perfidious citizen. The generous though fierce temper of Aurelian abandoned the traitor to the rage of the soldiers: a superstitious reverence induced him to treat with lenity the countrymen of Apollonius the philosopher. Antioch was deserted on his approach, till the emperor, by his salutary edicts, recalled the fugitives, and granted a general pardon to all who, from necessity rather than choice, had been engaged in the service of the Palmyrenian queen. The unexpected mildness of such a conduct reason-

* Some very unjust suspicions have been cast on Zenobia, as if she was accessory to her husband's death.

elled the minds of the Syrians, and, as far as the gates of Emesa, the wishes of the people seconded the terror of his arms.

Zenobia would have ill deserved her reputation, had she indolently permitted the emperor of the West to approach within an hundred miles of her capital. The fate of the East was decided in two great battles, so similar in almost every circumstance, that we can scarcely distinguish them from each other, except by observing that the first was fought near Antioch, and the second near Emesa. In both, the queen of Palmyra animated the armies by her presence, and devolved the execution of her orders on Zabdas, who had already signalized his military talents by the conquest of Egypt. The numerous forces of Zenobia consisted, for the most part, of light archers, and of heavy cavalry clothed in complete steel. The Moorish and Illyrian horse of Aurelian were unable to sustain the ponderous charge of their antagonists. They fled in real or affected disorder, engaged the Palmyrenians in a laborious pursuit, harassed them by a desultory combat, and at length discomfited this impenetrable but unwieldy body of cavalry. The light infantry, in the mean time, when they had exhausted their quivers, remaining without protection against a closer onset, exposed their naked sides to the swords of the legions. Aurelian had chosen these veteran troops, who were usually stationed on the

Upper Danube; and whose valour had been severely tried in the Allemannic war. After the defeat of Emesa, Zenobia found it impossible to collect a third army. As far as the frontier of Egypt, the nations subject to her empire had joined the standard of the conqueror, who detached Probus, the bravest of his generals, to possess himself of the Egyptian provinces. Palmyra was the last resource of the widow of Odenathus. She retired within the walls of her capital, made every preparation for a vigorous resistance, and declared, with the intrepidity of a heroine, that the last moment of her reign and of her life should be the same.

Amid the barren deserts of Arabia, a few cultivated spots rise like islands out of the sandy ocean. Even the name of Tadmor, or Palmyra, by its signification in the Syriac as well as in the Latin language, denoted the multitude of palm-trees which afforded shade and verdure to that temperate region. The air was pure, and the soil, watered by some invaluable springs, was capable of producing fruits as well as corn. A place possessed of such singular advantages, and situated at a convenient distance*, between the gulph of Persia and the Mediterranean, was soon frequented by the caravans which conveyed to the nations of Europe a considerable part of the rich commodities of India. Palmyra insensibly increased into an opulent and independent city, and

* It was five hundred and thirty-seven miles from Seleucia, and two hundred and three from the nearest coast of Syria, according to the reckoning of Pliny, who in a few words (Hist. Nat. v. 21) gives an excellent description of Palmyra.

connecting the Roman and the Parthian monarchies by the mutual benefits of commerce, was suffered to observe an humble neutrality, till at length, after the victories of Trajan, the little republic sunk into the bosom of Rome, and flourished more than one hundred and fifty years in the subordinate though honourable rank of a colony. It was during that peaceful period, if we may judge from a few remaining inscriptions, that the wealthy Palmyrenians constructed those temples, palaces, and porticos, of Grecian architecture, whose ruins, scattered over an extent of several miles, have deserved the curiosity of our travellers. The elevation of Odenathus and Zenobia appeared to reflect new splendour on their country, and Palmyra, for a while, stood forth the rival of Rome: but the competition was fatal, and ages of prosperity were sacrificed to a moment of glory*.

In his march over the sandy desert, between Emesa and Palmyra, the Emperor Aurelian was perpetually harassed by the Arabs; nor could he always defend his army, and especially his baggage, from those flying troops of active and daring robbers, who watched the moment of surprise, and directed the slow pursuit of the legions. The siege of Palmyra was an object far more difficult and important, and the emperor, who with incessant vigour pressed the attacks in person, was himself wounded

with a dart. "The Roman people," says Aurelian, in an original letter, "speak with contempt of the war which I am waging against a woman. They are ignorant both of the character and of the power of Zenobia. It is impossible to enumerate her warlike preparations, of stones, of arrows, and of every species of missile weapons. Every part of the walls is provided with two or three *baliste*, and artificial fires are thrown from her military engines. The fear of punishment has armed her with a desperate courage. Yet I trust still in the protecting deities of Rome, who have hitherto been favourable to all my undertakings." Doubtful, however, of the protection of the gods, and of the event of the siege, Aurelian judged it more prudent to offer terms of an advantageous capitulation: to the queen, a splendid retreat; to the citizens, their ancient privileges. His proposals were obstinately rejected, and the refusal was accompanied with insult.

The firmness of Zenobia was supported by the hope, that in a very short time famine would compel the Roman army to repass the desert; and by the reasonable expectation that the kings of the East, and particularly the Persian monarch, would arm in the defence of their most natural ally. But fortune and the perseverance of Aurelian overcame every ob-

* Some English travellers from Aleppo discovered the ruins of Palmyra, about the end of the last century. Our curiosity has been since gratified in a more splendid manner by Messieurs Wood and Dawkins. For the history of Palmyra, we may consult the masterly dissertation of Dr. Halley, in the Philosophical Transactions; Lowthorp's Abridgment, vol. iii. p. 518.

Sæle. The death of Sapor, which happened about this time, distracted the councils of Persia, and the inconsiderable succours that attempted to relieve Palmyra, were easily intercepted either by the arms or the liberality of the emperor. From every part of Syria, a regular succession of convoys safely arrived in the camp, which was increased by the return of Probus with his victorious troops from the conquest of Egypt. It was then that Zenobia resolved to fly. She mounted the swiftest of her dromedaries*, and had already reached the banks of the Euphrates, about sixty miles from Palmyra; when she was overtaken by the pursuit of Aurelian's light horse, seized, and brought back a captive to the feet of the emperor. Her capital soon afterwards surrendered, and was treated with unexpected lenity. The arms, horses, and camels, with an immense treasure of gold, silver, silk, and precious stones, were all delivered to the conqueror, who leaving only a garrison of six hundred archers, returned to Emesa, and employed some time in the distribution of rewards and punishments at the end of so memorable a war, which restored to the obedience of Rome those provinces that had renounced their allegiance since the captivity of Valerian.

When the Syrian queen was brought into the presence of Aurelian, he sternly asked her, How she had presumed to rise in arms against the emperors of Rome? The answer of Zenobia was a prudent mixture of respect and firm-

ness. "Because I disdained to consider as Roman emperors an Aureolus, or a Gallienus. You alone I acknowledge as my conqueror and my sovereign." But as female fortitude is commonly artificial, so it is seldom steady or consistent. The courage of Zenobia deserted her in the hour of trial; she trembled at the angry clamours of the soldiers, who called aloud for her immediate execution, forgot the generous despair of Cleopatra, which she had proposed as her model, and ignominiously purchased life by the sacrifice of her fame and her friends. It was to their counsels, which governed the weakness of her sex, that she imputed the guilt of her obstinate resistance; it was on their heads that she directed the vengeance of the cruel Aurelian. The fame of Longinus, who was included among the numerous and perhaps innocent victims of her fear, will survive that of the queen who betrayed, or the tyrant who condemned him. Genius and learning were incapable of moving a fierce unlettered soldier, but they had served to elevate and harmonise the soul of Longinus. Without uttering a complaint, he calmly followed the executioner, pitying his unhappy mistress, and bestowing comfort on his afflicted friends.

Returning from the conquest of the East, Aurelian had already crossed the straits which divide Europe from Asia, when he was provoked by the intelligence that the Palmyrenians had massacred the governor and garrison which

* Though the camel is a heavy beast of burthen, we may learn from Bufson and Shaw, that the dromedary is swifter than the swiftest horse.

he had left among them, and again erected the standard of revolt. Without a moment's deliberation, he once more turned his face towards Syria. Andoch was alarmed by his rapid approach, and the helpless city of Palmyra felt the irresistible weight of his resentment. We have a letter of Aurelian himself, in which he acknowledges, that old men, women, children, and peasants, had been involved in that dreadful execution, which should have been confined to armed rebellion; and although his principal concern seems directed to the re-establishment of a temple of the Sun, he discovers some pity for the remnant of the Palmyrenians, to whom he grants the permission of rebuilding and inhabiting their city. But it is easier to destroy than to restore. The seat of commerce, of arts, and of Zenobia, gradually sunk into an obscure town, a trifling fortress, and at length a miserable village. The present citizens of Palmyra, consisting of thirty or forty families, had erected their mud cottages within the spacious court of a magnificent temple.

History and present State of the celebrated Mount St. Michael, near Granville, in France, one of the most celebrated State-prisons of that Kingdom; in a Letter from Nathaniel Wraxall, jun. Esq. From Mr. Wraxall's late Tour through the Western, Southern, and interior Provinces of France, added to his Memoirs of the Kings of France of the House of Valois, lately published.

*Granville, Wednesday,
30th August, 1775.*

THERE is perhaps no pleasure greater, than that of communicating pleasure received; and, as admiration is one of the most elegant and interesting sources from which it can be drawn, we usually listen with extreme readiness to any addresses made to that passion: I wish to prepare you for a recital, in which the marvellous and the astonishing may predominate; though you may do me the justice to believe, they will ever be under the guidance of truth.

Superstition, the parent of a thousand evils to mankind, has yet given rise to such extraordinary and magnificent productions in every age, as almost incline one to pardon her crimes and follies. I am just returned from the survey of one of the first of these; and shall endeavour to address my imperfect description of it to your heart and affections.

I left Coutances Monday evening. The distance to this town is only six leagues, through a continuation of the same agreeable country which I have already painted to you. Desirous to visit the celebrated *Mont St. Michel*, I hired two horses, and set out early yesterday morning. It is about twenty miles from Granville, and the road lying along the sea-shore, renders it very pleasant. I got to Genet, a little village, before noon. From hence it is only a league to the Mount; but as it lies entirely across the sands, which are only passable at low tide, it becomes indispensibly requisite to procure a guide. I did so, and arrived

arrived there at one in the afternoon.

This extraordinary rock—for it is no more—rises in the middle of the bay of Avranches. Nature has completely fortified one side, by its craggy and almost perpendicular descent, which renders it impracticable for courage or address, however consummate, to scale or mount it. The other parts are surrounded by walls fenced with semilunar towers in the Gothic manner; but sufficiently strong, superadded to the advantages of its situation, to despise all attack. At the foot of the mountain, begins a street or town, which winds round its base to a considerable height. Above, are chambers, where prisoners of state are kept, and other buildings intended for residence; and on the summit is erected the abbey itself, occupying a prodigious space of ground, and of a strength and solidity equal to its enormous size: since it has stood all the storms of Heaven, in this elevated and exposed situation, during many centuries.—I spent the whole afternoon in the different parts of this edifice; and as the Swiss who conducted me through them, found he could not gratify my curiosity too minutely, he left no apartment or chamber unseen.

The *Salle de Chevalerie*, or knight's hall, reminded me of that at Marienbourg in Polish Prussia. It is equally spacious; but more barbarous and rude, because some hundred years prior in its erection. Here the knights of St. Michael used to meet in solemn convocation on important occasions. They were the defenders and guardians of this mountain and abbey, as

those of the temple, and of Saint John of Jerusalem, were to the holy sepulchre.—At one end is a painting of the archangel, the patron of their order; and in this hall Louis the Eleventh first instituted, and invested with the insignia of knighthood, the chevaliers of the cross of St. Michael.

We passed on through several lesser rooms into a long passage, on one side of which the Swiss opened a door, and through a narrow entrance, perfectly dark, he led me, by a second door, into an apartment, or dungeon—for it rather merited the latter than the former appellation—in the middle of which stood a cage. It was composed of prodigious wooden bars; and the wicket which admitted into it was ten or twelve inches in thickness. I went into the inside: the space it comprised was about twelve feet square, or fourteen; and it might be nearly twenty in height. This was the abode of many eminent victims in former ages, whose names and miseries are now obliterated and forgotten.

"There was," said my conductor, "towards the latter end of the last century, a certain news-writer in Holland, who had presumed to print some very severe and sarcastic reflections on Madame de Maintenon, and Louis the Fourteenth. Some months after he was induced, by a person sent expressly for that purpose, to make a tour into French Flanders. The instant he had quitted the Dutch territories, he was put under arrest, and immediately, by his majesty's express command, conducted to this place. They

" shut him up in this cage. Here
 " he lived upwards of three-and-
 " twenty years; and here he, at
 " length, expired.—During the
 " long nights of winter," con-
 " tinued the man, " no candle or
 " fire was allowed him. He was
 " not permitted to have any
 " book. He saw no human face
 " except the gaoler, who came
 " once every day to present him,
 " through a hole in the wicket,
 " his little portion of bread and
 " wine. No instrument was given
 " him, with which he could de-
 " stroy himself; but he found
 " means at length to draw out a
 " nail from the wood, with which
 " he cut or engraved, on the bars
 " of his cage, certain fleurs de lis,
 " and armorial bearings, which
 " formed his only employment and
 " recreation." These I saw, and
 " they are indeed very curiously per-
 " formed, with so rude a tool.

As I stood within this dreadful
 engine, my heart sunk within me.
 I execrated the vengeance of the
 prince, who, for such a trespass,
 could inflict so disproportionate
 and tremendous a punishment. I
 thought the towers and pinnacles
 of the abbey seemed to shake, as
 conscious of the cruelty committed
 in their gloomy round; and I hast-
 ened out of this sad apartment, im-
 pressed with feelings of the deepest
 pity and indignation.

" It is now fifteen years," said
 the Swiss, " since a gentleman
 " terminated his days in that
 " cage; it was before I came to
 " reside here; but there is one in-
 " stance within my own memory,
 " Monsieur de F——, a person
 " of rank, was conducted here by
 " command of the late king; he
 " remained three years shut up in

" it. I fed him myself every day;
 " but he was allowed books and
 " candle to divert his misery; and
 " at length, the abbot, touched with
 " his deplorable calamities, request-
 " ed and obtained the royal pardon.
 " He was set free, and is now alive
 " in France.

" The subterranean chambers,"
 added he, " in this mountain, are
 " so numerous, that we know them
 " not ourselves. There are cer-
 " tain dungeons, called *Oubliet-
 " tes*, into which they were ac-
 " customed anciently to let down
 " malefactors guilty of very hei-
 " nous crimes: they provided
 " them with a loaf of bread and
 " a bottle of wine; and then they
 " were totally forgotten, and left
 " to perish by hunger in the dark
 " vault of the rock. This pu-
 " nishment has not however been
 " inflicted by any king in the last
 " or present century."

We continued our progress
 through the abbey. He led me
 into a chamber, in one corner of
 which was a kind of window; be-
 tween this and the wall of the
 building was a very deep space or
 hollow of near a hundred feet per-
 pendicular, and at bottom was
 another window, opening to the
 sea. It is called *The Hole of Mont-
 gomeri*. The history of it is this
 —You will recollect, that in
 the year 1559, Henry the Second,
 king of France, was unfortunately
 killed at a tournament by the
 Count de Montgomeri. It was not
 intended on that nobleman's part;
 and he was forced, contrary to his
 inclination, to push the lance
 against his sovereign, by his ex-
 plicit command. He was a Ha-
 gonot, and, having escaped the
 massacre of Paris and Coligny,
 made

made head against the royal forces in Normandy, supported by our Elizabeth with arms and money. Being driven from his fortresses in those parts he retired to a rock, called the *Tombelaine*. This is another, similar to the *Mont Saint Michel*, only three quarters of a league distant from it, and of nearly equal dimensions. At that time there was a castle on it, afterwards demolished, and of which scarce any vestiges now remain. From this fastness, only accessible at low tides, he continually made excursions, and annoyed the enemy, who never dared to attack him. He coined money, laid all the adjacent country under contribution, and rendered himself universally dreaded. Desirous however to surprize the *Mont St. Michel*, he found means to engage one of the monks resident in the abbey, who promised to give him the signal for his enterprize, by displaying a handkerchief. The treacherous monk having made the signal, betrayed him, and armed all his associates, who waited Montgomery's arrival. The chieftain came attended by fifty chosen soldiers, desperate, and capable of any attempt. They crossed the sand, and having placed their scaling-ladders, mounted one by one: as they came to the top, they were dispatched each in turn, without noise: Montgomery, who followed last, at length discovered the perfidy, and escaped with only two of his men, with whom he regained the *Tombelaine*. They preserve with great care the ladders and grappling-irons used on this occasion.—You perhaps remember the subsequent fate of the Count himself. He was at last besieged and taken prisoner by the Marechal

de Matignon, in 1574, at Domfront in Normandy; and Catherine of Medicis, who detested him for his having been, though innocently, the cause of her husband's death, ordered him to be immediately executed.

The church itself detained me a long time, and is matter of high curiosity. It rests on nine pillars of most enormous dimensions, which stand upon the solid rock. I did not measure them; but, as far as the gloominess of the place would admit, I apprehend that each of them must be five-and-twenty feet in circumference: besides these, there are two others, of much inferior size, which support the centre of the church, over which is the tower. If the prodigious incumbent weight be considered, and the nature of its situation, nothing less massy could sustain the edifice. They seem as if designed to outlive the ravages of time, and the convulsions of nature.—But before we enter the church itself, I must inform you of the absurd and legendary cause, which first produced it.

In the reign of Childebert the Second, there was a bishop of Avranches named St. Aubert. To this holy man the archangel Michael was pleased to appear one night, and order him to go to this rock, and there build him a church. St. Aubert, who seems to have been a little incredulous, treated it as a dream: the angel came again, repeated his injunction, and not being obeyed, the third time, he, by way of imprinting it on the bishop's memory, made a hole in his skull, by touching it with his thumb. In the treasury of the church I saw this curious skull. It is enclosed in a lit-

the shrine of gold, and a crystal, which opens over the orifice, admits the gratification of curiosity by the minutest examination of it. The hole is of a size and shape justly proportioned to the thumb supposed to have produced it, and whether done with a knife, or by what means it is perforated, I cannot determine. The bishop, however, upon this sensible mark of the divine pleasure, delayed no longer; but repaired to the rock, and constructed a small church, as he had been commanded.—Here fable ends; and true history supplanting its place, informs us, that it was in 966, when Richard the Second duke of Normandy began to build the abbey. It was completed about the year 1070, under William the Conqueror, though many other additions were made by succeeding abbots.

The treasury is crowded with relics innumerable, among which some few have a real and intrinsic value. There is a fine head of Charles the Sixth of France cut in crystal, which drew my attention. They have got, heaven knows by what means, an arm of Edward the Confessor's; and they shewed me another, of *St. Richard, King of England*. Who this saint and Prince was, I confess, is beyond my comprehension. I am sure they could not term Richard the First so, unless his crusade against Saladin wiped out all his sins, and canonized him. Richard the Second has no better pretensions to sanctity. I do not mention him who fell at Bosworth: so that who this royal saint was, I must leave you to divine. As to the monks, they know nothing about it; but they were positive he was a king of England.—An enormous

golden cockle-shell, weighing many pounds, given by Richard the Second duke of Normandy, when he founded the abbey, is worthy remark.

In the middle of the choir hangs a stone, which is said to have fallen on the head of Louis the Eleventh at the siege of Bezançon, without doing him the smallest injury. This he conceived, and with reason, must have been owing to some wondrous divine interposition; for the stone weighs, I should suppose, at least ten pounds. Louis, though the greatest monster who ever filled a throne, was yet, at times, exceedingly pious; he used to come very often in pilgrimage to *Mont St. Michel*; and he ordered this stone to be suspended by a chain in the choir, and left an annual sum in lands to maintain priests to say masses, for his preservation from of imminent a danger.

The refectory, the cloisters, the cells of the monks, are all, (or rather they have been) very magnificent and spacious; but a vast sum of money is wanted to put the whole in repair, and reinstate what the lapse of ages defaces and deforms. One of the great towers is cracked and shaken. They have written repeatedly to the ministry, to know his majesty's pleasure respecting it; but no answer has been returned. It will probably tumble soon, and must necessarily, from its prodigious height and size, draw with it a considerable part of the adjoining edifices.

The late king sequestered the revenues of the abbey, which are very ample. A prior is substituted instead of the abbot, and the number of religious reduced from thirty

to fourteen. Perhaps a few years more may even extinguish these; and St. Michael himself, though composed of gold, be melted down to support the expence of a bal paré—It is at present considered rather as a prison of state, and will more probably be repaired on that account, than as an erection of piety. The apartments are, at this time, occupied by many illustrious captives, who have been sent here by *Lettres de cachet*, for crimes of state. They are detained in stricter or easier confinement, according to the royal mandate. There are in one range of rooms eight, who eat at a round table together. They are allowed each a pint of wine; but neither knives nor forks are ever given them, lest they should commit suicide, to escape the horrors of captivity. No person is permitted to enter that division where they live, or can hold any conversation with them. Four of these are sent here since the accession of his present majesty. There are others who have the liberty of going into every part of the Mount without restraint; but to profit of this permission they must be habited as priests, and, of consequence, universally known. To escape, one should suppose impossible—but what cannot human subtilty effect, when pushed to despair? It is only sixteen days since a Monsieur de C——, who had been confined ten months, succeeded in an attempt to set himself free. I was shewn the place from whence he let himself down by a rope: it is near an hundred feet perpendicular. He crossed the sands immediately, while the sea was low: and it is imagined he has embarked for Jersey or Eng-

land, as no intelligence has been received concerning him.

Some apartments are destined to a species of wretches yet more deplorable—I mean to lunatics. There are several of high rank. In the cloysters of the abbey, a person accosted me in very polite terms. He was apparently above fifty years of age; his habit was squalid; at his button-hole hung a cross of St. Michael, fantastically adorned with ribbons. His face, though brown, and sickly, had somewhat noble, commanding, and engaging; his hair of a deep black, mixed with grey, hung floating upon his shoulders; and over his whole person was an air of dignity in ruin. It was the Marquis de R——, a Breton nobleman, who has been shut up here five-and-twenty years. He is insane, but harmless, and perfectly observant of all the forms in cultivated life.—None but persons of quality are ever sent here on this account.

I thought the age of pilgrimage had been at an end in all European nations, and that devotion contented itself with venerating its saints at home—but will you believe it, when I assure you, the number of pilgrims, who come annually to pay their vows to Saint Michael at this Mount, are between eight and ten thousand? They are mostly peasants, and men of mean occupations; but even among the noblesse there are not wanting those, who are induced to make this journey from principles of piety. The little town is sometimes so crowded with them, that not a bed is to be procured. I saw at least six when I was there. They were young men and

and women. Their habit exactly corresponded with our ideas of them, as drawn from ancient ballads. Their hats were covered with cockle-shells, laced round the edges; and on the crown was a gilt coronet, above which was the cross. A ribbon in the same form was tied across their breast; and all over their cloaths were placed little images of St. Michael vanquishing the devil. I asked them from whence they came? They said, from Champagne; a very considerable distance, across all France. I put several questions to them; and they would willingly have followed me when I went up to the top of the steeple; but the Swiss, who was well accustomed to see these poor devotees arrive, repulsed them very roughly for their temerity. "*Que diable!*" says he, "*allez, priez le bon Saint Michel, si vous voulez! Je ne conduis pas le menu peuple!*" The poor pilgrims retired immediately without a word.—It is said, the late Dauphin was here incog. about nineteen or twenty years ago; and the old man who conducted me across the sands, assured me he had the honour to be his highness's guide, without knowing at the time his rank. His character was that of a bigot, and I am not at all surprised at such a proof of it.—At the foot of the mountain, close to the waves, is a very fine well of fresh water; but as this might and would be undoubtedly possessed by an enemy in case of a siege, they have contrived to hollow into the solid rock cisterns proportionate to every other part of the building, and capable of containing many

hundred tons of water; they say more than twelve hundred. Indeed, to besiege it would be madness: a hundred men might defend it against ten thousand assailants, and any number of vessels; nor could it be, if taken, converted to any sort of use.

The town itself is almost as curious as any other part of the Mount. I doubt not there are many houses in it five or six hundred years old; and I did not see one which seemeth to be built since Louis the Eleventh's time. The whole number of persons resident in the abbey, and in the town, does not exceed a hundred and eighty, in time of peace. A militia, composed of the bourgeoisie, mount guard, to prevent any of the prisoners from escaping. In time of war there are five hundred soldiers commonly in garrison, and they assured me, so vast and numerous are the chambers in different parts, that thirteen thousand might be disposed of without any sort of inconvenience.

They sell little legendary books in the town: I have bought them all, in hopes to find some historical anecdotes or traditions respecting the place, and the various important events or sieges it has undergone;—but alas! this is a vain attempt. They are all stuffed with miracles, and absurdities too ridiculous to repeat; and St. Michael and St. Aubert are the only heroes who make any figure in the annals of monkery.—I would most willingly have inspected the archives which are laid up in the abbey; but this is not permitted. It must be a very curious research, since it is probable every king of England,

From the Conqueror to Henry the Third, had been many times here from motives of devotion or curiosity.

In the year 1090, Robert duke of Normandy, and William Rufus, besieged their brother Henry a long time in the *Mont St. Michel*. It must be presumed they were masters of the foot of the rock: for otherwise it would be impracticable to invest it. The prince could never have been reduced to surrender from force; but he wanted water, and from this necessity he was on the point of yielding the fortress when Robert, with that benevolence and generosity which marked his character, sent him some pipes of wine; and this succour (like that which Henry the Fourth permitted his troops to give the Parisians) enabled Henry to hold out. Rufus reproached him for his conduct; "What," said Robert, "shall we suffer our brother to die of thirst?"—And what return did he meet with? An imprisonment of twenty-eight years in a vaulted chamber of Cardiff castle, where he expired."

An Account of the finding or forging of some very ingenious Poems, attributed to Thomas Rowley, a Priest of Bristol, in the fifteenth Century, and others of his Fellow-Citizens and Contemporaries; and of the Pieces themselves, as well as the very extraordinary Person who first produced them; being the Preface, Table of Contents, Introductory Account, and Advertisement, prefixed to the Collection of these Pieces, newly published.

P R E F A C E.

THE poems, which make the principal part of this collection, have for some time excited much curiosity, as the supposed productions of *Thomas Rowley*, a priest of Bristol, in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. They are here faithfully printed from the most authentic MSS. that could be procured; of which a particular description is given in the *Introductory Account of the several pieces*, subjoined to this Preface. Nothing more therefore seems necessary at present, than to inform the reader shortly of the manner in which these poems were first brought to light, and of the authority upon which they are ascribed to the persons whose names they bear.

This cannot be done so satisfactorily as in the words of Mr. George Catcott of Bristol, to whose very laudable zeal the Public is indebted for the most considerable part of the collection. His account of the matter is this; "The first discovery of certain MSS. having been deposited in Redcliff church, above three centuries ago, was made in the year 1768, at the time of opening the new bridge at Bristol, and was owing to a publication in *Farley's Weekly Journal*, 1 October, 1768, containing an Account of the Ceremonies observed at the opening of the old bridge, taken, as it was said, from a very ancient MS. This excited the curiosity of some persons to enquire after the original. The printer, Mr. Farley, could give no account of it, or of the person

"son who brought the copy; but
 "after much enquiry it was dis-
 "covered, that the person who
 "brought the copy was a youth,
 "between 15 and 16 years of
 "age, whose name was Thomas
 "Chatterton, and whose family
 "had been sextons of Redclift
 "church for near 150 years. His
 "father, who was now dead,
 "had also been master of the free-
 "school in Pile-street. The young
 "man was at first very unwilling

"to discover from whence he had
 "the original; but, after many
 "promises made to him, he was
 "at last prevailed on to acknow-
 "ledge, that he had received this,
 "together with many other MSS.
 "from his father, who had found
 "them in a large chest in an up-
 "per room over the chapel on the
 "north side of Redclift church."

Soon after this Mr. Catcott
 commenced his acquaintance with
 young Chatterton*, and, partly
 as

* The history of this youth is so intimately connected with that of the poems now published, that the reader cannot be too early apprized of the principal circumstances of his short life. He was born on the 20th of November 1752, and educated at a charity school on St. Augustin's Back, where nothing more was taught than reading, writing, and accounts. At the age of fourteen, he was articled clerk to an attorney, with whom he continued till he left Bristol in April 1770.

Though his education was thus confined, he discovered an early turn towards poetry and English antiquities; particularly heraldry. How soon he began to be an author is not known. In the *Town and Country Magazine* for March 1769, are two letters, probably, from him, as they are dated at Bristol, and subscribed with his usual signature, D. B. The first contains short extracts from two MSS. "*written three hundred years ago by one Rowley, a Monk,*" concerning dress in the age of Henry II.; the other, "*ETHELGAR, a Saxon poem,*" in bombast prose. In the same Magazine for May 1769, are three communications from Bristol, with the same signature D. B. viz. CERDICK, *translated from the Saxon* (in the same style with *ETHELGAR*), p. 233.—*Observations upon Saxon Heraldry*, with drawings of *Saxon achievements*, &c. p. 245.—*ELINOR and JUGA, written three hundred years ago*, by T. ROWLEY, *a secular priest*, p. 273. In the subsequent months of 1769 and 1770 there are several other pieces in the same Magazine, which are undoubtedly of his composition.

In April 1770, he left Bristol and came to London, in hopes of advancing his fortune by his talents for writing, of which, by this time, he had conceived a very high opinion. In the prosecution of this scheme, he appears to have almost entirely depended upon the patronage of a set of gentlemen, whom an eminent author long ago pointed out, as *not the very worst judges or rewarders of merit*, the booksellers of this great city. At his first arrival indeed he was so unlucky as to find two of his expected Mæcenases, the one in the King's Bench, and the other in Newgate. But this little disappointment was alleviated by the encouragement which he received from other quarters; and on the 14th of May he writes to his mother, in high spirits upon the change in his situation, with the following sarcastic reflection upon his former patrons at Bristol. "*As to Mr. —, Mr. —, Mr. —, &c. &c. they rate literary lumber so low, that I believe an author, in their estimation, must be poor indeed! But here matters are otherwise. Had Rowley been a Londoner instead of a Bristolian, I could have lived by copying his works.*"

In

as presents, partly as purchases, procured from him copies of many of his MSS. in prose and verse. Other copies were disposed of, in the same way, to Mr. William Barrett, an eminent surgeon at Bristol, who has long been engaged in writing the history of that city. Mr. Barrett also procured from him several fragments, some of a considerable length, written upon vellum, which he asserted to be part of his original MSS. In short, in the space of about eighteen months, from October 1768 to April 1770, beside the poems now published, he produced as many compositions, in prose and verse, under the names of Rowley, Canynge, &c. as would nearly fill such another volume.

In April 1770 Chatterton went to London, and died there in Au-

gust following; so that the whole history of this very extraordinary transaction cannot now probably be known with any certainty. Whatever may have been his part in it; whether he was the author, or only the copier (as he constantly asserted) of all these productions; he appears to have kept the secret entirely to himself, and not to have put it in the power of any other person, to bear certain testimony either to his fraud or to his veracity.

The question therefore concerning the authenticity of these poems must now be decided by an examination of the fragments upon vellum, which Mr. Barrett received from Chatterton as part of his original MSS. and by the internal evidence which the several pieces afford. If the fragments shall be

In a letter to his sister, dated 30 May, he informs her, that he is to be employed "in writing a voluminous history of London, to appear in numbers the beginning of next winter." In the mean time he had written something in praise of the Lord Mayor (Beckford) which had procured him the honour of being presented to his Lordship. In the letter just mentioned he gives the following account of his reception, with some curious observations upon political writing: "The Lord Mayor received me as politely as a citizen could. But the devil of the matter is, there is no money to be got of this side of the question.—But he is a poor author who cannot write on both sides.—Essays on the patriotic side will fetch no more than what the copy is sold for. As the patriots themselves are searching for a place, they have no gratuity to spare.—On the other hand, unpopular essays will not even be accepted; and you must pay to have them printed; but then you seldom lose by it, as courtiers are so sensible of their deficiency in merit, that they generously reward all who know how to daub them with the appearance of it."

Notwithstanding his employment on the History of London, he continued to write incessantly in various periodical publications. On the 11th of July he tells his sister that he had pieces last month in the *Gospel Magazine*, the *Town and Country*, viz. *Maria Friendless*; *False Step*; *Hunter of Oddities*; *To Miss Bulth*, &c. *Court and City*; *London*; *Political Register*; &c. But all these exertions of his genius brought in so little profit, that he was soon reduced to real indigence; from which he was relieved by death (in what manner is not certainly known) on the 24th of August, or thereabout, when he wanted near three months to complete his eighteenth year. The floor of his chamber was covered with written papers, which he had torn into small pieces; but there was no appearance (as the editor has been credibly informed) of any writings on parchment or vellum.

judged

judged to be genuine, it will still remain to be determined, how far their genuineness should serve to authenticate the rest of the collection, of which no copies older than those made by Chatterton, have ever been produced. On the other hand, if the writings of the Fragments shall be judged to be counterfeit, and forged by Chatterton, it will not of necessity follow, that the matter of them was also forged by him, and still less, that all the other compositions, which he professed to have copied from ancient MSS. were merely inventions of his own. In either case, the decision must finally depend upon the internal evidence.

It may be expected perhaps, that the Editor should give an opinion upon this important question; but he rather chooses, for many reasons, to leave it to the determination of the unprejudiced and intelligent reader. He had long been desirous that these poems should be printed; and therefore readily undertook the charge of superintending the edition. This he has executed in the manner, which seemed to him best suited to such a publication; and here he means that his task should end. Whether the poems be really ancient, or modern; the compositions of Rowley, or the forgeries of Chatterton; they must always be considered as a most singular literary curiosity.

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INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT

OF THE SEVERAL PIECES.

ECLOGUE THE FIRST.
ECLOGUE THE SECOND.
ECLOGUE THE THIRD.

These three Eclogues are printed from a MS. furnished by Mr. Catcott, in the hand-writing of Thomas Chatterton. It is a thin copy-book in 4to. with the following title in the first page: *Eclogues and other Poems by Thomas Rowley; with a Glossary and Annotations by Thomas Chatterton.*

There

There is only one other poem in this book, viz. the fragment of "*Goddwyn, a Tragedie.*"

ELINOURE and JUCA.—This poem is reprinted from the *Town and Country Magazine* for May 1769, p. 273. It is there entitled, "*Elinoure and Juca. Written three hundred years ago by T. Rowley, secular priest.*" And it has the following subscription; "D. B. Bristol, May, 1769." Chatterton soon after told Mr. Catcott, that he (Chatterton) inserted it in the *Magazine*.

The present Editor has taken the liberty to supply [between hooks] the names of the speakers, at ver. 22 and 29, which had probably been omitted by some accident in the first publication; as the nature of the composition seems to require, that the dialogue should proceed by alternate stanzas.

VERSES TO LYDGATE.

SONGE TO ÆLLA.

LYDGATE'S ANSWER.

These three small poems are printed from a copy in Mr. Catcott's hand-writing. Since they were printed off, the Editor has had an opportunity of comparing them with a copy made by Mr. Barrett from the piece of vellum, which Chatterton formerly gave to him as the original MS.

THE TOURNAMENT.—This poem is printed from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

Sir Simon de Boarston, the hero of this poem, is supposed to have been the first founder of a church dedicated to *our Lady*, in the

place where the church of Saint Mary Ratcliffe now stands. Mr. Barrett has a small leaf of vellum (given to him by Chatterton as one of Rowley's original MSS.) entitled, "*Vita de Simon de Bourton,*" in which Sir Simon is said, as in the poem, to have begun his foundation in consequence of a vow made at a tournament.

THE DETHE OF SYR CHARLES BAWDIN.—This poem is reprinted from the copy printed at London in 1772, with a few corrections from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

The person here celebrated, under the name of *Syr Charles Bawdin*, was probably *Syr Baldewyn Fulford*, Knt. a zealous Lancastrian, who was executed at Bristol in the latter end of 1461, the first year of Edward the Fourth. He was attainted with many others, in the general act of Attainder, 1 Edw. IV. but he seems to have been executed under a special commission for the trial of treasons, &c. within the town of Bristol. The fragment of the old chronicle, published by Hearne at the end of *Sprotti Chronica*, p. 289, says only; "Item the same yere (1 Edw. IV.) was taken *Syr Baldewine Fulford and bebedid att Bristow.*" But the matter is more fully stated in the act which passed in 7 Edw. IV. for the restitution in blood and estate of Thomas Fulford, Knt. eldest son of Baldewyn Fulford, late of Fulford, in the county of Devonshire, Knt. *Rot. Pat.* 8 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 13. The preamble of this act, after stating the attainder by the act 1 Edward IV. goes on thus: "And also the said Baldewyn, the said

said first yere of your noble reign, at Bristowe in the shere of Bristowe, before Henry Erle of Essex William Hastyngs of Hastyngs Knt. Richard Cbock William Canyng Maire of the said towne of Bristowe and Thomas Young, by force of your letters patentes to theym and other directe to here and determine all tresons, &c. doon withyn the said towne of Bristowe before the vth day of September the first yere of your said reign, was atteynt of dyvers tresons by him doon synest your Highnes &c." If the commission sate soon after the vth of September, as is most probable, King Edward might very possibly be at Bristol at the time of Sir Baldewyn's execution; for, in the interval between his coronation and the parliament which met in November, he made a progress (as the Continuator of Stowe informs us, p. 416.) by the South coast into the West, and was (among other places) at Bristol. Indeed there is a circumstance which might lead us to believe, that he was actually a spectator of the execution from the minster-window, as described in the poem. In an old account of the Procurators of St. Ewin's church, which was then the minster, from xx March in the 1 Edward IV. to 1 April in the year next ensuing, is the following article, according to a copy made by Mr. Catecott from the original book.

"Item for washyng
the church paywen agayn
Kyngs Edward 4th is
comynge." } ij. d. ob.

ELLA, a tragycal enterlude—
This poem, with the *Epistle, Letter*, and *Entredoussions*, is printed

from a folio MS. furnished by Mr. Catecott, in the beginning of which he has written, "Chatterton's transcript, 1769." The whole transcript is of Chatterton's hand-writing.

GODDWIN, a tragedie.—This fragment is printed from the MS. mentioned above, in Chatterton's hand-writing.

ENGLISH METAMORPHOSIS.—This poem is printed from a single sheet in Chatterton's hand-writing, communicated by Mr. Barrett, who received it from Chatterton.

BALADE OF CHARITIE.—This poem is also printed from a single sheet in Chatterton's hand-writing.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS, N^o 1.
BATTLE OF HASTINGS, N^o 2.

In printing the first of these poems two copies have been made use of, both taken from copies of Chatterton's hand-writing, the one by Mr. Catecott, and the other by Mr. Barrett. The principal difference between them is at the end, where the latter has fourteen lines from ver. 550, which are wanting in the former. The second poem is printed from a single copy, made by Mr. Barrett, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

It should be observed, that the poem marked N^o 1, was given to Mr. Barrett by Chatterton with the following title; "*Battle of Hastings, wrote by Turgot the Monk, a Saxon, in the tenth century, and translated by Thomas Rowlie, parish priest of St. Johns in the city of Bristol*,"

Bristol, in the year 1465.—*The remainder of the poem I have not been happy enough to meet with.*" Being afterwards prest by Mr. Barrett to produce any part of this poem in the original hand-writing, he at last said, that he wrote this poem himself for a friend; but that he had another, the copy of an original by Rowley: and being then desired to produce that other poem, he, after a considerable interval of time, brought to Mr. Barrett the poem marked N^o 2, as far as ver. 530 incl. with the following title; "*Battle of Hasting by Turgotus, translated by Rowlie for W. Canynge Esq.*" The lines from ver. 531 incl. were brought some time after, in consequence of Mr. Barrett's repeated solicitations for the conclusion of the poem.

OWN OUR LADIES CHYRCH.

ON THE SAME.

The first of these poems is printed from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

The other is taken from a MS. in Chatterton's hand-writing, furnished by Mr. Catcott, entitled, "*A Discourse on Bristowe, by Thomas Rowlie.*"

EPITAPH ON ROBERT CANYNGE.—This is one of the fragments of vellum, given by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett, as part of his original MSS.

THE STORIE OF WILLIAM CANYNGE.—The 34 first lines of this poem are extant upon another of the vellum fragments, given by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett. The remainder is printed from a copy

furnished by Mr. Catcott, with some corrections from another copy, made by Mr. Barrett from one in Chatterton's hand-writing. This poem makes part of a prose-work, attributed to Rowley, giving an account of *Painters, Carvellers, Poets*, and other eminent natives of Bristol, from the earliest times to his own. The whole will be published by Mr. Barrett, with remarks, and large additions; among which we may expect a complete and authentic history of that distinguished citizen of Bristol, Mr. William Canynge. In the mean time, the reader may see several particulars relating to him in *Cambden's Britannia*, Somerset, Col. 95. — *Rymer's Fœdera*, &c. ann. 1449 & 1450. — *Tanner's Not. Monast. Art. BRISTOL and WEST-SAXY.* — *Dugdale's Warwickshire*, p. 634.

It may be proper just to remark here, that Mr. Canynge's brother, mentioned in ver. 129, who was lord mayor of London in 1456, is called *Thomas* by Stowe in his List of Mayors, &c.

The transaction alluded to in the last stanza is related at large in some Prose Memoirs of Rowley, of which a very incorrect copy has been printed in the *Town and Country Magazine* for November 1775. It is there said, that Mr. Canynge went into orders, to avoid a marriage, proposed by King Edward, between him and a lady of the Widdeville family. It is certain, from the Register of the Bishop of Worcester, that Mr. Canynge was ordained *Acolyte* by Bishop Carpenter on 19 September 1467, and received the higher orders of *Subdeacon*, *Deacon*, and *Priest*.

M

Priest, on the 12th of March, 1467. O. S. the 2d and 16th of April, 1468, respectively.

ON HAPPINESS, by *William Canynge*.

ONNE JOHNNE A DALBENIE, by the same.

THE GOULER'S REQUIEM, by the same.

THE ACCOUNTS OF W. CANYNGE'S FEASTE.

Of these four poems attributed to Mr. Canynge, the three first are printed from Mr. Catcott's copies. The last is taken from a fragment of vellum, which Chatterton gave to Mr. Barrett as an original. The Editor has doubts about the reading of the second word in ver. 7, but he has printed it *keene*, as he found it so in other copies. The reader may judge for himself, by examining the *Fac simile* in the opposite page.

With respect to the three friends of Mr. Canynge mentioned in the last line, the name of *Botwley* is sufficiently known from the preceding poems. *Iscauntun* appears as an actor in the tragedy of *Abba*, and in that of *Goddwyn*; and a poem, ascribed to him, entitled "*The merry Tricks of Laymington*," is inserted in the "*Discourse of Brit-Journe*." Sir *Theobald Gorges* was a knight of an antient family seated at Wraxhall, within a few miles of Bristol [See *Ros. Parl.* 3 H. VI. n. 28. *Leland's Itin.* vol. VII. p. 98.] He has also appeared above as an actor in both the tragedies, and as the author of one of the *Mystralles songs* in *Abba*. His connection with Mr. Canynge is verified by a deed of the latter, dated 20 October, 1467, in which he gives to trustees, in part of a

benefaction of 500 l. to the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, "*certain Jewells of Sir Theobald Gorges, Knt.*" which had been pawned to him for 160 l.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE reader is desired to observe, that the notes at the bottom of the several pages are all copied from MSS. in the hand-writing of *Thomas Chatterton*.

We shall give a specimen of the foregoing pieces in our article of Poetry.

A short Account of William Canynge, the Person so often mentioned in the preceding Article, Founder of St. Mary Redcliffe's Church in Bristol. Wrote by the foregoing Thomas Rouse, Priest, in the Year 1460.

I Was fadre confessor to masters Robert and mastre William Cannings. Mastre Roberte was a man after his fadre's own harte, greeble of gaynes and sparyngs of alms deeds; but mastre William was mickle courteous, and gave me many marks in my needs. At the age of 22 years deceas'd master Roberte, and by master William's desyre, bequeathed me one hundred marks; I went to thank master William for his mickle courtesie, and to make tentier of my selfe to him. Fadre, quod he, I have a crotchett in my brayne that will neede your aide. Master William, said I, if you comfmand me I will go to Roome for you; not so farr distant, said he; I ken you for a mickle leard priest, if you will leave the parysh of our ladie, and

and travel for me, it shall be mickle to your profits.

I gave my hands, and he told mee I must goe to all the abbies and priories, and gather together auncient drawyngs, if of any account, at any price. Consented I to the same, and pursuant sett out the Mundaie following for the minister of our ladie and Sarah Goddwyne, where a drawing of a sheepe, contrived for the belles when runge to swaie out of the syde into the ayre, had I thence: it was done by Syr Symon de Mambrie, who in the troublesomme rayne, of king Stephen devoted himselfe, and was thorne.

Hawkes shewd me a manuscript in Saxonne, but I was onely to bargayne for drawyngs.—The next drawyngs I metten with, was a church to be reard, so as in form of a crosse, the end standing in the ground, a long manuscript was annexed. Master Canning thought no workman could be found handle enough to do it.—The tale of the drawers deserveth relation.—Thomas de Blanderville, a ppeeste, although the ppeeste had no allowe, lov'd a fair mayden, and on her begett a sonn, Thomas educated his sonn; at sixteen years he went into the warre, and peer did return for five years.—His mother was married to a knight, and bare a daughter, then sixteen, who was seen and lov'd by Thomas, son of Thomas, and married to him unknown to her mother, by Ralph de Mesching, of the Minister, who invited, as custom was, two of his brothers, Thomas de Blunderville and John Meschamme. Thomas nevertheless had not seen his sonn for five years, kenn'd him instantly, and learning the name of the bryde, took him asyde and

disclosed to him that he was his sonn, and was wedd to his own sistr.—Young Thomas take on so that he was thorne.

He drew manie fine drawyngs on glasse.

The abbott of the minster of Peterburrow, sold it me, he might have bargayned so many better, but master William would not depart with it. The prior of Coventree did sell me a picture of great account, made by Radulph Yallyanne, who did lyve in the rayne, of kyng Henrie the First, a man of hokke temper, having been tendered for pounds of silver for it, to which he said nait, and afterwards did give it to the then abbott of Coventree. In brief, I gathered together manie marks, value of fine drawyngs, all the works of mickle cunning.—Master William could the most choise pems, but hearing of a drawyng in Durham church he did send me.

Fadree, you have done mickle well, all the chaitils are more worth than you gaves take this for your paynes, so saying, he did put into my hands a purse of two hundred good pounds, and did say that I should not be in need. I did thank him most heartily.—The choise drawyng, when his fadre did dye, was begun to be put up, and some houses near the old church crashed; it was drawn by Adam, ppeest of St. Cathburts, and offerd as a drawyng for Westminster, but cast asyde, being the tender did not speak French.—I had now mickle of ryches, and lyvd in a house on the hyll, often repayring to master William, who was now lord of the house. I sent him my verses touching his church, for which he did send me mickle good things.—In the year

Kyng Edward came to Bristow, Master Cannings send for me to avoid a marriage which the king was bent upon between him and a ladie he neer had seen, of the family of the Winddevilles, the danger where nigh, unless avoided by one remede, an holle one, which was to be ordained a fonn of holy church, beyng franke from the power of kynges in that cause, and can be wedded. — Mr. Cannings instantly sent me to Carpenter, his good friend, bishop of Worcester, and the Fryday following was prepared, and ordayned the next day, the sole of St. Matthew, and on Sunday sung his first mass, in the church of our ladie, to the astonishing of kyng Edward, who was so furiously madde and rayvings withall, that master Cannings was wylling to give him 3000 markes, which made him peace again, and he was admytted to the presence of the kyng, staid in Bristow, partook of all his pleasures and passimes till he departed the next year.

I gave master Cannings my Bristow tragedy, for which he gave me in hands twentie pounds, and did praise it more than I did think my self did deserve, for I can say in troth, I was never proud of my verses since I did read master Chaucer, and now having nought to do, and not wylling to be ydle, I went to the minister of our Ladie and Saint Goodwin, and then did purchase the Saxon manuscripts, and sett myself diligently to translate and worde it in English metre, which in one year I performed and settled it the Battle of Marston; master William did bargyn for one to be manuscript, and John Pelham, an esquire, of Ashley, for another. — Master William did praise it muckle greatly, but advised me

to tender it to no man, beyng the man whose name where thesch mentioned would be offended. He gave me 20 markes, and I did goe to Ashley, to master Pelham, to be payd of him for the other one I left with him.

But his ladie being of the family of the Piscamps, of whom some things are said, he told me he had burnt it, and would have me burnt too if I did not avahnt. During this dinn his wife did come out, and made a dinn to speak by a figure would have over sounded the bells of our Ladie of the Chiffe; I was fain content to gett away in a fast tyme.

I wrote my Justice of Peace, which master Cannings advised me secrett to keep, which I did; and now being grown auncient I was tormented with great pains, which did cost me mickle of markes to be cured off. — Master William offered me a Cannon's place in Westbury Collige, which gladly had I accepted, but my pains made me to stie at home. After this mischance I lived in a house by the Tower, which has not been repaired since Robert Consull of Gloucester repayed the castle and wall; here I lived warm, but in my house on the hyll the ayer was mickle keen; some markes it cost me to put it in repair my new house, and brynging my chattles from the ould; it was a fine house, and I much marville it was untenanted. A person greedy of gains was the then possessor, and of him I did buy it at a very small rate, having looked on the ground works and mayne supports, and synding them staunch, and repays no heed wanting. I did buy of the owner, Geoffry Coombe, on a repaying lease for 99 years, he thinking it would fall down everle

everie day; but with a few markes expence did put it up in a manner neat, and therein I lyvd.

Some Account of the Prerogatives, &c. at Sarum, especially of the Episcopopus Puerorum; a very singular Institution observed in the Cathedrals of England before the Reformation, in Memory of St. Nicholas; Bishop of Myra, in Lycia, surnamed the Child Bishop, and the Patron of Young Scholars among the Roman Catholics. From Sir John Hawkins's History of the Science and Practice of Musick.

HE was to be elected from among the choristers, on the anniversary of St. Nicholas, being the sixth day of December; was invested with great authority, and had the state of a diocesan bishop, from the time of his election until Innocent's Day, as it is called, being the 28th of the same month. He was to bear the name and maintain the state of a bishop, habited with a crosier or pastoral-staff in his hand, and a mitre on his head. His fellows, the rest of the children of the choir, were to take upon them the style and office of prebendaries, and yield to the bishop canonical obedience; and, farther, the same service as the very bishop himself, with his dean and prebendaries, had they been to officiate, were to have performed; the very same, mafs excepted, was done by the chorister and his canons, upon the eve and the holiday. The use of Sarum required also, that upon the eve of Innocent's Day, the

chorister bishop, with his fellows, should go in solemn procession to the altar of the Holy Trinity, in copes, and with burning tapers in their hands; and that, during the procession, three of the boys should sing certain hymns, mentioned in the rubric. The procession was made through the great door at the west end of the church, in such order, that the dean and canons went foremost, the chaplain next; and the bishop, with his little prebendaries, last, agreeable to that rule in the ordering of all processions, which assigns the rearward station to the most honourable. In the choir was a seat or throne for the bishop; and as to the rest of the children, they were disposed on each side of the choir, upon the uppermost ascent. And so careful was the church to prevent any disorder which the rude curiosity of the multitude might occasion in the celebration of this singular ceremony, that their statutes forbid all persons whatsoever, under pain of the greater excommunication, to interrupt or press upon the children, either in the procession, or during any part of the service directed by the rubric; or any way to hinder or interrupt them in the execution or performance of what it concerned them to do. Farther it appears, that this infant bishop did, to a certain limit, receive to his own use, rents, capons, and other emoluments of the church.

In case the little bishop died within the month, his exequies were solemnized with great pomp; and he was interred, like other bishops, with all his ornaments.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Valour, Patriotism, and Friendship, exemplified in the Beliefs of Christianity. By Some Jesuits, Esq. From that Gentleman's celebrated View of the Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion.

MY third proposition is this, that from this book, called, the New Testament, may be collected a system of Ethics, in which every moral precept founded on reason is carried to a higher degree of purity and perfection, than in any other of the ancient philosophers of preceding ages; every moral precept founded on false principles is entirely omitted, and many new precepts added, peculiarly corresponding with the new object of this religion.

By moral precepts founded on reason, I mean all those, which enforce the practice of such duties as reason informs us must improve our natures, and conduce to the happiness of mankind: such are piety to God, benevolence to men, justice, charity, temperance, and sobriety, with all those, which prohibit the commission of the contrary vices, all which debase our natures, and, by mutual injuries, introduce universal disorder, and consequently universal misery. By precepts founded on false princi-

ples, I mean those which recommend fictitious virtues productive of none of these salutary effects, and therefore, however celebrated and admired, are in fact no virtues at all; such are, valour, patriotism, and friendship.

That virtues of the first kind are carried to a higher degree of purity and perfection by the christian religion than by any other, it is here unnecessary to prove, because this is a truth, which has been so frequently demonstrated by her friends, and never once denied by the most determined of her adversaries; but it will be proper to shew, that those of the latter sort are most judiciously omitted; because they have really no intrinsic merit in them, and are totally incompatible with the genius and spirit of this institution.

Valour, for instance, or active courage, is for the most part constitutional, and therefore can have no more claim to moral merit, than wit, beauty, health, strength, or any other endowment of the mind or body; and so far is it from producing any salutary effects by introducing peace, order, or happiness into society, that it is the usual perpetrator of all the violences, which from retaliated injuries distract the world with blood-

shed

shed and devastation. It is the engine by which the strong are enabled to plunder the weak, the proud to trample upon the humble, and the guilty to oppress the innocent: it is the chief instrument which ambition employs in her unjust pursuits of wealth and power, and is therefore so much extolled by her votaries; it was indeed congenial with the religion of pagans, whose gods were for the most part made out of deceased heroes, exalted to heaven as a reward for the mischiefs which they have perpetrated upon earth, and therefore with them this was the first of virtues, and had even engrossed that denomination to itself; but whatever merit it may have assumed among pagans, with christians it can pretend to none, and few or none are the occasions in which they are permitted to exert it: they are so far from being allowed to inflict evil, that they are forbid even to resist it; they are so far from being encouraged to revenge injuries, that one of their first duties is to forgive them; so far from being incited to destroy their enemies, that they are commanded to love them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. If christian nations therefore were nations of christians, all war would be impossible and unknown amongst them, and valour could be neither of use or estimation, and therefore could never have a place in the catalogue of christian virtues, being irreconcilable with all its precepts. I object not to the praise and honour bestowed on the valiant, they are the least tribute which can be paid them by those who enjoy safety and affluence by the intervention of their dangers

and sufferings; I assert only that active courage can never be a christian virtue, because a christian can have nothing to do with it. Passive courage is, indeed frequently and properly inculcated by this meek and suffering religion, under the titles of patience and resignation: a real and substantial virtue this, and a direct contrast to the former; for passive courage arises from the noblest disposition of the human mind, from a contempt of misfortunes, pain, and death, and a confidence in the protection of the Almighty; active, from the meanest: from passion, vanity, and self-dependence: passive courage is derived from a zeal for truth, and a perseverance in duty; active is the offspring of pride and revenge, and the parent of cruelty and injustice: in short, passive courage is the resolution of a philosopher, active the ferocity of a savage. Nor is this more incompatible with the precepts, than with the object of this religion, which is the attainment of the kingdom of heaven; for valour is not that sort of violence, by which that kingdom is to be taken; nor are the turbulent spirits of heroes and conquerors admissible into those regions of peace, subordination, and tranquillity.

Patriotism also, that celebrated virtue so much practised in ancient, and so much professed in modern times, that virtue, which so long preserved the liberties of Greece, and exalted Rome to the empire of the world, this celebrated virtue, I say, must also be excluded; because it not only falls short of, but directly counteracts, the extensive benevolence of this religion. A christian is of no country, he is a citizen of the

world; and his neighbours and countrymen are the inhabitants of the remotest regions, whenever their distresses demand his friendly assistance: christianity commands us to love all mankind, patriotism to oppress all other countries to advance the imaginary prosperity of our own: christianity enjoins us to imitate the universal benevolence of our Creator, who pours forth his blessings on every nation upon earth; patriotism to copy the mean partiality of an English parish officer, who thinks injustice and cruelty meritorious, whenever they promote the interests of his own inconsiderable village. This has ever been a favourite virtue with mankind, because it conceals self-interest under the mask of public spirit, not only from others, but even from themselves, and gives a licence to inflict wrongs and injuries not only with impunity, but with applause; but it is so diametrically opposite to the great characteristic of this institution, that it never could have been admitted into the list of christian virtues.

Friendship likewise, although more congenial to the principles of christianity, arising from more tender and amiable dispositions, could never gain admittance amongst her benevolent precepts for the same reason; because it is too narrow and confined, and appropriates that benevolence to a single object, which is here commanded to be extended over all: where friendships arise from similarity of sentiments, and disinterested affections, they are advantageous, agreeable, and innocent, but have little pretensions to

merit; for it is justly observed, "If ye love them which love you, what thanks have ye? for sinners also love those, that love them *." But if they are formed from alliances in parties, factions, and interests, or from a participation of vices, the usual parents of what are called friendships among mankind, they are then both mischievous and criminal, and consequently forbidden, but in their utmost purity deserve no recommendation from this religion.

Slavery absolutely inconsistent with, and even contrary to, sound Policy, Humanity, Reason, and Justice; with some Hints to those who are not to be moved by such Arguments, for the better Treatment of Slaves during their Passage from Africa to America; and on the Plantations of the latter, greatly to the Advantage of their Owners, as well as themselves. From the Abbé Raynal's Historical and Political Survey of the European Settlements in the East and West-Indies, &c.

IN America it is generally believed and asserted, that the Africans are equally incapable of reason and of virtue. The following well-authenticated fact will enable us to judge of this opinion.

An English ship that traded in Guinea in 1752, was obliged to leave the surgeon behind, whose bad state of health did not permit him to continue at sea. Murray, for that was his name, was there endeavouring to recover his health, when a Dutch vessel drew near the

coast, put the blacks in irons, whom curiosity had brought to the shore, and instantly sailed off with their booty.

Those who interested themselves for these unhappy people, incensed at so base a treachery, instantly ran to Cudjoe, (a black, at whose house Murray lodged) who stopped them at his door, and asked them what they were in search of. "The white man, who is with you," replied they, "who should be put to death, because his brethren have carried off ours." "The Europeans," answered the generous host, "who have carried off our countrymen, are barbarians; kill them whenever you can find them. But he who lodges with me is a good man, he is my friend: my house is his fortress; I am his soldier, and I will defend him. Before you can get at him, you shall pass over my body. O my friends, what just man would ever enter my doors, if I had suffered my habitation to be stained with the blood of an innocent man?" This discourse appeased the rage of the blacks: they retired ashamed of the design that had brought them there; and some days after acknowledged to Murray himself, how happy they were that they had not committed a crime, which would have occasioned them perpetual remorse.

This event renders it probable, that the first impressions which the Africans receive in the new world, determine them either to good or bad actions. Repeated experience confirms the truth of this observation: those who fall to the share of a humane master, willingly espouse his interests. They insensibly adopt the spirit and manners

of the place where they are fixed. This attachment is sometimes exalted even into heroism. A Portuguese slave who had fled into the woods, having learnt that his old master had been taken up for an assassination, came into the court of justice, and acknowledged himself guilty of the fact; let himself be put in prison in lieu of his master; brought false, though judicial, proofs of his pretended crime, and suffered death instead of the guilty person. Actions of a less heroic nature, though not uncommon, have touched the hearts of some colonists. Several would readily say as Sir William Gooch, governor of Virginia, when he was blamed for returning the salutation of a black: "I should be very sorry that a slave should be more polite than myself."

We will not here so far debase ourselves as to enlarge the ignominious list of those writers who devote their abilities to justify by policy what morality condemns. In an age where so many errors are boldly laid open, it would be unpardonable to conceal any truth that is interesting to humanity. If whatever we have hitherto advanced hath seemingly tended only to alleviate the burden of slavery, the reason is, that it was first necessary to give some comfort to those unhappy beings, whom we cannot set free; and convince their oppressors that they are cruel to the prejudice of their real interests. But, in the mean time, until some considerable revolution shall make the evidence of this great truth felt, it may not be improper to pursue this subject further. We shall then first prove, that there is no reason of state that can authorise slavery.

slavery. We shall not be afraid to cite to the tribunal of reason and justice those governments which tolerate this cruelty, or which even are not ashamed to make it the basis of their power.

Montesquieu could not prevail upon himself to treat the question concerning slavery in a serious light. In reality it is degrading reason to employ it, I will not say in defending, but even in refusing an abuse so repugnant to it. Who ever justifies so odious a system, deserves the utmost contempt from a philosopher, and from the negro a stab with his dagger.

If you touch me, said Clarissa to Lovelace, that moment I kill myself; and I would say, to him, who attempted to deprive me of my liberty, if you approach me, I will stab you. In this case, I should reason better than Clarissa; because defending my liberty, or, which is the same thing, my life, is my primary duty; to regard that of another, is only a secondary consideration; and if all other circumstances were the same, the death of a criminal is more conformable to justice than that of an innocent person.

Will it be said, that he who wants to make me a slave does me no injury, but that he only makes use of his rights? Where are those rights? Who hath stamped upon them so sacred a character as to silence mine? From nature I hold the right of self-defence; nature, therefore, has not given to another the right of attacking me. If thou thinkest thyself authorised to oppress me, because thou art stronger and more ingenious than I am; do not complain if my vigorous arm shall plunge a dagger into thy

breast; do not complain, when in thy tortured entrails thou shalt feel the pangs of death conveyed by poison into thy food: I am stronger, and more ingenious than thou; fall a victim, therefore, in thy turn; and expiate the crime of having been an oppressor.

He who supports the system of slavery, is the enemy of the whole human race. He divides it into two societies of legal assassins; the oppressors and the oppressed. It is the same thing, as proclaiming to the world, if you would preserve your life, instantly take away mine, for I want to have yours.

But the right of slavery, you say, extends only to the right of labour, and the privation of liberty, not of life. What I does not the master, who disposes of my strength at his pleasure, likewise dispose of my life, which depends on the voluntary and proper use of my faculties? What is existence to him, who has not the disposal of it? I cannot kill my slave; but I can make him bleed under the whip of an executioner; I can overwhelm him with sorrows, drudgery, and want; I can injure him every way, and secretly undermine the principles and springs of his life; I can smother, by slow punishments, the wretched infant which a negro woman carries in her womb. Thus the laws protect the slave against a violent death, only to leave to my cruelty the right of making him die by degrees.

Let us proceed a step further: the right of slavery is that of perpetrating all sorts of crimes; those crimes which invade property; for slaves are not suffered to have any even in their own persons; those crimes

crimes which destroy personal safety; for the slave may be sacrificed to the caprice of his master: those crimes which make modesty shudder.—My blood rises at these horrid images. I detest, I abhor the human species, made up only of victims and executioners, and if it is never to become better, may it be annihilated!

Further, that I may disclose without reserve my sentiments on this subject. Cartouche, the highwayman, sitting at the foot of a tree in a deep forest, calculating the profits and losses of his robberies, the rewards and pay of his associates, and adjusting with them the ideas of proportion and distributive justice; this Cartouche is not a very different character from that of the merchant, who, reclined on his counter, with his pen in his hand, settles the number of attacks which he can order to be made on the coasts of Guinea; who deliberately examines how many firelocks each negro will cost him, in order to support the war which is to furnish him with slaves; how many iron fetters to confine him aboard; how many whips to make him work; how much each drop of blood will be worth to him with which each negro will water his plantation: if the black woman will contribute more to his estate by the labours of her hands, or by those of bearing children?—What think you of this parallel? The highwayman attacks you, and takes your money; the trader carries off even your person. The one invades the rights of society; the other, those of nature. This certainly is the truth; and if there existed a religion which authorized,

which tolerated, even by its silence, such enormities; if, moreover, occupied by idle or factious questions, it did not eternally denounce vengeance against the authors or instruments of this tyranny; if it made it criminal for a slave to break his bonds; if it did not expel the unjust judge who condemns the fugitive to death; if such a religion existed, its ministers ought to be massacred under the ruins of their altars.

But these negroes, say they, are a race of men born for slavery; their dispositions are narrow, treacherous, and wicked: they themselves allow the superiority of our understandings, and almost acknowledge the justice of our authority.

The minds of the negroes are contracted; because slavery destroys all the springs of the soul. They are wicked; but not sufficiently so with you. They are treacherous, because they are under no obligation to speak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the superiority of our understandings; because we have abused their ignorance: they allow the justice of our authority; because we have abused their weakness. I might as well say, that the Indians are a species of men born to be crushed to death; because there are fanatics among them, who throw themselves under the wheels of their idol's car before the temple of Jaguernat.

But these negroes, it is further urged, were born slaves. Barbarians, will you persuade me, that a man can be the property of a sovereign, a son the property of a father, a wife the property of a husband,

husband, a domestic the property of a master, a negro the property of a planter?

But these slaves have sold themselves. Could a man ever by compact, or by an oath, permit another to use and abuse him? If he assented to this compact, or confirmed it by an oath, it was in a transport of ignorance or folly; and he is released from it, the moment that he either knows himself, or his reason returns.

But they had been taken in war. What does this signify to you? Suffer the conqueror to make what ill use he pleases of his own victory. Why do you make yourselves his accomplices?

But they were criminals condemned in their country to slavery. Who was it that condemned them? Do you not know, that in a despotic state there is no criminal but the tyrant?

The subject of an absolute prince is the same as the slave in a state repugnant to nature. Every thing that contributes to keep a man in such a state, is an attempt against his person. Every power which fixes him to the tyranny of one man, is the power of his enemies: and all those who are about him are the authors or abettors of this violence. His mother, who taught him the first lessons of obedience; his neighbour, who set him the example of it; his superiors, who compelled him into this state; and his equals, who led him into it by their opinion: all these are the ministers and instruments of tyranny. The tyrant can do nothing of himself; he is only the first mover of those efforts which all his subjects exert to their own mutual oppression. He keeps them

in a state of perpetual war, which renders robberies, thefts, assassinations lawful. Thus, like the blood which flows in his veins, all crimes originate from his heart, and return thither as to their primary source. Caligula used to say, that if the whole human race had but one head, he should have taken pleasure in cutting it off. Socrates would have said, that if all crimes were heaped upon one head, that should be the one which ought to be struck off.

Let us, therefore, endeavour to make the light of reason, and the sentiments of nature, take place of the blind ferocity of our ancestors. Let us break the bonds of so many victims to our mercenary principles, should we even be obliged to discard a commerce which is founded only on injustice, and whose object is luxury.

But even this is not necessary. There is no occasion to give up those conveniences which custom hath so much endeared to us. We may draw them from our colonies, without peopling them with slaves. These productions may be cultivated by the hands of freemen, and then be reaped without remorse.

The islands are filled with blacks, whose fetters have been broken. They successively clear the small plantations that have been given them, or which they have acquired by their industry. Such of these unhappy men, as should recover their independence, would live in quiet upon the same manual labour, that would be then free and advantageous to them. The vassals of Denmark, who have lately been made free, have not abandoned their ploughs.

Though all the nations, concerned

cerned in the African trade, are equally interested in preserving the slaves in their passage, they do not all attend to it with the same care. They all feed them with beans, mixed with a small quantity of rice; but they differ in other respects in their manner of treating them. The English, Dutch, and Danes keep the men constantly in irons, and frequently hand-cuff the women: the small number of hands they have on board their ships obliges them to this severity. The French, who have great numbers, allow them more liberty; three or four days after their departure they take off all their fetters. All these nations, especially the English, are too negligent with regard to the intercourse between the sailors with the women slaves. This irregularity occasions the death of three fourths of those whom the Guinea voyage destroys every year. None, but the Portuguese, during their passage, are secured against revolts and other calamities. This advantage is a consequence of the care they take to man their vessels only with the negroes, to whom they have given their freedom. The slaves encouraged by the conversation and condition of their countrymen, form a tolerably favourable idea of the destiny that awaits them. This quietness of their behaviour induces the Portuguese to grant the two sexes the happiness of living together: an indulgence, which, if allowed in other vessels, would be productive of the greatest inconveniences.

All the negroes, as well male as female, who come from Guinea, or are born in the islands, have the yaws once in their lives: it is a dis-

ease they must necessarily pass through; but there is no instance of any of them being attacked with it a second time, after having been radically cured. The Europeans seldom or never catch this disorder, notwithstanding the frequent and daily connection which they have with the negro women. These women suckle the children of the white people, but do not give them the yaws. How is it possible to reconcile these facts, which are incontestable, with the system which physicians seem to have adopted with regard to the nature of the yaws? Can it not be allowed, that the semen, the blood, and skin of the negroes, are susceptible of a virus peculiar to their species? The cause of this disorder, perhaps, is owing to that which occasions their colour: one difference is naturally productive of another: and there is no being or equality that exists absolutely detached from others in nature.

But whatever this disorder may be, it is evident from the most accurate and undeniable calculations, that there dies every year in America, the seventh part of the blacks that are imported thither from Guinea. Fourteen hundred thousand unhappy beings, who are now in the European colonies in the new world, are the unfortunate remains of nine million of slaves that have been conveyed thither. This dreadful destruction cannot be the effect of the climate, which is nearly the same as that of Africa, much less of the disorders, to which, in the opinion of all observers, but few fall a sacrifice. It must originate from the manner in which these slaves are governed: and might not

not an error of this nature be corrected?

The first step necessary in this reformation would be to attend minutely to the natural and moral state of man. Those who go to purchase blacks on the coasts of savage nations; those who convey them to America, and especially those who direct their labours, often think themselves obliged, from their situation, and frequently too for the sake of their own safety, to oppress those wretched men. The soul of these managers of slaves, lost to all sense of compassion, is ignorant of every motive to enforce obedience, but those of fear or severity, and these they exercise with all the harshness of a temporary authority. If the proprietors of plantations would cease to regard the care of their slaves, as an occupation below them, and consider it as an office to which it is their duty to attend, they would soon discard these errors that arise from a spirit of cruelty. The history of all mankind would shew them, that in order to render slavery useful, it is at least necessary to make it easy; that force does not prevent the rebellion of the mind; that it is the master's interest that the slave should be attached to life, and that nothing is to be expected from him the moment that he no longer fears to die.

This principle of enlightened reason, derived from the sentiments of humanity, would contribute to the reformation of several abuses. Men would acknowledge the necessity of lodging, clothing, and giving proper food to beings condemned to the most painful bondage that ever has existed since the

infamous origin of slavery. They would be sensible, that it is naturally impossible that those who reap no advantage from their own labours, can have the same understanding, the same economy, the same activity, the same strength, as the man who enjoys the produce of his industry. That political moderation would gradually take place, which consists in lessening of labour, alleviating punishment, and rendering to man part of his rights, in order to reap with greater certainty the benefit of those duties that are imposed upon him. The preservation of a great number of slaves, whom disorders, occasioned by vexation or regret, deprive the colonies of, would be the natural consequence of so wise a regulation. Far from aggravating the yoke that oppresses them, every kind of attention should be given to make it easy, and to dissipate even the idea of it, by favouring a natural taste that seems peculiar to the negroes.

Their organs are extremely sensible of the powers of music. Their ear is so true, that in their dances, the time of a song makes them spring up a hundred at once, striking the earth at the same instant. Enchanted, as it were, with the voice of a singer, or the tone of a stringed instrument, a vibration of the air is the spirit that actuates all the bodies of these men: a sound agitates, transports, and throws them into ecstasies. In their common labour, the motion of their arms, or of their feet, is always in cadence. At all their employments they sing, and seem always as if they were dancing. Music animates their courage, and routs them from their indolence. The

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marks of this extreme sensibility to harmony, are visible in all the muscles of their bodies, which are always naked. Poets and musicians by nature, they make the words subservient to the music, by a licence they arbitrarily assume of lengthening or shortening them, in order to accommodate them to an air that pleases them. Whenever any object or incident strikes a negro, he instantly makes it the subject of a song. In all ages this has been the origin of poetry. Three or four words which are alternately repeated by the singer and the general chorus, sometimes constitute the whole poem. Five or six bars of music compose the whole length of the song. A circumstance that appears singular, is, that the same air, though merely a continual repetition of the same tones, takes entire possession of them, makes them work or dance for several hours: neither they, nor even the white men, are disgusted with that tedious uniformity which these repetitions might naturally occasion. This particular attachment is owing to the warmth and expression which they introduce into their songs. Their airs are generally double time. None of them tend to inspire them with pride. Those intended to excite tenderness, promote rather a kind of languor. Even those which are most lively, carry in them a certain expression of melancholy. This is the highest entertainment to minds of great sensibility.

So strong an inclination for music might become a powerful motive of action under the direction of skilful hands. Festivals, games and rewards might on this ac-

count be established among them. These amusements, conducted with judgment, would prevent that stupidity so common among slaves, ease their labours, and preserve them from that constant melancholy which consumes them, and shortens their days. After having provided for the preservation of the blacks exported from Africa, the welfare of those who are born in the islands themselves would then be considered.

The negroes are not averse from the propagation of their species even in the chains of slavery. But it is the cruelty of their masters which hath effectually prevented them from complying with this great end of nature. Such hard labour is required from negro women, both before and after their pregnancy, that their children are either abortive, or live but a short time after delivery. Mothers, rendered desperate by the punishment which the weakness of their condition occasions them, snatch sometimes their children from the cradle, in order to strangle them in their arms, and sacrifice them with a fury mingled with a spirit of revenge and compassion, that they might not become the property of their cruel masters. This barbarity, the horror of which must be wholly imputed to the Europeans, will, perhaps, convince them of their error. Their sensibility will be roused; and engage them to pay a greater attention to their true interests. They will find that by committing such outrages against humanity, they injure themselves; and if they do not become the benefactors of their slaves, they will at least cease to be their executioners.

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They will, perhaps, resolve to set free those mothers who shall have brought up a considerable number of children to the age of six years. The allurements of liberty are the most powerful that can influence the human heart. The negro women, animated by the hope of so great a blessing, to which all would aspire and few would be able to obtain, would make neglect and infamy be succeeded by a virtuous emulation to bring up children, whose number and preservation would secure to them freedom and tranquillity.

The Rights of the Brute Creation to Tenderness from Man deduced from the twofold Consideration, amongst many others, particularly the Tenor of the sacred Writings in their Favour, of their being susceptible of Pain and Pleasure as well as Man himself, though not susceptible of a just Compensation for any Evils Man may inflict on them. From the Reverend Doctor Primatt's most excellent Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy and Sin of Cruelty to Brute-Animals.

I PRESUME there is no Man of feeling, that has any idea of Justice, but would confess upon the principles of reason and common sense, that if he were to be put to unnecessary and unmerited pain by another man, his tormentor would do him an act of injustice; and from a sense of the injustice in his own case, now that He is the sufferer, he must naturally infer, that if he were to put another man of feeling to the same unnecessary and unmerited

pain which He now suffers, the injustice in himself to the other would be exactly the same as the injustice in his tormentor to Him. Therefore the man of feeling and justice will not put another man to unmerited pain, because he will not do that to another, which he is unwilling should be done to himself. Nor will he take any advantage of his own superiority of strength, or of the accidents of fortune, to abuse them to the oppression of his inferior; because he knows that in the article of feeling all men are equal; and that the differences of strength or station are as much the gifts and appointments of GOD, as the differences of understanding, colour, or stature. Superiority of rank or station may give ability to communicate happiness, (and seems so intended;) but it can give no right to inflict unnecessary or unmerited pain. A wise man would impeach his own wisdom, and be unworthy of the blessing of a good understanding, if he were to infer from thence that he had a right to despise or make game of a fool, or put him to any degree of pain. The folly of the fool ought rather to excite his compassion, and demands the wise man's care and attention to one that cannot take care of himself.

It has pleased GOD the Father of all men to cover some men with white skins, and others with black skins: but as there is neither merit nor demerit in complexion, the white man (notwithstanding the barbarity of custom and prejudice) can have no right, by virtue of his colour, to enslave and tyrannize over a black man; nor has a fair man any right to despise

spise, abuse, and insult a *brave* man. Nor do I believe that a *tall man*, by virtue of his *stature*, has any legal right to trample a *dwarf* under his foot. For, whether a man is wise or foolish, white or black, fair or brown, tall or short, and I might add *rich* or *poor* (for it is no more a man's choice to be poor, than it is to be a fool, or a dwarf, or black, or tawney,) such he is 'by GOD's appointment; and, abstractedly considered, is neither a subject for pride, nor an object of contempt. Now, if amongst men, the differences of their powers of the mind, and of their complexion, stature, and accidents of fortune, do not give to any one man a right to abuse or insult any other man on account of these differences; for the same reason, a man can have no natural right to abuse and torment a beast merely because a beast has not the *mental* powers of a man. For such as the man is, he is but as GOD made him; and the very same is true of the beast. Neither of them can lay claim to any intrinsic *Merit*, for being such as they are; for before they were created, it was impossible that either of them could deserve; and at their creation, their shape, perfections, or defects, were invariably fixed, and their bound set which they cannot pass. And being such, neither more nor less than GOD made them, there is no more demerit in a beast's being a beast, than there is merit in a man's being a man; that is, there is neither merit nor demerit in either of them.

A *Brute* is an animal no less sensible of pain than a Man. He has similar nerves and organs of sensation; and his cries and groans, in

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case of violent impressions upon his body, though he cannot utter his complaints by speech or human voice, are as strong indications to us of his sensibility of pain, as the cries and groans of a *human* being, whose language we do not understand. Now as pain is what we are all averse to, our own sensibility of pain should teach us to commiserate it in others, to alleviate it if possible, but never wantonly or unmeritedly to inflict it. As the differences amongst men in the above particulars are no bars to their feelings, so neither does the difference of the *Shape* of a brute from that of a man exempt the brute from feeling; at least, we have no ground to suppose it. But shape or figure is as much the appointment of GOD, as complexion or stature. And if the difference of complexion or stature does not convey to one man, a right to despise and abuse another man, the difference of shape between a man and a brute, cannot give to a man any right to abuse and torment a brute. For he that made man and man to differ in complexion or stature, made man and brute to differ in shape or figure. And in this case likewise there is neither merit nor demerit; every creature, whether man or brute, bearing that shape, which the supreme Wisdom judged most expedient to answer the end for which the creature was ordained.

With regard to the Modification of the mass of matter of which an animal is formed, it is *accidental* as to the creature itself; I mean it was not in the power of will of the creature to choose, whether it should sustain the shape of a brute, or of a man: and yet,

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whether it be of one shape, or of the other; or whether it be inhabited or animated by the * soul of a brute or the * soul of a man; the substance or matter, of which the creature is composed, would be equally susceptible of feeling. It is solely owing to the good Pleasure of GOD, that we are created Men; or animals in the *shape* of men. For, He that † *formed Man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life* that he might *become a living soul* and endued with a sense of feeling, could, if he had so pleased, by the same plastic power, have cast the very same *dust* into the mould of a *Beast*; which, being animated by the life-giving breath of its Maker, would have become ‡ a *living soul* in that form; and, in that form would have been as susceptible of pain, as in the form of a *Man*. And if, in *brutal* shape, We had been endued with the same degree of reason and reflection which we now enjoy; and other Beings, in *human* shape, should take upon them to torment, abuse, and barbarously ill treat us, because we were not made in their shape; the injustice and cruelty of their behaviour to Us would be self evident: and we should naturally infer, that, whether we walk upon two legs or four; whether our heads are prone or erect; whether we are naked or covered with hair; whether we have tails or no tails, horns or no horns, long ears or round ears; or, whether we bray like an ass, speak like a man, whistle like a bird, or are

mute as a fish; Nature never intended these distinctions as foundations for right of tyranny and oppression. But perhaps it will be said, it is absurd to make such an inference from a mere supposition that a man *might* have been a brute, and a brute *might* have been a man; for, the supposition itself is chimerical, and has no foundation in nature; and all arguments should be drawn from fact, and not from fancy of what might be or might not be. To this I reply in few words, and in general; that all cases and arguments, deduced from the important and benevolent precept of *Doing to others as we would be done unto*, necessarily require such kind of *suppositions*; that is, they suppose the case to be *otherwise* than it really is. For instance; a *Rich man* is not a *Poor man*; yet, the duty plainly arising from the Precept is this—The man who is now *rich*, ought to behave to the man who is now *poor*, in such a manner as the *Rich man* *If he were poor* would be willing that the *Poor man* *If he were rich* should behave towards him. Here is a case which in fact does not exist between these two men, for the rich man is not a poor man, nor is the poor man a rich man; yet the supposition is necessary to enforce and illustrate the precept, and the reasonableness of it is allowed. And if the supposition is reasonable, in one case; it is reasonable, at least not contrary to reason, in all cases to which this general precept can extend; and in which the duty enjoined by

* It is of no consequence as to the case now before us, whether the *SOUL* is, as some think, only a *Power*, which cannot exist without the *Body*; or, as is generally supposed, a *spiritual Substance*, that can exist, distinct and separate from the body. † Gen. ii. 7. ‡ Gen. i. 30. in the margin.

it can and ought to be performed. Therefore though it be true that *a man is not a horse*; yet, as a horse is a subject within the extent of the precept, that is, he is capable of receiving benefit by it, the duty enjoined in it extends to the man, and amounts to this,—Do You that *are a Man* SO treat your horse, *AS* you would be willing to be treated by your master, *in case* that You *were a Horse*. I see no absurdity nor false reasoning in this precept, nor any ill consequence that would arise from it, however it may be gain said by the barbarity of custom.

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In the case of *human* cruelty *, the oppressed man has a tongue that can plead his own cause, and a finger to point out the aggressor; All Men that hear of it shudder with horror; and, by applying the case to themselves, pronounce it *cruelty* with the common Voice of Humanity, and unanimously join in demanding the punishment of the offender, and brand him with infamy. But in the case of *brutal* cruelty, the *dumb* Beast can neither utter his complaints to his own kind, nor describe the author of his wrong; nor, if he could, have they it in their power to redress and avenge him.

In the case of *human* cruelty, there are Courts and Laws of Justice in every civilized Society, to which the injured Man may make his Appeal; the affair is canvassed, and punishment inflicted in proportion to the offence. But alas! with shame to man, and sorrow for brute, I ask the question, What Laws are now in force? or

what Court of Judicature does now exist, in which the suffering Brute may bring his action against the wanton cruelty of barbarous man? The laws of Triptolemus are long since buried in oblivion, for Triptolemus was but a heathen. No friend, no advocate, not one is to be found amongst the *† bulls nor calves* of the people to prefer an indictment on behalf of the brute. The Priest passeth by on one side, and the Levite on the other side; the Samaritan stands still, sheds a tear, but can no more; for there is none to help; and the poor wretched and unbefriended creature is left to mourn in unregarded sorrow, and to sink under the weight of his burden.

But suppose the Law promulged, and the Court erected. The Judge is seated, the Jury sworn, the indictment read, the cause debated, and a verdict found for the plaintiff. Yet what cost or damage? What recompence for loss sustained? In actions of humanity, with or without law, Satisfaction may be made. In various ways you can make amends to a *Man* for the injuries you have done him. You know his wants, and you may relieve him. You may give him cloaths, or food, or money. You may raise him to a higher station, and make him happier than before you afflicted him. You may be feet to the lame, and eyes to the blind. You may entertain him, keep him company, or supply him with every comfort, convenience, and amusement of life, which he is capable of enjoying. And thus may you make some atonement for the injury

* This term the author uses to express the cruelty of Men unto Men; and that of *brutal* cruelty, to express the cruelty of Men unto Beasts.

† Psal'm lxxviii. 30.

which you have done unto a Man; and by thy assiduity and future tenderness, thou mayest perhaps obtain *his* pardon, and palliate *thine* own offence. But what is all this to the injured *Brute*? If by thy passion or malice, or sportive cruelty, thou hast broken his Limbs, or deprived him of his eye-sight, how wilt thou make *him* amends? Thou canst do nothing to amuse him. He wants not thy money nor thy cloaths. Thy conversation can do him no good. Thou hast obstructed his means of getting subsistence; and thou wilt hardly take upon thyself the pains and trouble of procuring it for him, (which yet by the rule of justice thou art bound to do.) Thou hast marred his little temporary happiness, which was his All to him. Thou hast maimed, or blinded him for ever: and hast done him an *irreparable* injury.

Thoughts on Education, particularly that of Boys, by Father Ganganelli; and lastly Clement XIV. the late Pope; in a Letter to a Gentleman of Tuscany. From interesting Letters of Pope Clement XIV. &c. lately published. See Memoirs of this Pope, in our last Volume, Part II. p. 5.

THE education you propose giving your children will be only a varnish, if it is not founded upon Religion. There are some occasions in the course of life, where probity is not sufficiently strong to resist certain temptations, and where the soul is debased, if it is not elevated by the firm belief of Immortality.

It is necessary, for the wisdom and happiness of man, that he should have a view of the Deity from his tenderest infancy, as the principle and the end of all things; and Reason and Faith should tell him, that it is descending to the rank of beasts to be without either worship or law: he should be made to know that Truth being one, there can be only one Religion; and if our belief was not determined by authority, every one would have his own system, and his own opinion.

It is not by an attention to trifling ceremonies that you will make your children true Christians. Christianity is the greatest enemy to Pharisaical zeal and superstition. The Church prescribes duties enough without our endeavouring to multiply them. We too frequently neglect what is precept, to follow what is only advice, because we love rather to hearken to caprice than to reason; and because pride and singularity perfectly agree.

You should take a great deal of pains to elevate the souls of your three young people, and to convince them, that the greatest pleasure of man is to reflect, and to be conscious of his existence. This is a pleasure so sublime, and so worthy of a heavenly spirit, that I look upon him who knows not this happiness, as a wretched, or, at least, an insensible being.

The Catechism is sufficient to teach revealed Truths; but in an age of infidelity, something more is wanted than the Alphabet of Religion: You should therefore fill your children's minds with those pure lights which dissipate the clouds of modern philosophy, and the darkness of corruption.

A few

A few but solid books will make your Children well-informed Christians. Let them be read less with an intention to fix them in the memory, than to grave them on the heart. It is not necessary to form young people to defend a thesis, but to be obliged, as rational creatures, to convince themselves of eternal truths.

When youth have studied Religion from its first principles, they seldom suffer themselves to be reduced by sophistry and impiety, unless the heart be entirely corrupted.

You should watch carefully to preserve them spotless, not by employing informers and spies, but by having your ears and your eyes every where to imitate the Deity whom we do not see, but who seeth over all.

Children should not perceive that they are distrusted and observed, for that will discourage them, and make them murmur; they will conceive aversion against those they ought to love; suspect an evil which they would not have thought of, and seek only to deceive:—Hence it is that all Scholars act only from fear, and are never more pleased than when at a distance from their superiors.

Be less the master than the friend of your children; and then they will be transparent to your eyes, and even tell their faults themselves. Young folks have a hundred times told me their griefs and their errors, because I always treat them with mildness:—they will give you the key of their hearts, when they find that you sincerely wish them well, and that it is a pain to you to reprove them.

There are many reasons which induce me to advise a domestic education, and there are still more which hinder me from persuading you to it. Domestic education is commonly the best calculated to secure their morals; but it presents such a sameness, it is so lukewarm and languid, that it discourages all emulation: besides, as they are watched too narrowly, they more frequently become hypocrites than good pupils.

Nevertheless, if you can find a Preceptor gentle, patient, sociable, and learned, who can unite condescension with steadiness, wisdom with gaiety, temperance with amiableness, I should desire you to make the trial; being persuaded that you will do nothing but in concert with him, and that you will not seek to controul him. There are too many fathers who look upon a Preceptor as a mercenary, and illiberally think they are his masters; because he receives their wages.

Trust your sons only to a man upon whom you can depend as upon yourself; but after you have found such a man do not hesitate to leave them entirely at his disposal. Nothing disgusts a Tutor so much, as distrust and a diffidence of his capacity. Take care what servants you admit about your children; it is generally through them that youth are corrupted.

Manage so as to have an amiable serenity constantly shining on your face and in your eyes, and that every thing be done as you would have it, without restraint or fear. Nobody loves a storm; but all the world rejoices in fine weather.

Attach pleasures to every kind of study which you propose for your sons, by exciting a keen desire of knowledge, and an ardent impatience of ignorance.

Take care that they have relaxation from their studies, that their memories and judgments may not grow tired. When disgust is joined with study, they conceive an aversion to books, and sigh after idleness and supineness.

Instruct them by making them love your documents, not by the fear of punishments; and for this purpose take care to enliven them by some little histories or fables, which may awaken attention. I knew a young man at Milan who became such a lover of study, that he looked upon holidays as necessary for relaxation, but considered them as days of sorrow; his books were his pleasure and his treasure. It was a good Priest who, by cheerfulness and the resources of his imagination, had inspired him with a love for works of taste and learning. He would have been one of the most learned men in Europe, if death had not stopped him in his career.

Adapt their studies to their times of life, and do not think of making them Metaphysicians at twelve years old: That is not educating young people, but teaching words to parrots.

Learning is like food. The stomach of a child requires light nourishment; and it is only by degrees that he is accustomed to more solid or substantial diet.

Never fail to let an amusing succeed a serious book, and to intermix poetry with prose. Virgil is not less eloquent than Cicero: his descriptions, images, and ex-

pressions, give fancy and elocution to those who possess it not naturally. Poetry is the perfection of language; and if people do not apply to it while they are young, they never acquire a taste for it. It is impossible, after a certain age, to read verse long without having a real taste for poetry.

Nevertheless, moderate the study of the Poets; for, besides that they very often take liberties contrary to good morals, it is dangerous to grow too fond of them. A young man who only speaks and raves of verse, is insupportable in company; he is both a fool and a madman. I except those whose genius is only proper for essays or exercises of this kind; and then they are recompensed for this enthusiasm, by the honour of becoming like Danté, Ariosto, Tasso, Metastasio, Milton, Corneille, or Racine.

Let the history of the world, nations and countries, be made familiar to your children, without becoming a dry study; it should be accompanied with short and accurate reflections, to teach them how to consider events with judgment, and to acknowledge an Universal Agent, of whom all mankind are but the instruments, and all revolutions the combined and fore-known effects of his eternal decrees.

History is only inanimate reading, if they attend only to the dates and facts; but it is a book full of life, if they observe the playing of the passions, the springs of the soul, the movements of the heart, and especially if they discover a God, who, always master of events, produces, directs, and determines them, according to his good

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good pleasure, and for the accomplishment of his sublime purposes.

Our carnal eyes see in this world only a veil, which covers the actions of our Creator; but the eyes of Faith shew us, that, whatsoever happens is from one cause, and that this cause is truly God.

Take care that a good Rhetorician gives a taste of true eloquence to your sons, rather by example than by precept. Make them comprehend, that what is really beautiful does not depend upon either modes or times; and that if there are different ways of expressing things according to different ages, there is only one of conceiving them properly.

Guard them against that childish eloquence, which, playing on words, is disgusting to true taste; and persuade them that no gigantic ideas or expressions ever enter into an elegant discourse. Altho' we ought never to be satiated of true eloquence, man is so fantastical as to be glutted with it; and it is owing to this, that we see a singular and trifling diction preferred to the commanding language of the Orators of the last age.

There are men, and periods of time, which have established the standard of taste in every thing; and it is on their productions that the eyes of your children should be constantly fixed, as the best models; not, however, with slavish strictness, for they should not be servile imitators of any person.

I love that the fancy should take wing, and act from itself, instead of being a copy for want of invention. We have men of fine parts; and we should have men of genius,

if they did not too mechanically follow the beaten road. He knows little, who knows only one path. The spirit of invention is inexhaustible when we dare make the attempt. I often tell my pupils, "Be yourselves;—think in your own way." It is a melancholy thing to employ young people, for whole years, in learning nothing but the art of repeating.

When your children have attained the age of maturity, then is the time to speak to them, as a friend, of the nothingness of the pleasures in which the world places its happiness; of the misfortunes in which they engage us; the remorse they excite; the injury they do both to body and soul; the abyss they dig under our steps, while they appear only to scatter flowers.

It will be no difficult matter for you to point out to them the dangerous rocks of sensuality, either by vigorous expressions, or striking examples; and to persuade them that, without idleness, the greater part of the pleasures to which people addict themselves so immoderately would have no attractions. In idleness, as in sleep, they form to themselves the most brilliant ideas, and represent a thousand agreeable chimeras which have no existence.

When a son is persuaded that a father talks only reason to him, and solely from tenderness, he hearkens to him, and his advice produces the best effects.

Lastly, after having erected this edifice, there still remains what I look upon as the most difficult of all;—I mean, the choice of a profession. This is commonly the touchstone of fathers and mothers,

and the most critical point for children.

If you will be persuaded by me, you will give them a year to themselves to reflect upon the kind of life that suits them, before you speak to them of one profession in preference to another. The good education they will have received, the knowledge they will have acquired, will naturally lead them to a happy issue; and there will be good reason to hope they will then decide for themselves, according to their inclinations, and according to reason.

It will then be necessary to speak frequently to them of the advantages and disadvantages of the different conditions of life, and to let them know how much their temporal and eternal interest is concerned in the faithful discharge of their duty. The sacerdotal and monkish professions furnish ample matter upon the inestimable happiness they must taste who are truly called to them; and the terrible calamities which they must experience, who have the rashness to embrace them without any but worldly views. The rank of an Officer or a Magistrate presents a multitude of duties to discharge; and it is sufficient to lay these duties before them, to convince them of their importance.

After these precautions, and after having often implored the assistance of Heaven, your sons will enter resolutely upon the plan of life they have chosen; and you will have the consolation of being able to say before God and man, That you have paid a proper regard to their inclinations and their liberty. Nothing is so fatal as for fathers to thwart the

inclinations of their children; they expose them to perpetual repinings, and themselves to the most bitter reproaches, and even imprecations, which they have unfortunately deserved.

Since Providence has given you wealth, and you were born in a distinguished rank, you should support your sons according to their fortune and condition; letting them, however, always feel some wants, and keeping them always within the bounds of moderation, to teach them that this life is not our state of happiness, and that the higher they are raised, the less ought they to become proud. Take care to give them money, that they may learn from yourself not to become misers, and that they may have it in their power to assist the unfortunate. It will be proper to observe, with your own eyes, the use they make of it; and if you find them addicted either to avarice or prodigality, you should lessen their allowance.

Lastly, my dear and respectable friend, attend more to the hearts than the understandings of your sons: if the heart is good, all will go well.

Circumstances must teach you how to govern them; you should appear sometimes indulgent, at other times severe, but always just and candid. Those young people who will not be wise, are distressed when they are reproved with a spirit of equity, because they find, against their inclinations, that they cannot reply.

Leave them a liberal freedom, so that their father's house may not be their last choice; it is necessary that they should be happier there than elsewhere, and find those

those pleasures which may reasonably be expected from a parent, who, though a friend to order, is indulgent from affection.

My pen hurries me on in spite of me:—as if it had sentiment, and relished the pleasure which I taste in speaking to you of your dear children, whom I love better than myself, and a little less than you. May God heap his blessings upon them, and they will be what they ought to be!—The education which you will give them must blossom to eternity. There it is that Parents reap the fruit of the good advice they have given to their children, and that worthy Fathers find themselves, with their worthy Sons, to be for ever happy.

Rome, 16th Aug. 1753.

Translation of a Letter from Monsieur de Voltaire, concerning the Collection of Letters, from which the preceding Article is taken.

2d May, 1776.

I HAVE been so tired, my dear friend, with my ingenious and gallant letters which I have never written, and so many other trumperies imputed to me, that you must forgive me if I take the part of every cardinal or pope who are played the same trick.

I have long been provoked at that political testament, so fraudulently produced under the name of Cardinal Richlieu. Can one conceive political councils of a prime minister, who never speaks to his king of the queen, who was in so equivocal a situation; of his bro-

ther, who had so often conspired against him; or of the dauphin, his son, whose education was so important; or of his enemies, against whom he had so many measures to take; or of the protestants of the kingdom, against whom the same prince had so often made war; or of his armies, his negotiations, or any of his generals or ambassadors? It would be madness and folly to believe this rhapsody written by a minister of state. Every page detects the most ill-concerted forgery; yet the name of Cardinal Richlieu imposed on the world for some time, and some men of genius held up as oracles the enormous errors with which the book swarms. Thus would every error be perpetuated from one end of the world to another, if it were not for some good soul, who had the courage to stop it in its way. We have since had the testaments of the Duke of Lorraine, of Colbert, of Louvois, Alberoni, Marshal Belleisle, and Mandrin. Among so many heroes I dare not rank myself; but you know that lawyer Marchand has made my will, in which he had the discretion not to insert a legacy for himself.

You have seen the letters of Queen Christiana, of Niwon, of the Marchioness Pompadour, of Mademoiselle Tron to her lover, the Rev. Father la Chaize, confessor of Louis XIV. We have now the letters of Pope Ganganelli; they are in French, though he never wrote in that language. He must certainly have had the gift of tongues in the course of his life incognito. These letters are entirely in the French taste. The expressions, the terms, the thoughts, the

the fashionable phrase, the whole is French. They have been printed in France. The editor is a Frenchman, born near Tours, who has taken a name in J. and has already published several French works under borrowed names.

If this editor had translated the real letters of Pope Clement XIV. into French, he would have deposited the originals in some public library. The public has a right to say to him, as was formerly said to the Abbé Nodot, "Shew me your manuscript of Petronius at Bellegarde, or consent not to be believed. It is as false that you have in your hands the true satire of Petronius, as it is that this ancient satire was the work of a consul, and a picture of Nero's life. Cease to think of deceiving the learned; it is only the vulgar that are deceived."

When the comedy of the Scotchwoman was published under the name of William Vadé and Jerome Carré, the public immediately saw the humour of it, and did not require formal proofs. But when one makes use of the name of a Pope, whose ashes are yet warm, we should put ourselves out of the reach of suspicion; one should shew to the whole sacred college the letters signed Ganganelli; one should deposit them in the Vatican library, with the attestations of all who know the hand. Without this, one would be branded all over Europe as a man who dared to take the name of a Pope to sell a book. *Reus est quia filium Dei se fecit.*

For myself, I confess, that were these false letters to be shewn to me with all those attestations, I

should no more believe them to be the work of Ganganelli, than I should believe the letters of Pilate written to Tiberius to be really written by Pilate.

You ask, why I am so incredulous about these letters. Because I have read them, and can discover the forgery in every page. I have been sufficiently acquainted with the Venetian Algarotti to know that he never had the least correspondence with the Cordelier Ganganelli, nor with the Consul Ganganelli, nor with the Cardinal Ganganelli, nor with the Pope Ganganelli. The little pieces of advice which are given in a friendly way to this Algarotti and me, were never given by this good Monk after he became a good Pope.

It is impossible that Ganganelli should have written to Mr. Stewart, the Scotchman, "My dear Sir, I am sincerely attached to the English nation. I have a fixed esteem for your great poets." What say you to an Italian confessing to a Scotchman, that he "has a fixed esteem for the English poets," when he does not understand a word of English?

The editor goes farther: he makes his learned Ganganelli say, "I make sometimes nocturnal visits to Newton: when all Nature is asleep, I sit up to read and admire him. No person like him unites science and simplicity. This is the characteristic of a genius which knows neither pomp nor ostentation."

You see how the editor puts himself in the place of his Pope, and what a strange place he gives to Newton. He pretends to have read

read him, and he talks of him like a learned Benedictine, deep versed in history, and yet modest. A pleasant eulogium this of the greatest mathematician that ever was, and of the man who diffused light.

In the same letter he takes Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, for one of those who wrote against the Christian religion; he ranks him with Spinoza and Bayle. He knows not that Berkeley was one of the profoundest defenders of Christianity. He knows not that Spinoza never mentioned it, and that Bayle wrote no work expressly on so respectable a subject.

The editor, in a letter to an Abbé Lami, makes Ganganelli, whose name he assumes, say, "that the soul is the greatest wonder in the universe, as Dante says." A Pope, or a Cordelier, might cite Dante by wholesale, to appear a man of letters; but there is not a line of this strange poet Dante that says what he is here made to say.

In another letter to a Venetian lady, Ganganelli amuses himself in confuting Locke; that is, the editor, superior to Locke, delights in censuring him under the name of the Pope.

In a letter to the Cardinal Quirini, the editor expresses himself thus:—"Your Eminence, who is fond of the French, will certainly forgive their civilities, though beneath your dignity. There is no harm, except in all ages taken collectively. There may be sparks, flames, lilies, rains, dews, rivers, and streams. This is a perfect representation of Nature; and the better to judge of the universe and the

"weather, we must unite the different points of view, and form but one." Can you really persuade yourself that the Pope wrote this nonsense in French against the French?

Is it not pleasant, in Letter CXI. to hear Ganganelli, just made a Cardinal, say, "we are not made Cardinals to impose on the world by our state, but to be pillars of the holy see. Every thing, even our red habit, reminds us, that we are to endeavour, even to the shedding of our blood, to aid religion. When I see Cardinal Tournon fly to the uttermost part of the earth, to preach the truth unadulterated, the noble example animates me, and I am ready to undertake every thing."

Would not one by this passage think that a Cardinal Tournon quitted the pleasures of Rome in 1741, to go and preach to the Emperor of China, and to be martyred. The fact is, that a Savoyard priest, named Maillard, brought up at Rome in the college de Propaganda, was sent to China in 1706, by Pope Clement XI. to give an account to the Congregation de Propaganda of the dispute between the Jacobites and Jesuits about two words of the Chinese language. Maillard took the name of Tournon. He had soon letters of Vicar Apostolic in China. From the time of this appointment he fancied he understood Chinese better than the Emperor Camhi. He wrote word to Pope Clement XI. that the Emperor and Jesuits were heretics. The emperor contented himself, with putting him in prison at Macao. It was said that the Jesuits poisoned him. But before the

the poison took effect, he had, as he pretended, the credit to obtain a hat from the Pope. The Chinese know not what a hat is. Maillard died as soon as his hat arrived. This is the exact history of this ridiculous affair. The editor supposes that Ganganelli was so ignorant as to know nothing of the matter.

In short, the person who borrows the name of Pope Ganganelli, carries his zeal so far as to say, in his LVIIIth letter, to a Bailli of the republic of St. Marino, "I shall not send you the book you ask for. It is an unfinished production, ill translated from the French, and abounds with errors against morality and religion. It talks of nothing but humanity, which is the present fashionable phrase artfully substituted to charity, because humanity is a mere heathen virtue. Modern philosophy despises every thing that favours of Christianity."

You will observe, that, though our Pope is afraid of the word humanity, the Most Christian King boldly uses it in his edict of April 12, 1776. whereby he distributes gratis, remedies to all the sick in his kingdom. The edict begins thus: "His Majesty, desirous for the future, for the want of humanity," &c.

The editor may be inhuman on paper as long as he pleases, but he must give our kings and ministers leave to be humane. It is clear that he is strangely mistaken; and this is the case with all those gentlemen that thus deal out their productions under respectable names. On this rock have split all the testament-makers. This in

particular betrayed Boisguilbert, who presumed to print his *Dixieme Royal*, under the name of Marshal Vauban. Such were the authors of the *Memoirs of Vordac*, *Montbrun*, *Pontis*, and so many others.

I think the false Ganganelli is by this time stripped of his mask. If he set up for Pope, I have deposed him. If he chuses to excommunicate me, he is heartily welcome.

On the Connexion between Music, Prophecy, and Poetry, particularly under the Jewish Dispensation; by Charles Burney, Esq. Mus. D. F. R. S. in his General History of Music, from the earliest Ages to the present Period.

IT appears from many passages in Scripture, that music was as nearly allied to prophecy as to poetry.

When Samuel, after secretly anointing Saul king, instructs the new monarch in the measures he is to pursue for establishing himself on the throne, he says, "and it shall come to pass, when thou art come to the city (Beth-el), that thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place, with a psaltery and tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them, and they shall prophesy. And the Spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them."

Who is ignorant, says Quintilian, that music in ancient times was so much cultivated, and held in such veneration that musicians were called by the names of *prophets* and *sages*?

Enter,

Vates, in Latin, is a common term for *prophet*, *poet*, and *musician*. The oracles of the ancients were delivered in song; and the Pythian priests, who composed into hexameter verse the loose and disjointed expressions of the agonizing Pythia, were styled *prophets*, *ἰεροφάνταις*. These, according to Plutarch, were seated round the sanctuary, in order to receive the words of the Pythia, and inclose them immediately into a certain number of verses, as liquors are inclosed in bottles.

Olen, one of the first priests of Apollo, was at once poet and prophet; and Phemonoe, the first priestess at Delphos, is related to have delivered her oracles in verse by inspiration only, without study or assistance.

The *improvvisatori** of Italy are still accompanied by an instrument, like the prophets of old; and Italian poets, who write down verses, sing at the time of composing them.

The examples in Scripture of this union of music and prophecy are numerous. "Moreover, David, and the captains of the host, separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals.—Of the sons of Asaph, four, who prophesied according to the order of the king:—of Jeduthun, six, who prophesied with a harp, to give thanks, and to praise the Lord. And

" of the sons of Heman, the king's seer in the words of God, fourteen, to lift up the horn."

But the most striking example of the custom practised by the prophets, of tranquilizing their minds, and exciting in themselves divine inspiration, by means of music, is in the second book of Kings.

The three sovereigns of Israel, Judah, and Edom, marching with their armies through a wilderness, were all upon the point of being destroyed by thirst, as there was no water to be found in their passage, either for man or beast.

" And the king of Israel said, " Alas! that the Lord hath called these three kings together, to deliver them into the hand of Moab. But Jehothaphat said, " is there not here a prophet of the Lord, that we may enquire of the Lord by him? And one of the king of Israel's servants answered and said, Here is Elisha, the son of Shaphat. So the king of Israel and Jehothaphat, and the king of Edom, went down to him.—And Elisha said, Bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him, and he said. Thus saith the Lord, make this valley full of ditches, " &c."

Prophet, in some parts of the Scripture, seems to imply little more than a mere poet, or psalmodist, who sung extempore verses to the sound of an instrument, as the *improvvisatori* of Italy and

* Persons endued with the gift of repeating or singing verses, extempore or off hand, upon any given subject. They are said to be pretty common in Italy among the learned; and, what is still more surprising, they are not altogether uncommon among the most illiterate in Spain, with regard to matters of common occurrences, as appears from Mr. Barrett's Account of his Journey through that kingdom,

Spain do at present. Sometimes, indeed, such inspiration was not likely to be of great service to the person upon whom it was conferred, nor on his hearers; for we are told, 1 Sam. chap. xviii. and 10. "that the *evil spirit* from God came upon Saul, and he prophesied in the midst of the "house."

It is supposed by many of the fathers and commentators, that the ancient Hebrews had a college, or school, of prophets, which must likewise have been a school of music; as the passages already cited from the sacred writings fully prove, that the prophets either accompanied themselves, or were accompanied by others, with musical instruments, in the exercise of their functions.

David, by having cultivated music so early, seems to have been intended by his family for the profession of a prophet. St. Ambrose says, that he had always the gift of prophecy, and was chosen by God himself, in preference to all other prophets, to compose psalms.

And, according to Eusebius, David carried his harp, or, as this prelate calls it, his lyre, with him, wherever he went; to console him in his affliction, and to sing to it the praises of God. And in his preface to the Psalms, he asserts that this prince, as head of the prophets, was generally in the tabernacle, with his lyre, amidst the other prophets and singers, and that each of them prophesied, and sung his canticle, as inspiration came on.

The Chaldean paraphrase understands by prophesying, "adoring God, and singing praises unto him."

The great sanhedrim, says the bishop of Gloucester, seems to have been established after the failure of prophecies. And concerning the members of this body, the rabbins tell us, there was a tradition, that they were bound to be skilled in all sciences.

Translation of a Letter from Monsieur de Voltaire to Monsieur d'Argenteuil, concerning Shakespeare's Works, and the Translation of them into French, undertaken by Monsieur le Comte de Chatuelan, Monsieur le Tourneur, and Monsieur Fontaine Malherbe.

Ferney, July 19, 1776.

My dear Friend,

I Hear that Monf. de St. Julian is just arrived in my desert with Le Kain. If this news be true, I am quite surpris'd, and quite overjoyed.—But I must also tell you, how angry I am for the honour of the gang against one Tourneur, who is said to be secretary to a set of book-makers, but who does not appear to be a secretary of taste. Pray have you read two miserable volumes, in which he would have us look upon Shakespeare as the only perfect model of tragedy? He calls him the god of the theatre; he sacrifices all the French dramatists without exception to his idol, as they formerly used to sacrifice hogs to Ceres.—He does not deign to name Corneille, or Racine:—these two great men are only enveloped in the general proscription, without their names being pronounced.—There are already two volumes printed of this Shakespeare, which one would

take

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take to be pieces composed for Bartholomew-fair two hundred years ago.—This rascal has found means to engage the king, the queen, and all the royal family, to subscribe to his work.

Pray, have you read his abominable conjuring-book, of which there are to be five volumes more? Do you feel sufficient hatred against this imprudent blockhead? Can you bear the affront which he throws on the whole French nation? You and Monsieur de Thoubeville are too milky. There are not in all France enough of foolscaps, enough of pillories for such a knave! The blood boils in my veins when I speak of him; if he has not put you into a passion, I hold you to be incapable of feeling. The worst of it is, that the monster has a party in France; and what is peculiarly unfortunate, 'twas I that formerly first talked of this Shakespeare;—'twas I that shewed the French some pearls which I found on his enormous dunghill*.—I little thought that I should help to tread under foot the crowns of Racine and Corneille, to adorn the head of a buffoon and barbarian.

I beg you would endeavour to be as much in a passion as I am, otherwise I feel myself capable of committing some desperate deed. As to my friend Monf. Gilbert, I

with he may go full gallop to the pillory.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Translation of a Letter † on the same Subject with that of the foregoing, and written by the same Gentleman to the French Academy, where it was read at their last Public Meeting on the Festival of St. Louis, August the 23d, 1776; with suitable Remarks upon it, by one of the Gentlemen who write the London Review. From the London Review.

WE have here so remarkable an instance of the vanity, petulance, and invidious disposition, of this celebrated writer, that we should gladly pass it over, in respect to his real merit and acknowledged excellence, did we not think it a piece of justice due to the memory of our favourite Shakespeare, to expose the folly and malignity (if we may give them so harsh a name) of this caustic effusion of our author's spleen. To do this also we need do little more than give a literal translation of the letter itself.

"Gentlemen,

"CARDINAL Richlieu, the great Corneille, and Scuderi, who presumed to imagine himself his rival, submitted the *Cid*, taken

* The celebrated Mrs. Montague (who happened to be in company at Paris, where the above letter was read) as soon as she heard the coarse expression, *enorme fumier*, could not help adding, "c'est un fumier, qui a fertilisé une terre bien ingrate!" 'Tis a dunghill that has fertilized a most ungrateful soil.

† So excessively nice were the French Academicians, on the public reading of this letter, that several quotations from Shakespeare were suppressed, as being too indelicate to bear recital in so solemn an assembly.——The editor of this work has taken the liberty of copying the example of the French academicians, with regard to two or three passages.

from

from the Spanish drama, to your judgment. In like manner we have now recourse to the same impartial decision, on account of certain foreign tragedies, dedicated to the king, our protector: we appeal to his judgment and to yours. Part of the English nation have lately erected a temple to their famous poetical comedian, Shakespeare, and instituted a jubilee to his honour. Some Frenchmen have affected the same enthusiasm. They have imported an idol of the divinity of Shakespeare, just as some imitators have done the Vauxhall, opened some time since at Paris; or as others have signalized themselves by calling the loin of meat *roast-beef*; piquing themselves on having their tables served with *roast-beef* mutton. They make their morning visits in *frocks*, forgetting that the word *frac* is derived from the French, as, indeed, are almost all the words in the English language. The court of Louis XIV. formerly polished that of Charles II. At present London is to polish our barbarism.

"In short, gentlemen, there is published a translation of Shakespeare, and we are told that he was the *creative deity of the sublime art of dramatic writing; which received at his hands existence and perfection**.

"The translator adds, that Shakespeare is really unknown in France, or rather disfigured. Things are, then, much changed in France

from what they were about fifty years ago; when a man of letters, who has the honour to be one of your brethren, was the first among you who learnt the English language; the first who made Shakespeare known to you; who made a liberal translation of some passages from him in verse, as all poets should be translated; who made known to you Pope, Dryden, and Milton; the very first who ventured to explain the mathematical elements of the great Newton, and who presumed to do justice to the profound sagacity of Locke, the only reasonable metaphysician who had, perhaps, till then, appeared on the face of the earth †.

"There are not only some passages of his in verse, in imitation of Milton; but he engaged Mr. Dupré de St. Maur to learn English, and to translate Milton, at least into prose.

"Some of you know what was the reward of all the pains he thus took to enrich our literature with the treasures of the English; with what cruelty he was persecuted for having proposed to his countrymen the increasing of their knowledge, by that of a nation which they then only knew by having heard of the name of the Duke of Marlborough‡; and whose religion was in some particulars different from our own. The proposed enterprise was looked upon to be as criminal as high-treason, as absolute impiety. This outra-

* The translator's words are, "*le Dieu créateur de l'art sublime, du théâtre, qui recut de ses mains l'existence & la perfection.*"

† They, who know how M. de Voltaire hath illustrated these authors, need not be told how false and contemptible is this boast.

‡ Is this a compliment to the French nation or our own? or, Does not this modest writer rather compliment himself at the expence of both nations?

geous behaviour continued; till at length the object of so much rancour and abuse took no other consolation than to laugh at it.

"In spite, however, of this hatred to English philosophy and literature, they insensibly gained credit in France. Every book printed in London was presently translated; and thus from one extreme, men ran precipitately into the other. Nothing was relished that did not come, or that was not supposed to come, from England. The booksellers, who are dealers in fashions, sold English romances as the milliners do ribbons and pins, under the name of English.

"The same person who had been the cause of such a revolution among the wits, was obliged, in the year 1760, for well-known reasons, to write comments on the tragedies of the great Corneille, and assiduously consulted you upon that work. To the celebrated piece of *Cinna*, he annexed a translation of Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*; to serve for a comparison between the manner in which the English genius had treated the conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius against Cæsar, and that different one, in which Corneille has treated the conspiracy of Cinna and Emilius against Augustus.

"Never was there a more faithful translation". The English original is sometimes in verse and sometimes in prose; sometimes in blank verse, and sometimes in rhyme; sometimes the language is incredibly sublime, as when Cæsar

talks of his resemblance to the pole-star and to Olympus. In another passage also he exclaims

————— Danger knows full well,
That Cæsar, is more dangerous than
he.

We were two lions litter'd in one day,
And I the elder and more terrible.

—————"Le Danger sait bien que
je suis plus dangereux que lui. Nous
naquimes tous deux d'une même por-
tée le même jour; mais je suis l'aîné
& le plus terrible."

"Sometimes the language is of the greatest simplicity. The dregs of the people speak their own vulgar tongue. A cobbler proposes to mend a senator, viz. mend his shoes. The commentator on Corneille endeavoured to imitate this great diversity of style. He not only translated the blank verse into blank verse, the rhyme into rhyme, and the prose into prose; but he traced figure for figure. To inflation he applied bombast; simplicity and even meanness, to every thing that was simple and low in the original. This was the only method to make Shakespeare known. The affair related to a literary dispute, and not a bookseller's bargain; the public were not to be deceived.

"The new translator, in reproaching France with having no correct translation of Shakespeare, ought himself to have translated him correctly. He ought not in the very first scene of *Julius Cæsar*, to have mutilated his *creative deity*

* It is to be observed, that Mr. Voltaire says, here, that of his own translation, which few Englishmen will say for him.

of tragedy. He copies faithfully his model, I confess, by introducing on the stage, his carpenters, butchers, shoemakers, and cobblers, in company with Roman senators: but he suppresses all the low jokes, which the cobbler cuts on the senators. He does not even translate the curious play on the word signifying the *soul* of man, and that which means the *sole* of a shoe. Is not such a suppression a sacrilege committed on his dramatic *duty*?

“ In the tragedy of Macbeth, after the hero is at length determined to assassinate his king in his bed; just after he has been displaying all the horror of his crime, and the remorse which he gets the better of, the house porter enters to deal out his merry-andrew jests. This buffoon is succeeded by two of the king's chamberlains, one of which asks the other, what are the three things which drunkenness provokes; to which the other answers, a pimpled nose, sleep, and urine.

“ If such ideas and expressions are in fact that *Nature* for which Shakespeare is to be *adored*, his translator should by no means deprive him of our adoration. If they are only the little negligences of a great genius, fidelity requires them to be made known, were it only to console France, by shewing her that other countries have their negligences also.

“ Some of you, gentlemen, know that Shakespeare wrote a tragedy called Hamlet; in which a ghost makes his appearance, first to two centinels and to an officer, without saying any thing to either;

after which he vanishes at the crowing of a cock. One of the spectators says, it is the custom for ghosts to disappear when the cock crows towards the latter end of December, on account of the birth of our Saviour. This ghost is the father of Hamlet, in his life-time king of Denmark. His widow, Gertrude, is the mother of Hamlet, married to the brother of the deceased, soon after the death of her husband. This Hamlet exclaims in a soliloquy as follows:

—Frailty, thy name is woman!
A little month; or ere those shoes
were old,
With which she followed my poor
father's body.
O Heaven! a beast that wants discourse
of reason
Would have mourn'd longer!

—“ Ah! Fragilité est le nom de la femme! quoi! n'attendre pas un petit mois! quoi! avant d'avoir uté les souliers, avec lesquels elle avoit suivi le convoi de mon père! Oh ciel! les bêtes qui n'ont point de raison, auroient fait un plus long deuil.”

“ It is hardly worth while observing, that the cannon are fired in compliment to Queen Gertrude and her new married spouse, and that a duel is fought in the fifth act, although the action passes in the ninth century, when cannon were not invented. This little piece of inadvertency is not more remarkable than that of making Hamlet swear by St. Patrick, and call Jesus our Saviour, at a time when they knew in Denmark as little of Christianity as they did of gunpowder.

“ It is of importance that the ghost

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ghost relates to his son, in a tedious *à-à-à-à*, that his wife and his brother dispatched him by pouring poison into his ear. Hamlet determines to avenge his father, and, in order to give no umbrage to his mother, counterfeits madness thro' the whole piece.

"In one of the fits of this counterfeited madness, he has a private conversation with his mother, Gertrude; during which, the king's high chamberlain hides himself behind the arras. The hero cries out he hears a rat, and kills the high chamberlain: upon which the daughter of this officer, who had an affection for Hamlet, runs really mad, throws herself into the sea, and drowns herself.

"The theatre then, in the fifth act, represents a church and a burying-ground, as if the Danes, idolaters in the first act, were become christians in the fifth. The grave-diggers make a grave for the poor girl; one asking the other whether a woman who drowns herself ought to be interred in holy ground: after which they sing ballads, worthy of their profession and their manners; at the same time throwing out the bones and skulls of the dead upon the stage. Hamlet and the brother of his mistress tumble into a grave and fall to fifty cuffs.

"One of your brethren, gentlemen, ventured to observe, that these pleasantries, which might possibly be accommodated to the taste of Shakespeare's age, were

not a species of tragedy sufficiently dignified for the times of a Carteret, a Chesterfield, a Lyttelton, &c. At length they were retrenched at the most reputable of the London theatres: and M. Marmontel, in one of his works, congratulates the English on the reformation. "Shakespeare," says he, "is abridged and corrected every day: the celebrated Garrick hath lately cut out of Hamlet the scene of the grave-diggers, and almost all the fifth act. In consequence of which, the piece and the author have been only the more applauded."

"The *translator* does not admit of this truth; but takes the part of the grave-diggers. He would have them preserved truly, as the respectable monument of an incomparable genius."

"It is true, there are a hundred passages in this play, and all the plays of Shakespeare, sufficiently grand, decent, sublime, and introduced with equal art; but the *translator* gives the preference to the grave-diggers; and relies on the circumstance of that abominable scene being still retained in the representation of the play at one of the other theatres, appearing to require us also to copy so curious a spectacle.

"It is the same with that happy licence, with which all the actors are transported in a moment from on board a ship in the main ocean, five hundred miles on dry land, from a cabin to a palace, from Europe to Asia. The *height of art*,

* Nor are the French translators singular in this opinion. Dr. Johnson, in the prefaces to his edition of Shakespeare, says much in favour of tragedy, however exploded by the French, and Frenchified English, critics.

according to him, or rather the *beauty of nature*, is to represent an action, or rather several actions at once, that shall last half a century. In vain hath the judicious Despreaux, the legislator of good taste throughout Europe, said in his *Art of Poetry*,

Un rimeur sans péril delà les Pyrénées,
Sur le scene en un jour renferme des
années;
C'est là que le héros d'un spectacle
groslier,
Enfant au premier acte, est barbon au
dernier.

"The barb'rous scribbler of a foreign
play,
Includes whole years within a single
day;
In the first act, tho' hardly childhood
past,
His hero's an old dotard in the last!"

"In vain might be cited the example of the Greeks, who found the three unities in nature*. In vain might we talk to him of the Italians, who, long before Shakespeare, revived the fine arts, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and who strictly observed those three great laws of good sense, unity of time, place, and action. In vain might we refer him to the Sophonisba of the Archbishop of Trifino, the Rosomonda and Orestes of Rucellai, the Dido of Dolce, and many other pieces composed in Italy almost a hundred years before Shakespeare wrote in

London, all of them according to those judicious rules established by the Greeks. In vain might it be remonstrated to him, that the Amintor of Tasso, and the Pastor Fido of Guarini, do not depart from the same rules; and that such difficulty, surmounted, presents a charm that delights every person of true taste. In vain might we rest the cause on the example of the painters, among whom there is hardly to be found one, who hath painted two different actions upon one canvas. At present it is pretended, gentlemen, that the three unities form a chimerical law, because Shakespeare has not observed it, and because those pretenders would debase us so far, as to make it believed we have no other merit.

"The question is not here, whether Shakespeare was not the creator of the English drama. We readily agree that he excelled all his contemporaries; but assuredly Italy had regular theatres in the fifteenth century. The Italians had begun long before to represent the Passion in the churches of Calabria, where they continue to do it to this day. But in process of time, some happy geniuses began to efface the rust with which that fine country had been covered, since the inundations of so many barbarians. In the time even of Dante, true comedies were represented; whence Dante gave the title of comedy to his *Hell*, his *Purgatory*,

* Much might be said, and with good reason, against this. The observance of the three unities was rendered necessary among the Greeks, in a great measure, by the imperfection of their scenery; as their observance among the moderns leads dramatic writers frequently into as unnatural absurdities as almost any which are committed by the breach of them.

and his *Paradise*. Riccoboni informs us, that Floriana was at that time represented at Florence.

"The French and Spaniards have always imitated the Italians; they unhappily began by performing, in the open air, the Passion, and the Mysteries of the Old and New Testament. These infamous pleasantries have been continued in Spain even in our own times. We have too many proofs that such representations were practised among ourselves, til the fourteenth and fifteenth century; witness the Chronicle of Metz, composed by the curate of St. Euclaire. "In the year 1437 was played the Passion of our Lord, in the plain of Vaximel; the part of God by Sigisior Nicole Dom Neufchatel, curate of St. Victor de Metz, who would have actually died on the cross, had he not been relieved by another priest, who was placed on it, so go through the crucifixion that day in his stead; the following day, the said curate of St. Victor performing the Resurrection, topping his part; the said play lasting all night. Another priest, by name Mr. John de Nicey, chaplain of Metrange, played Judas, who was near being choaked in hanging, for his heart failed him, so that he was obliged to be hastily taken down and carried off. The mouth of hell was well executed by two large clamps of iron, which opened and shut as the devils wanted to go in and out."

"At the same time, strolling companies played the same farces in Provence; but the fraternity of the Passion established themselves at Paris, within covered theatres. It is well known that this company bought the hotel belonging

to the dukes of Burgundy; and there performed their pious extravagancies.

"The English copied these gross and barbarous diversions, the darkness of ignorance at that time being diffused all over Europe. Every body sought amusement, and no decent amusements were to be had. We learn, in an edition of Shakespeare, at the end of Richard III. that the miracles were represented in the open field, on theatres of green sward, fifty feet diameter; where the devil appeared in person on the stage, shearing the bristles of his hogs; whence comes the English proverb, *Great cry and little wool*.

"In the time of Henry VII. there was an established theatre in London, which still subsists. It was much in vogue in Shakespeare's youth; as we find, in his *Eulogium*, that he is commended for taking care of the horses of the gentlemen that frequented it. He did not, therefore, invent the theatrical art, although he cultivated it with great success. It is for you, gentlemen, who are acquainted with *Polyxette* and *Athalie*, to judge if it be to him it owes its perfection."

The letter-writer proceeds to censure the French translators severely, for their presuming to condemn the taste of such Parisian Aristarchuses, who decry Shakespeare; selecting a fine passage or two from one of the best French dramas. After this he goes on to carp, with his usual partiality, at the most exceptionable passages in those of Shakespeare: particularly at the first scene in *Romeo and Juliet*, and in placing part of the dialogue between Kent and Gloucester in *King Lear*, in contrast

with a pompous passage of the Pompey of Corneille. We cannot indeed, in these instances, dispute the preference he gives to his countryman; but when he takes upon him to give Shakespeare in French, and to controvert the opinion of those English critics, who understand both languages, and prefer Shakespeare on a fair comparison, he only betrays his partiality to his *own*, and his ignorance of *our* language. Of this he gives the following instance:

"An eminent Scotch judge*, who hath published Elements of English Criticism, in three volumes, in which are many shrewd, and judicious reflections, hath been so unfortunate, nevertheless, to compare the first scene of that monster called *Hamlet*, with the first scene of our master-piece, *Iphigene*. He affirms, that these verses of Arcas,

Avez vous dans les airs entendu
quelque bruit?

Les vents nous auroient-ils exaucé
cette nuit?

Mais tout dort, & l'armée, & les
vents, & Neptune,

are inferior in merit to the just and proper answer of the centinel in *Hamlet*,

Je n'ai pas entendu une souris
trotter.

Not a mouse stirring!

"Yes, Sir, a soldier might make such an answer when actually upon guard; but not upon the stage, before the first persons of distinction, who express themselves nobly, and before whom every

one should express himself in like manner.

"If you ask me why this verse,

"Mais tout dort, & l'armée, & les
vents, et Neptune,

is admirably beautiful, and why the succeeding verses are still more so; it is because they express harmoniously those great truths which are the ground-work of the piece. But there is neither harmony, nor any thing interesting, in the low expression of Shakespeare's soldier,

Not a mouse stirring.

Whether the soldier had seen, or had not seen, a mouse stirring, is a matter of very little consequence to the tragedy of *Hamlet*. It is a mere St. Giles's phrase; a low proverb that can have no effect. There is always a reason why a beauty is a beauty, and a defect a defect."

There certainly is: but the first principle of *beauty* in writing is *propriety*. *Scribandi res est sapere principium est et fons*. Now, there is neither propriety of style nor of sentiment in M. de Voltaire's translation and criticism. An English audience would burst into as loud a horse-laugh as might a French one, should the centinel be made pompously to repeat in blank verse, as M. de Voltaire supposes him to say,

*I have not heard the trotting of a
mouse.*

But he says seriously and unaffectedly, as Lord Kaimes observes, *not*

* This Scotch judge is that judicious and excellent critic Lord Kaimes.

a mouse

a moule furring. It is owned that the expression is common and proverbial; but it is proper and characteristic, and therefore affecting.—Our French hypercritic admits it might be properly used by a soldier actually on guard, but thinks it too low to be made use of by a tragedian on the stage, in the presence of persons of distinction*. Here the mischief comes out, and the difference between the French and English taste for dramatic representation is at once declared. The one requires it to be a true exhibition of nature; the other, the false display of art. Admitting that in nature there are scenes improper for theatrical representation, and that those of *la belle nature* only should be exhibited; this consideration might banish low characters and scenes from the stage: but if they were ever introduced, they should speak in character. The sentinel on guard should not act the tragedian, nor should the common soldier use the splendid diction of the prince. It is for want of attention to this propriety, that, in almost all our modern tragedies, the scene has no variety of colouring; but, as the critic observes,

All glares alike without distinction gay.

It is, on the whole, with great injustice, that M. de Voltaire im-

putes his sentiments, on this head, to men of real taste in England.

"The same reflections, says he, which I make to you, gentlemen, have been made in England by many men of letters. Rimer himself, that learned critic Rimer, in a book dedicated to the famous Earl of Dorset, in 1593, on the excellence and corruption of tragedy, carries the severity of his criticism so far, as to say, that there is not an African ape, not a baboon, who has not more taste than Shakespeare. Permit me, gentlemen, to draw the middle line between Rimer and the *translator*, and to look upon him, as neither a *deity* nor as an *ape*!"

We do not recollect the passage in Rimer; but if it is to be found in that *learned* critic, it proves he was as dull and tasteless a pedant as ever thought the laws of nature should be controuled by the categories of Aristotle.

On the new Species of fashionable Amusement, called CHARADES. From the Westminster Magazine.

MR. EDITOR,

THE execrable CHARADES† that have lately infested the public prints, might well provoke the following satire.

"An answer to all the Charades that ever have been or ever will be made.

* This observation puts one in mind of the courtly popin-jay, described by Hotspur, who talked of guns and wounds, God save the mark, so like a waiting gentlewoman, and blamed the unmannerly soldiers for carrying dead bodies by, between the wind and his nobility.

† The Charade owes its name to the Idler who invented it. Its subject must be a word of two syllables, each forming a distinct word, and those two syllables are to be concealed in an enigmatical description, first separately, and then together.

Your first in emptiness of thought
surpass;

Your next in nonsense, and in both
your last:

The force of Folly could no further
go;

To make a third, she joined the
former two."

Its title, however, by aiming at too much, effects nothing. A Character is not necessarily "void of thought," or "nonsensical." On the contrary, it may be pronounced an exercise for the ingenuity, and where there is any to display, will be sure to display it. It serves to fill up, and agreeably too, an interval at breakfast, or a gap in conversation; and if not greatly instructive, is at least innocent and amusing. At all events, as it has made its way into every fashionable circle, and employed even Garrick, it will scarcely be deemed unworthy of attention. The fillineeses indeed that have appeared in the papers under this title, C. Fox's on the word Pension alone excepted, are not only destitute of all pleasantry in the stating, but are formed in general of words utterly unfit for the purpose. They have therefore been treated with the contempt they deserved. In trifles of this nature, inaccuracy is without excuse. Those, therefore, that are now presented for your insertion, are at least free from this blemish. Whether they are at all pleasant or ingenious, let your readers determine. The conceited pedant may wrinkle his front at their appearance, but the man of real learning knows the necessity of such relaxations, and will readily cry, *Vive la Bagatelle!*

CHARADE I.

The removal of my *Second* formerly served to introduce my *First*.
My *Whole* is the companion of
ashes. *Sack-cloth.*

II.

My *First*, however here abused,
Designs the Sex alone;
In *Cambria*, such is custom's power,
'Tis Jenkin, John, or Joan.

My *Second* oft is loudly called,
When Men prepare to tiff it;
Its name delights the female ear;
Its force—may none resist it!

It binds the weak, it binds the
strong,
The wealthy and the poor;
Still 'tis to joy a passport deem'd,
For fully'd Fame a cure.

It may insure an age of bliss,
Yet miseries oft attend it;
To fingers, ears, and noses too
Its various lords commend it.

My *Whole* may chance to make
one drink,
Tho' vendid in a fish-shop;
'Tis now the monarch of the Seas,
And has been an Archbishop.

Her-ring.

III.

To my *First* may I never be put!
On my *Second* may I never be
sordidly intent!

My *Whole*, upon my modesty, I
never will sell. *Bargain.*

IV.

My *First*, when a Frenchman is
learning English, serves him to
swear by. My *Second* is either hay
or corn. My *Whole* is the delight
of the present age, and will be the
admiration of posterity. *Gar-riety.*

My

V.

My *First* is plowed for various reasons, and grain is frequently buried in it to little purpose. My *Second* is neither riches nor honours, yet the former would generally be given for it, and the latter is often tasteless without it. My *Whole* applies equally to Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter; and both Fish and Flesh, Praise and Censure, Mirth, and Melancholy, are the better for being in it.

Sea-son.

VI.

My *First*, with the most rooted antipathy to a Frenchman, prides himself whenever they meet, upon sticking close to his jacket. My *Second* has many virtues, nor is it its least that it gives name to my *First*. My *Whole* may I never catch!

Tar-tar.

VII.

My *First* is one of England's prime boasts; it rejoices the ear of a horse, and anguishes the toe of a man. My *Second*, when brick, is good, when stone better, when wooden best of all. My *Whole* is famous alike for rottenness and tin.

Corn-wall.

VIII.

My *First* is called bad or good, May pleasure or offend ye;
My *Second*, in a thirsty mood, May very much befriend ye.
My *Whole*, tho' stil'd a "cruel word,"
May yet appear a kind one;
It often may with joy be heard,
With tears may often blind one.

Fare-well.

IX.

My *First* is equally friendly to the thief and the lover, the toper and the student. My *Second* is light's opposite; yet they are frequently seen hand in hand; and their union, if judicious, gives us much pleasure. My *Whole* is tempting to the touch, grateful to the sight, fatal to the taste. *Night-shade.*

X.

My *First* has been called the seat of honour; it seems to resent some salutes and invite others. My *Second* it behoves us all to appear in. My *Whole* is frequently sought for by the baffled projector, the determined vermin-killer, and the desperate lover.

Arse-nick.



P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, Jan. 1, 1776. *Written by William Whitehead, Esq; Poet Laureat.*

ON the white rocks which guard her coast,
 Observant of the parting day,
 Whose orb was half in ocean lost,
 Reclin'd Britannia lay.
 Wide o'er the watery waste
 A pensive look she cast,
 And scarce could check the rising sigh,
 And scarce could stop the tear which trembled in her eye.

"Sheathe, sheathe the sword which thirsts for blood,
 (She cried) deceiv'd, mistaken men!
 Nor let your parent, o'er the flood
 Send forth her voice in vain!
 Alas! no tyrant she,
 She courts you to be free:
 Submissive hear her soft command,
 Nor force unwilling vengeance from a parent's hand."

Hear her, ye wise, to duty true,
 And teach the rest to feel;
 Nor let the madness of a few
 Distress the public weal!
 So shall the opening year assume,
 Time's fair child, a happier bloom;
 The white winged hours shall lightly move,
 The sun with added lustre shine;
 "To err is human," let us prove
 "Forgiveness is divine!"

ODE for the KING'S BIRTH-DAY. June 4, 1776; written by
William Whitehead, Esq; Post Laureat.

YE western gales, whose genial breath
Unbinds the glebe, till all beneath
One verdant livery wears:
You soothe the sultry heats of noon,
Add softness to the setting sun,
And dry the morning's tears.

This is your season, lovely gales,
Thro' æther now your power prevails;
And our dilated breasts shall own
The joys which flow from you alone.

Why, therefore, in yon dubious sky,
With out-spread wing, and eager eye,
On distant scenes intent,
"Sits expectation in the air"—
Why do alternate hope and fear
Suspend some great event?

Can Britain fail?—The thought were vain!
The powerful empress of the main
But strives to smooth th' unruly flood,
And dreads a conquest stain'd with blood.

While yet, ye winds, your breezy balm
Thro' nature spreads a general calm,
While yet a pause fell discord knows;
Catch the soft moment of repose,
Your genuine powers exert;
To pity melt the obdurate mind,
Teach every bosom to be kind,
And humanize the heart.

Propitious gales, O wing your way!
And while we hail that rightful sway
Whence temper'd freedom springs,
The bliss we feel to future times
Extend, and from your native climes
Bring peace upon your wings!—

ARISTOTLE'S.

ARISTOTLE'S HYMN to VIRTUE, in MEMORY
of HERMIAS.

Translated from the Greek. By Dr. BURNLEY.

VIRTUE! thou source of pure delight,
Whose rugged mien can ne'er affright
The man with courage fir'd;
For thee the sons of Greece have run
To certain ills, which others shun,
And gloriously expir'd.

Whene'er thy sacred seeds take root,
Immortal are the flow'rs and fruit,
Unfading are the leaves;
Dearer than smiles of parent kind,
Or balmy sleep, or gold refin'd,
The joys thy triumph gives.

For thee the twins of mighty Jove,
For thee divine Alcides strove,
From Vice the world to free;
For thee Achilles quits the light,
And Ajax plunges into night,
Eternal night for thee.

Hermias, the darling of mankind,
Shall leave a deathless name behind,
For thee untimely slain;
As long as Love's bright altars blaze,
His worth shall furnish grateful praise
To all the Muses train,

A M E R I C A.

Addressed to the Rev. Dean TUCKER.

Said to be written by SOAME JENTIS, Esq.

CROWN'D be the man with lasting praise,
Who first contriv'd the pin
To loose mad horses from the chaise,
And save the necks within.

See how they prance, and bound, and skip,
And all controul disdain!
They bid defiance to the whip,
And tear the filken rein.

Awhile we try if art or strength
Are able to prevail;
But, hopeless, when we find at length
That all our efforts fail,

With ready foot the spring we press,
Out jumps the magic plug,
Then, disengag'd from all distress,
We sit quite safe and snug.

The pamper'd steeds, their freedom gain'd,
Run off full speed together;
But, having no plan ascertain'd,
They run they know not whither.

Boys, who love mischief and a course,
Enjoying the disaster,
Bawl, stop 'em! stop 'em! till they're hoarse,
But mean to drive them faster.

Each, claiming now his nat'ral right,
Scorns to obey his brother;
So they proceed to kick and bite,
And worry one another.

Hungry at last, and blind, and lame,
Bleeding at nose and eyes:
By sufferings grown extremely tame,
And by experience wise,

With bellies full of liberty,
But void of oats and hay,
They both sneak back, their folly see,
And run no more away.

Let all who view th' instructive scene,
And patronize the plan,
Give thanks to Glo'ster's honest Dean,
For, TUCKER, thou'rt the man!

Picture of the domestic Life and Manners of the Antient Knights; being the Opening of a most ingenious elegant Poem, entitled, SIR ELDRED of the BOWER, a Legendary Tale, by Miss HANNAH MOORE.

THERE was a young, and valiant Knight,
Sir ELDRED was his name,
And never did a worthier wight
The rank of knighthood claim.

Where gliding *Tay* her stream sends forth,
To crown the neighbouring wood,
The ancient glory of the North,
Sir ELDRED's castle stood.

The youth was rich as youth might be
In patrimonial dower;
And many a noble feat had he
Atchiev'd, in hall, and bower.

He did not think, as some have thought,
Whom honour never crown'd,
The fame a father dearly bought,
Could make the son renown'd.

He better thought, a noble fire,
Who gallant deeds had done,
To deeds of hardihood shou'd fire
A brave and gallant son.

The fairest ancestry on earth
Without desert is poor:
And every deed of lofty worth
Is but a tax for more,

Sir ELDRED's heart was good and kind,
Alive to Pity's call;
A croud of virtues grac'd his mind,
He lov'd and felt for all.

When *merit* rais'd the sufferer's name,
He *doubly* ferv'd him *then*;
And those who could not prove that claim,
He thought they still were *men*.

But sacred truth the Muse compels
His errors to impart;
And yet the Muse, reluctant, tells
The fault of ELDRED's heart.

The'

Tho' kind and gentle as the dove,
 As free from guile and art,
 And mild, and soft as infant-love,
 The feelings of his heart ;

Yet if distrust his thoughts engage,
 Or jealousy inspires,
 His bosom wild and boundless rage
 Inflames with all its fires :

Not Thule's waves so wildly break
 To drown the northern shore ;
 Not Etna's entrails fiercer shake,
 Or Scythia's tempests roar.

As when in summer's sweetest day,
 To fan the fragrant morn,
 The sighing breezes softly stray
 O'er fields of ripen'd corn ;

Sudden the lightning's blast descends,
 Deforms the ravag'd fields ;
 At once the various ruin blends,
 And all resistless yields.

But when to clear his stormy breast,
 The sun of reason shone,
 And ebbing passions sunk to rest,
 And shew'd what rage had done :

O then what anguish he betray'd !
 His shame how deep, how true !
 He view'd the waste his rage had made,
 And shudder'd at the view .

The meek-ey'd dawn, in saffron robe,
 Proclaim'd the opening day ;
 Up rose the sun to gild the globe,
 And hail the new-born May ;

The birds their amorous notes repeat,
 And glad the vernal grove,
 Their feather'd partners fondly greet
 With many a song of love ;

When pious ELDRED walk'd abroad
 His morning vows to pay,
 And hail the universal Lord
 Who gave the goodly day.

That

That done—he left his woodland glade,
 And journey'd far away ;
 He lov'd to court the stranger shade,
 And thro' the lone vale stray.

Within the bosom of a wood,
 By circling hills embrac'd,
 A little, modest, mansion stood,
 Built by the hand of Taste.

While many a prouder castle fell,
 This safely did endure ;
 The house where guardian virtues dwell
 Is sacred and secure.

Of Eglantine an humble fence
 Around the mansion stood,
 Which charm'd at once the ravish'd sense,
 And screen'd an infant wood.

The wood receiv'd an added grace,
 As pleas'd it bent to look,
 And view'd its ever verdant face
 Reflected in a brook.

The smallness of the stream did well
 The master's fortunes shew ;
 But little streams may serve to tell
 From what a source they flow.

This mansion own'd an aged Knight,
 And such a man was he,
 As Heav'n just shews to human sight,
 To tell what man shou'd be.

His youth in many a well-fought field
 Was train'd betimes to war ;
 His bosom, like a well-worn shield,
 Was grac'd with many a scar.

The vigour of a green old age
 His reverend form did bear ;
 And yet, alas ! the warrior-sage
 Had drain'd the dregs of care :

And sorrow more than age can break,
 And wound its hapless prey ;
 'Twas sorrow furrow'd his firm cheek,
 And turn'd his bright locks grey.

One darling Daughter sooth'd his cares,
 A young and beauteous dame;
 Sole comfort of his failing years,
 And BIRTHA was her name.

Her heart a little sacred shrine,
 Where all the Virtues meet;
 And holy Hope, and Faith divine,
 Had claim'd it for their seat.

She rear'd a fair and fragrant bower
 Of wild and rustic taste,
 And there she screen'd each fav'rite flower
 From every ruder blast.

And not a shrub or plant was there
 But did some moral yield;
 For wisdom, with a father's care,
 Was found in every field.

*The DEATH of ALICO, an African Slave, condemned for Rebellion, in
 Jamaica, 1762. By BRYANT EDWARDS, Esq. of Jamaica.*

I.

THIS part:—Ah! calm thy * cares to rest!
 Firm and unmov'd am I:—
 In Freedom's cause I bar'd my breast—
 In Freedom's cause I die.

II.

Ah stop! thou dost me fatal wrong:—
 Nature will yet rebel;
 For I have lov'd thee very long,
 And lov'd thee very well.

III.

To native skies and peaceful bow'rs
 I soon shall wing my way,
 Where joy shall lead the circling hours,
 Unless too-long thy stay.

IV.

O speed, fair sun! thy course divine;
 My ABALA remove;—
 There thy bright beams shall ever shine,
 And I for ever love!

* He is supposed to address his wife at the place of execution.

V.

On those blest shores—a Slave no more !
In peaceful ease I'll stray ;
Or rouse to chase the mountain boar,
As unconfin'd as day !

VI.

No Christian Tyrant there is known
To mark his steps with blood,
Nor sable Mis'ry's piercing moan
Resounds thro' ev'ry wood !

VII.

Yet have I heard the melting tongue,
Have seen the falling tear ;
Known the good heart by pity wrung,
Ah ! that such hearts are rare !

VIII.

Now, Christian, glut thy ravish'd eyes,
I reach the joyful hour ;
Now bid the scorching flames arise,
And these poor limbs devour :

IX.

But know, pale Tyrant, 'tis not thine
Eternal war to wage ;
The death thou giv'st shall but combine
To mock thy baffled rage.

X.

O Death, how welcome to th' oppress'd !
Thy kind embrace I crave ;
Thou bring'st to Mis'ry's bosom Rest,
And *Freedom to the Slave !*

ODE. To Miss *****.

By the same.

O CLEAR that cruel doubting brow !
—I'll call on mighty Jove
To witness this eternal vow ; —
'Tis you, alone I love !

' O leave

‘ O leave the God to soft repose;
 (The smiling Maid replies)
 ‘ For Joye but laughs at lovers oaths,
 ‘ And lovers perjuries.’

By honour’d Beauty’s gentle pow’r;
 By friendship’s holy flame;—
 ‘ Ah! what is beauty but a flow’r,
 ‘ And Friendship but a name!’

By those dear tempting lips, I cried;—
 —With arch ambiguous look
 Convinc’d my CLOE glanc’d aside,
 And made me *kiss the book*.

BRISTOWE TRAGEDIE: Or, The DETHE of Syr CHARLES
 BAWDIN. *From Poems supposed to have been written at Bristol, by*
 THOMAS ROWLEY, *and others, in the Fifteenth Century. See an Article*
among our Antiquities for this Year, particularly p. 159, and another
Poem entitled Song to ÆLLA, in our last Year’s Poetry, ascribed to the
above THOMAS ROWLEY.

THE featherd songster chaunticleer
 Han wounde hys bugle horne
 And tolde the earlie villager
 The commynge of the inorne:

Kynge Edward sawe the ruddie streakes
 Of lyghte eclipse the greie;
 And herde the raven’s crockynge throte
 Proclayme the fated daie.

5

“Thou’rt right,” quod hee, “for, by the Godde
 “That syttes enthron’d on hyghe!
 “Charles Bawdin, and hys fellowes twaine,
 “To-daie shall surelie die.”

10

Thenne wythe a juggle of nappy ale
 Hys Knyghtes dydd onne hymm waite;
 “Goe tell the traytour, thatt to-daie
 “Hee leaves thys mortall state.”

15

Syr Canterlone thenne bendedd lowe,
 Wythe harte brymm-fulle of woe;
 He journey’d to the castle-gate,
 And to Syr Charles dydd goe.

20

Butt whenne hee came, hys children twaine,
 And eke hys lovyng wyfe,
 Wythe brinie tears dydd wett the floore,
 For goode Syr Charleses lyfe.

P 2

“O goode

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- " O goode Syr Charles !" sayd Canterlone, 25
 " Badde tydyngs I doe brynge."
 " Speke boldlic, manne," sayd brave Syr Charles.
 " Whatte says thie traytor kynge?"
- " I greeve to telle, before yonne sonne
 " Does fromme the welkinn fye, 30
 " He hath uponne hys honour sworne,
 " Thatt thou shalt surelie die."
- " Wee all must die," quod brave Syr Charles;
 " Of thatte I'm not affearde;
 " Whatte bootes to lyve a little space? 35
 " Thanke Jassu, I'm prepar'd :
- " But telle thye kynge, for myne hee's not,
 " I'de sooner die to-daie
 " Thanne lyve hys slave, as manie are,
 " Tho' I shoulde lyve for aie." 40
- Thenne Canterlone hee dydd goe out,
 To telle the maior straite
 To gett all thynges ynne reddyness
 For goode Syr Charleses fate.
- Thenne Maisterr Canynge saughte the kynge,
 And felle down onne hys knee;
 " I'm come," quod hee, " unto your grace
 " To move your clemencye." 45
- Thenne quod the kynge, " Youre tale speke out,
 " You have been much our friende;
 " Whatever youre request may bee, 50
 " We wylle to ytte attende."
- " My nobile leige ! alle my request
 " Ys for a nobile knyghte,
 " Who, tho' may hap hee has donne wronge,
 " Hee thoughte ytte styll was ryghte : 55
- " Hee has a spouse and children twaine,
 " Alle rewyn'd are for aie;
 " Yff thatt you are resolv'd to lett
 " Charles Bawdin die to-daie " 60
- " Speke nott of such a traytour vile,"
 " The kynge ynne furie sayde;
 " Before the evening starre doth theene,
 " Bawdin shall loose hys hedde :
 " Justice

- " Justice does loudlie for hym calle,
 " And hee shalle have hys meede : 65
 " Speke, Maister Canyngel! Whatte thynges else
 " Att present doe you neede ?"
- " My nobile leige !" goode Canynges sayde,
 " Leave justice to our Godde, 70
 " And lay the yronne rule asyde ;
 " Be thyne the olyve rodde .
- " Was Godde to serche our hertes and reines,
 " The best were synners grete ;
 " CHRIST's vycarr only knowes ne synne, 75
 " Ynne alle thys mortall state .
- " Lett mercie rule thyne infante reigne,
 " Twylle faste thye crowne fulle sure ;
 " From race to race thy familie
 " Alle sov'reigns shall endure : 80
- " But yff wythe bloode and slaughter thou
 " Beginne thy infante reigne,
 " Thy crowne uponne thy childrennes brows
 " Wylle never longe remayne."
- " Canynges, awaie! this traytour vile 85
 " Has scorn'd my power and mee ;
 " Howe canst thou thenne for such a manne
 " Intreate my clemencye ?"
- " My nobile leige ! the trulie brave
 " Wylle val'rous actions prize, 90
 " Respect a brave and nobile mynde,
 " Altho' ynne enemies."
- " Canynges, awaie! By Godde ynne Heav'n,
 " Thatt dydd mee beinge gyve,
 " I wyllenott taste a bitt of breade 95
 " Whilft thys Syr Charles dothe lyve .
- " By MARIE, and all Seinctes ynne Heav'n,
 " This sunne shall be his laste."
 Thenne Canynges dropt a brinie teare,
 And from the presence paste. 100
- Wyth berte brymm-fulle of gnawynge grief,
 Hee to Syr Charles dydd goe,
 And satt hymm down uponne a stoole,
 And teares beganne to flowe.

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" Wee all must die," quod brave Syr Charles ; 105
 " Whatte bootes ytte howe or whenne ;
 " Dethe ys the sure, the certaine fate
 " Of all wee mortall menne.

" Saye why, my friend, thie honest soul
 " Runns overr att thyne eye ; 110
 " Is ytte for my most welcome doome
 " Thatt thou dost child-lyke crye ?"

Quod godlie Canynge, " I doe weepe,
 " Thatt thou soe soone must dye,
 " And leave thy sonnes and helpeles wyfe ; 115
 " Tys thys thatt wettes myne eye."

" Thenne drie the tears thatt out thyne eye
 " From godlie fountaines sprynge ;
 " Dethe I despise, and alle the power
 " Of Edward, traytor kynge. 120

" Whan throghe the tyrant's welcom means
 " I shall resigne my lyfe,
 " The Godde I serve wylle soone provyde
 " For bothe mye sonnes and wyfe.

" Before I sawe the lyghtsome sunne, 125
 " Thys was appointed mee ;
 " Shall mortall manne repyne or grudge
 " Whatt Godde ordeynes to bee ?

" How oft ynne battaile have I stode,
 " Whan thousands dy'd arounde ; 130
 " Whan smokynge streemes of crimson blood
 " Imbrew'd the fattened grounde :

" How dydd I knowe that ev'ry darte,
 " Thatt cutte the aerie waie,
 " Myghte nott fynde passage toe my harte, 135
 " And close myne eyes for aie ?

" And shall I nowe, forr feare of dethe,
 " Looke wanne and bee dysmayde ?
 " Ne ! fromm my herte sic childyishe feere,
 " Bee alle the manne display'd. 140

" Ah, goddelyke Henrie ! Godde forsend,
 " And garde thee and thye sonne,
 " Yff 'tis hys wylle ; but yff 'tis nott,
 " Why thenne hys wylle be sonne,

- " My honest friende, my faulte has bene
 " To serve Godde and mye prynce;
 " And thatt I no tyme-server am,
 " My dethe wylle soone convynce. 145
- " Ynne Londonne cite was I borne,
 " Of parents of grete note: 150
 " My fadre dydd a nobile armes
 " Emblazon onne hys cote:
- " I make ne doubt butt hee ys gone
 " Where soone I hope to goe;
 " Where wee for ever shall bee blest, 155
 " From oute the reach of woe:
- " Hee taughte me justice and the laws
 " Wyth pity to unite;
 " And eke hee taughte mee howe to knowe
 " The wronge cause fromm the ryghte: 160
- " Hee taughte mee wythe a prudent hande
 " To feede the hungrie poore,
 " Ne lett mye farvants dryve awaie
 " The hungrie fromme my doore:
- " And none can saye; but alle my lyfe
 " I have hys wordyes kept; 165
 " And summ'd the actyonns of the daie
 " Eche nyghte before I slept.
- " I have a spouse, goe ask of her,
 " Yff I defyl'd her bedde? 170
 " I have a kynge, and none can laie
 " Blacke treason onne my hedde.
- " Ynne Lent, and onne the holic eve,
 " Fromm fleshe I dydd refrayne;
 " Whie should I thenne appeare dismay'd 175
 " To leave thys worlde of payne?
- " Ne! haples Henrie! I rejoyce,
 " I shalle ne see thye dethe;
 " Moste willynglie ynne thye just cause
 " Doe I resign my brethe. 180
- " Oh, fickle people! rewyn'd londe!
 " Thou wylt kenne peace ne moe;
 " Whyle Richard's sonns exalt themselves,
 " Thye brookes wythe bloude wylle flowe.

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" Saie, were ye tyr'd of godlie peace,
 " And godlie Henrie's reigne,
 " Thatt you dydd choppe youre casie daies
 " For those of bloude and peyne?

185

" Whatte tho' l onne a fledde be drawne,
 " And mangled by a hynde,
 " I doe desye the traytour's pow'r,
 " Hee can no harm my mynde;

190

" Whatte tho' uphoisted oune a pole,
 " My lymbes shal rotte ynne ayre,
 " And ne ryche monument of brasse
 " Charles Bawdin's name shal bear:

195

" Yett ynne the holie booke above,
 " Whyche tyme can't eate awaile,
 " There wythe the sarvants of the Lorde
 " Mye name shal lyve for aile.

200

" Thenne welcome dethe! for lyfe eterne
 " I leave thys mortall lyfe:
 " Farewell, vayne worlde, and alle that's deare,
 " Mye sonnes and lovyng wyfe!

" Nowe dethe as welcome to mee comes,
 " As e'er the moneth of Maie:
 " Nor woulde I even wyshe to lyve,
 " Wyth my dere wyfe to staie."

205

Quod Canynge, " 'Tis a goodlie thyng
 " To bee prepar'd to die;
 " And from thys world of peyne and gresse
 " To Godde ynne Heav'n to flie."

210

And nowe the bell beganne to tolle,
 And claryonnes to sounde;
 Syr Charles hee herde the horres feete
 A prauncyng onne the grounde;

215

And just before the officers,
 His lovyng wyfe came ynne,
 Weepyng unfeigned teeres of woe,
 Wythe loude and dysmalle dynne.

220

" Sweete Florence! nowe I prae forbere,
 " Ynne quiet lett mee die;
 " Praie Godde, thatt ev'ry Christian soule
 " Maye looke onne dethe as I.

" Sweete

" Sweete Florence ! why these brinie teares ?
 " Theye washe my soule awaie,
 " And almost make mee wyshe for lyfe,
 " Wyth thee, sweete dame, to staie.

225

" Tys but a journie I shalle goe
 " Untoe the lande of blyffe ;
 " Nowe, as a prooffe of husbände's love,
 " Receive thys holie kyffe."

230

Thenne Florence, fault'ring ynne her faie,
 Tremblynge these wordyes spoke,
 " Ah, cruеле Edwarde ! bloudie kynge !
 " My herte ys welles nyghe broke :

235

" Ah, sweete Syr Charles ! why wylt thou goe,
 " Wythoute thye lovyng wyfe ?
 " The cruelle axe thatt cuttes thye necke,
 " Ytte eke shall ende mye lyfe."

240

And nowe the officers came ynne
 To bryng Sir Charles awaie,
 Whoe turnedd tos hys lovyng wyfe,
 And thus toe her dydd saie :

" I go to lyfe, and nott to dethe ;
 " Truste thou ynne Godde above,
 " And teache thye sonnes to feare the Lorde,
 " And ynne theyre hertes hym love :

245

" Teache them to runne the nobile race
 " Thatt I theyre fader runne :
 " Florence ! thou'd dethe thee take——adieu !
 " Yee officers, leade onne."

250

Then Florence rav'd as anie madde,
 And dydd her tressies tere ;
 " Oh ! staie, mye husbände ! lorde ! and lyfe !" —
 Syr Charles thenne dropt a teare,

255

Tyll tyredd out wythe ravyng loud,
 Shee fellen onne the flore ;
 Syr Charles exerted alle hys myghte,
 And march'd fromm oute the dore.

260

Uponne a sledde hee mounted thenne,
 Wythe lookes fulle brave and swete ;
 Lookes, thatt enshone ne moe concern
 Thanne anie ynne the strete,

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Before hym went the council-menne,
Ynne scarlett robes and golde,
And taffils spanglynge ynne the sunne,
Muche glorious to beholde:

265

The Freers of Seincte Augustyne next
Appeared to the syghte,
Alle cladd ynne homelie rustett woodes,
Of godlie monkysh plyghte:

270

Ynne diffraunt partes a godlie psume
Moste sweetlie theye dydd chaunt;
Behynde theyre backs syx mynstrelles came,
Who tun'd the strunge bataunt.

275

Thenne fyve-and-twentye archers came;
Echone the bowe dydd bende,
From rescue of kynge Henries friends
Syr Charles forr to defend.

280

Bolde as a lyon came Syr Charles,
Drawne onne a clothe-layde sledde,
Bye two blacke sledes ynne trappynge white,
Wyth plumes uponne theyre hedde:

Behynde hym fyve-and-twentye moe
Of archers stronge and stoute,
Wythe bended bowe echone ynne hande,
Marched ynne goodlie route:

285

Seincte Jameses Freers marched next,
Echone hys parte dydd chaunt;
Behynde theyre backs syx mynstrelles came,
Who tun'd the strunge bataunt:

290

Thenne came the maior and eldermeene,
Ynne clothe of scarlett deck't;
And theyre attending meane echone,
Lyke Easterne princes trick't:

295

And after them a multitude
Of citizens dydd thronge;
The wyndowes were alle fulle of heddes,
As hee dydd passe alonge.

300

And whenne hee came to the hyghe crosse,
Syr Charles dydd turne and saie,
" O Thou, thatt savest manne fromme synne,
" Wafte mye soule clean thya daie!"

Att

219

305

310

315

920

325

330

335

249

.

And

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And nowe the hordes gentlie drewe 345
 Syr Charles uppe the hyghe hylle;
 The axe dydd glysterr ynne the sunne,
 Hys pretious bloude to spylle.

Syr Charles dydd uppe the scaffold goe,
 As uppe a gilded carre 350
 Of victorie, bye val'rous chiefs
 Gayn'd ynne the bloudie warre :

And to the people hee dydd saie,
 " Beholde you see meo dye,
 " For ferynge loyally mye kynge, 355
 " My kynge most ryghtfullie.

" As longe as Edwarde rules thys lande,
 " Ne quiet you wylle knowe ;
 " Youre sonnes and husbandes shalle bee slayne,
 " And brookes wythe bloude shalle flowe. 360

" You leave youré goode and lawfullé kynge,
 " Whenne ynne adversitee ;
 " Lyke mee, untoe the true cause stycke,
 " And for the true cause dye."

Thenne hee, wyth preestes, uponne hys knees, 365
 A pray'r to Godde dydde make,
 Beseechyng hym unto hymselfe
 Hys partyngé foule to take.

Thenne, kneelyngé downe, hee layd hys hedde
 Most seemlie onne the blocke ; 370
 Whyche fromme hys bodie fayre at once
 The able heddes-manne stroke :

And oute the bloude beganne to flowe,
 And rounde the scaffolde twyne ;
 And teares, enowe to washe't awaie, 375
 Dydd flowe fromme each mann's eyne.

The bloudie axe hys bodie fayre
 Ynnto foure parties cutte ;
 And ev'rye parte, and eke hys hedde,
 Upon a pole was putte. 380

One parte dyd rotte onne Kynwulph-hylle,
 One onne the mynster-tower,
 And one from off the castle-gate
 The crowen dydd devoure.

The other onne Seyncte Powle's goode gate,
A dreery spectacle;
Hys hedde was plac'd onne the hyghe crosse,
Ynne hyghe-freete most nobile.

385

Thus was the ende of Bawdin's fate :
Godde prosper longe our kynge,
And grante hee maye, wyth Bawdin's soule,
Ynne heav'n Godd's mercie syng!

390

THE CAPTIVE. A PERSIAN ELEGY; by Dr. WOLCOTT.

Scene the Sultan's Palace.

TO thee, who rul'st o'er Persia's wide domain,
The wretch of Zulpha pours the suppliant sigh :
Shall love the bleeding bosom bare in vain,
And pity vainly raise th' imploring eye?

Lo, virtue weeps! her sacred drops revere;
Nor thus her cheek with burning blushes stain:
The monarch's heart, that melts at virtue's tear,
More than a thousand triumphs gild his reign.

Enough of woe, have war's wild horrors spread;
Ev'n now the vallies shriek, the hamlets burn.
See havock waft the blaze from shade to shade!
See the wan shepherd o'er the ruin mourn!

Say, cannot this the soft emotion wake;
Force from thy eye the sympathizing stream;
But shall thy cruelty the wretch o'ertake,
'Scap'd from the ruffian's sword and wasting flame?

Those weeping orbs eternal darkness shade,
If one fond glance thy savage hope inspires:
Love's keenest vengeance smite the guilty maid,
False to her fame, and faithless to his fires.

Live, live ye vales of Lar in mem'ry's eye,
Whose song so often stole my ravish'd ear:
Let Selim's name embalm my constant sigh,
His image brighten ev'ry falling tear.

Can Lar's fair vallies from remembrance fade,
Mir's echoing rill, and Dinur's conscious grove;
Where truth and Selim won a willing maid,
Where flow'd the shepherd's first fond sigh of love?

Ye

Ye fair sultanas, that around me throng,
 Ah! cease to soothe a captive's hapless hours:
 Harsh to my ear is pleasure's careless song,
 And dim the radiance scepter'd grandeur shows.

Ah! what avails the purple's costly pride,
 The ruby's blush, the di'mond's light'ning beam,
 Attendant slaves, or music's wanton tide,
 Or floods of fragrance, that around me stream?

Can pomp from love-sick absence steal the sigh,
 Smooth with gay smiles the fullen front of care,
 Chace the pale cloud from melancholy's eye,
 And calm the deep-ton'd murmurs of despair?

Away those tow'rs, that thus their heads advance,
 While servile flattery crawls a welcome guest,
 Where prostitution darts the wanton glance,
 And envy's demons gnaw the throbbing breast!

Fairer to me is Suzan's dangerous shade,
 Where growling fate, the restless savage roams;
 Where horror breathes around a death-like dread,
 And crowding spectres haunt the twilight glooms.

Fairer to me the dungeon's dreary round,
 Low-sounding to the captive's hollow sigh;
 Where the pale pond'ring wretch, in thought profound,
 Nails to the murky floor his haggard eye.

Ye Persian nymphs, with artless manners blest,
 And blest with blooms by beauty's pencil spread;
 Retire, sweet strangers to the throbbing breast,
 And court of solitude her deepest shade.

Wing, where gay freedom bounds from grove to grove,
 Where love in safety points the tender gaze;
 Where feeds, young innocence, her cooing dove,
 And meek contentment pours the song of praise.

Parents of lovely maids, be deaf the ear,
 While pride the flattery's pompous tale imports,
 Far from those bow'rs each blushing damsel bears,
 Nor give to misery's gripe their gentle hearts.

The tyger, growling thro' th' affrighted wood,
 Springs to defend th' endanger'd yoting from harm;
 The fierce, the wild-eyed vulture, bath'd in blood,
 Feels for her youngling's cry, the fond alarm.

Thus

Thus sung the nymph, the soft sultanas sigh'd :
 Desire with virtue in the monarch strove;
 Be blest, be Selim thine, (at length, he cry'd)
 Then gave the maid to liberty and love.

Dr. Barnard having advanced, in Conversation with Sir Joshua Reynolds and other Wits, that he thought "no Man could improve when he was past the Age of Forty-five;" Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was in Company, immediately turned round to the facetious Dean, and told him that he was an Instance to the contrary, for that there was great Room for Improvements in him (the Dean), "and wished he'd set about it:" upon which, the Dean the next Day sent the following elegant Bagatelle to Sir Joshua Reynolds and the same Company.

VERSES to Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS and Co.

By the Rev. Dr. BARNARD, DEAN of DERRY.

I Lately thought no man alive
 Could e'er improve past forty-five,
 And ventur'd to assert it;
 The observation was not new,
 But seem'd to me so just and true,
 That none could controvert it.

"No, Sir," says Johnson, "'tis not so;
 That's your mistake, and I can shew
 An instance, if you doubt it;
 You, Sir, who are near forty-eight,
 May much improve, 'tis not too late,
 I wish you'd set about it."

Encourag'd thus to mend my faults,
 I turn'd his counsel in my thoughts,
 Which way I should apply it;
 Learning and wit seem'd past my reach,
 For who can learn when none will teach,
 And wit—I could not buy it.

Then come, my friends, and try your skill,
 You can inform me if you will,
 (My books are at a distance.)
 With you I'll live and learn, and then,
 Instead of books, I shall read men,
 So lend me your assistance

Dear

Dear * Knight of Plympton, teach me how
 To suffer with unruffled brow,
 And smile serene like thine;
 The *jest uncouth*, or *truth severe*,
 To such I'll turn my deafest ear,
 And calmly drink my wine.

'Thou say'st, not only skill is gain'd,
 But genius too may be attain'd,
 By studious imitation:
 Thy temper mild, thy genius fine,
 I'll copy, till I make thee mine,
 By constant application.

The art of pleasing, teach me, Garrick,
 Thou †, who reverest Odes Pindaric,
 A second time read o'er;
 Oh! could we read thee backward too,
 Last thirty years thou should'st review,
 And charm us thirty more.

If I have thoughts and can't express 'em,
 Gibbons shall teach me how to dress 'em
 In terms select and terse;
 Jones teach me modesty and Greek,
 Smith how to think, Burke how to speak,
 And Beauclerk to converse.

Let Johnson teach me how to place
 In fairest light each borrow'd grace;
 From him I'll learn to write;
 Copy his clear familiar style,
 And, from the roughness of his file,
 Grow, like *himself*—*polite*.

AN INVOCATION to POVERTY.

Said to be written by the Hon. CHARLES FOX, Esq.

OH! *Poverty!* of pale consumptive hue,
 If thou delight'st to haunt me, still in view;
 If still thy presence must my steps attend,
 At least continue, as thou art—my Friend!

* Sir Joshua Reynolds.

† This alludes to Mr. G.'s having reversed a few stanzas of a Pindaric Ode, upon a gentleman's asserting that all Pindarics might be treated in the same manner, and be equally intelligible. But so far from Mr. G.'s having the least intention of ridiculing either the Ode or the Author, he had before expressed his approbation of it, without knowing at the time who wrote it.

When

When Scotch example bids me be unjust,
 False to my word—or faithless to my trust,
 Bid me the baneful error quickly see,
 And shun the world, to find repose with thee;
 When Vice to Wealth would turn my partial eye,
 Or Int'rest shut my ear to Sorrow's cry,
 Or Courtier's custom would my reason bend,
 My Foe to flatter,—or desert my Friend:
 Oppose, kind *Poverty*, thy temper'd shield,
 And bear me off unvanquish'd from the field.

If giddy Fortune e'er return again,
 With all her idle—restless, wanton train,—
 Her magic glass should false Ambition hold,
 Or Av'rice bid me put my trust in Gold,
 To my relief, thou virtuous Goddess, haste,
 And with thee bring thy daughters ever chaste,
 Health! Liberty! and Wisdom! sisters bright,
 Whose charms can make the worst condition light,
 Beneath the hardest fate the mind can cheer,
 Can heal Affliction—and disarm Despair!
 In chains, in torments, pleasure can bequeath,
 And dress in smiles the tyrant hour of *Death*!

ODE on the Breaking of a China Quart Mug belonging to the Battery
 of Lincoln-College, Oxford.

Amphora non meruit tam pretiosa mori—

WHENE'ER the cruel hand of death
 Untimely stops a fav'rite's breath,
 Muses in plaintive numbers tell
 How lov'd he liv'd—how mourn'd he fell:—
Catullus' wail'd his sparrow's fate,
 And *Gray* immortaliz'd his cat.
 Thrice tuneful bards! could I but chime so clever,
 My *Quart*, my *bonest Quart*, should live for ever.

How weak is all a mortal's pow'r
 T'avert the death-devoted hour!
 Nor can a shape or beauty save
 From the sure conquest of the grave.
 In vain the *Butler's* choicest care,
 The *Master's* wish, the *Bursar's* pray'r!
 For when life's lengthen'd to its longest span,
China itself must fall as well as *man*.

Can I forget how oft my *Quart*
 Has sooth'd my ears, and warm'd my heart?
 When barley lent its balmy aid,
 And all its liquid charms display'd!
 When *orange* and the *nut-brown* toast
 Swam mantling round the *spicy* coast!
 The pleasing depth I view'd with sparkling eyes,
 Nor envy'd *Jove* the *Nectar* of the skies.

The *side-board*, on that fatal day,
 When you in glitt'ring ruins lay,
 Mourn'd at thy loss.—In guggling tone
Decanters poured out their moan—
 A dimness hung on every glass—
Joe * wonder'd what the matter was.—
Corks self-contracted freed the *frantic* beer,
 And sympathizing tankards dropp'd a tear.—

Where are the *flow'ry wreaths* that bound
 In *rosy* rings thy *chaplets* round?
 The *azure stars* whose glitt'ring rays
 Promis'd a happier length of days!
 The trees that on thy border grew,
 And blossom'd with *eternal blue*!
Trees, stars, and flow'rs are scatter'd on the floor,
 And all thy brittle beauties are no more.—

Had'st thou been form'd of coarser earth,
 Had *Nottingham* but giv'n thee birth!
 Or had the variegated side
 Of *Stafford's* sable hue been dy'd,
 Thy stately fabric had been sound,
 Tho' tables tumbled on the ground—
 The *finest mould* the *soonest* will decay:
 Hear this, ye *Fair*, for you yourselves are *clay*!

Mr. GRAY's two LATIN ODES to the DEITY of the GRAND CHARTREUSE, and to Mr. WEST; with English Translations of them; being the genuine School Exercises of a young Gentleman of Fifteen.

ODE to the DEITY of the GRAND CHARTREUSE.

O H tu, severi religio loci,
 Quocunque gaudes nomine, (non leve
 Nativa nam certe fluenta
 Numen habet, veterisque sylvas;

* The College Butler.

Præsentem et conspicimus Deum
 Per invias rupes, fera per iuga
 Clivosque præruptos, sonantes
 Inter aquas, nemoramque noctem;
 Quam si repositus sub trabe citreâ
 Fulgeret aëro, et Phidiacâ manu
 Salve vocanti ritè, fesso et
 Da placidam juveni quietem.
 Quod si invidendis sedibus, et frui
 Fortuna sacra lege silentii
 Vetat volentem, me resorbens
 In medios violenta fluctus,
 Saltem remoto des, pater, angulo
 Horas senectæ ducere liberas,
 Tutumque vulgari tumultu
 Surripias, hominumque curis.

The TRANSLATION.

OH thou that guard'st this dread abode,
 With rigid sanctity impress,
 Whate'er thy name (for sure some god
 Midst these recesses awes my breast;
 Some god inspires his native floods,
 And spreads a deeper gloom o'er all the woods.

Along the pendent mountain's brow,
 Along the wild cliff's pathless site,
 And where the murmuring waters flow,
 And woods preserve eternal night,
 We view the present god arise;
 In nobler majesty he strikes our eyes,

Than when in Parian marble form'd,
 Or burnish'd gold, we see him stand
 Beneath his citron temple, warm'd
 To life by Phidias' matchless hand)
 O deign to hear thy suppliant's pray'r,
 And grant him quiet, unalloy'd with care.

But if forbid by restless fate
 These envied pleasures here to prove,
 Blest silence' laws in this retreat
 T'enjoy and lead the life I love,
 Again by fickle fortune hurl'd
 Back to the tempests of the busy world;

Yet in some secret distant spot,
 When age has wrinkled o'er my brow,
 Give me in peace to be forgot,
 Freed from the toils I suffer now.
 From vulgar passions let me rest,
 Far from the cares that rack the worldly breast.

ODE by Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

MATER rosarum, cui teneræ vigent
 Auræ Favoni, cui Venus it comes
 Lasciva, sympharum choris
 Et volucrum celebrata cantu!

Dic, non inertem fallere quâ diem
 Amat sub umbrâ, seu finit aureum
 Dormire plectrum, seu retentat
 Pierio Zephyrinus antro

Forôre dulci plenus, et immemor
 Reptantis inter frigora Tusculi
 Umbrosa, vel colles amici
 Palladiæ superantis Alæ.

Dilecta Fauno et capripedum choris
 Fincta, testor vos, Anio minax
 Quæcunque per clivos volutus
 Præcipiti tremescit amæ,

Illius altum Tibur, et Æsulæ
 Audisse sylvas nomen amabiles,
 Illius et gratæ Latinis
 Naias in ingemuisse rupes:

Nam me Latinæ nsiades nvidâ
 Videre ripâ, quâ niveas levi
 Tam sæpè lavit rore plomas
 Dulcè canens Venuſinus ales;

Mirum! canenti conticuit nemo,
 Sacrique fontes, et retinent adhuc
 (Sic musa jussit) saxa molles
 Docta modos, veteresque lauri.

Mirare nec tu me citharæ rudem
 Claudis laborantem numeris: loca
 Amœna, jucundumque ver in-
 compositum docuere carmen;

Hærent sub omni nam folio nigri
 Phœbea luci (credite) somnia,
 Argutiusque et lympa et auræ
 Nescio quid solito loquuntur.

The TRANSLATION.

O Queen of flowers, whose tender care
 Swells the soft gales that nurse the youthful year,
 With whom fair Venus comes along,
 Theme of the feather'd choir's melodious song;
 Venus, the wanton queen of love,
 Whom the gay nymphs resound through every grove.
 O say, beneath what favour'd shade
 Beguiles my WAST, in studious leisure laid,
 The mid-day hours, not ill employ'd,
 Whether he throws his golden lyre aside,
 Or 'mid Pieria laves, again
 Fill'd with poetic fire resumes the strain,
 Forgot his friend who climbs the height
 Of shady Tusculum, or Alba's seat?
 Ye spreading pines, whose sacred groves
 Faunus, and every sportive satyr loves,
 Where Anio down the trembling sleeps,
 And rugged rocks, with headlong torrent sweeps;
 O witness all, his name how oft
 O'er Tibur's cloud-crown'd hills hath soar'd aloft;
 Oft Æsula, how all around,
 Say, have thy lovely shades return'd the sound;
 How oft each clift, and hallow'd dell,
 Where Latium's naiads ever love to dwell.
 For me the Latian naiads view'd
 On the dank margin of that limpid flood,
 Where erst his plumes of silvery hue,
 Venusium's bird oft bath'd in rosy dew.
 Wondrous! while he, sweet songster, sung,
 The silent woods in mute attention hung;
 At his sweet lay each fount stood still,
 And check'd the tinkling of its sacred rill.
 Ev'n now (the muses thus ordain)
 The rocks, the laurels still preserve the strain.
 Nor wonder that in awkward flight
 My unshedg'd wings attempt Parnassius' height;
 The sweet retreat, the blooming spring,
 Call forth to voice my rude unletter'd string,
 In this blest seat (my words believe)
 Phœbean slumbers hang on every leaf:
 While every rill and gale around
 Charms with a sweeter and a sprightlier sound.

Sir ANTHONY BRANVILLE'S *Address to the LADIES, in the late revived Comedy of the DISCOVERY.*

Spoken by Mr. GARRICK.

LADIES, before I go, will you allow
 A most devoted slave to make his bow?
 Brought to your bar, ye most angelic jury!
 'Tis you shall try me for my am'rous fury.
 Have I been guilty, pray, of indecorum?
 My ardors were so fierce I could not low'r 'em;
 Such raging passions I confess an evil;
 In flesh and blood like mine they play the devil!
 Bound on the rack of love poor I was laid,
 Between two fires, a *widow* and a *maid*!
 My heart, poor scorched dove, now pants for rest;
 Where, ladies, shall the flutt'r'er find a nest?
 Take pity, fair ones, on the tortur'd thing,
 Heal it, and let it once more chirp and sing;
 Yet to approach you were insatiation,
 If souls like mine so prone to inflammation,
 Should meet your tender hearts—there would be con-fla-gra-tion. }
 Indeed so prudent are most men of fashion,
 They run no danger, for they feed no passion;
 Tho' fairest faces smile, they can defy 'em;
 Tho' softest tongues should plead, they can deny 'em; }
 Mankind would cease, but for such loving fools as I am.
 When I amongst them with my ardors glow,
 I'm mount *Vesuvius* in the midst of snow!
 Had I the pow'r, and of each sex were ruler,
 I'd warm the one, and make the other cooler:
 Wh'n I address the fair, no art can smother
 The mutual flame we kindle in each other;
 I'm now electrify'd—therefore expedient
 To fly combustibles!—Ladies, your obedient.

An OCCASIONAL PROLOGUE, spoken by Mr. GARRICK, the last
*Time of his performing "towards increasing a Fund for the Relief of
 those who, from their Infirmities, shall be obliged to retire from the
 Stage."*

A Veteran see! whose last act on the stage,
 Intreats your smiles for sickness and for age:
 'I hear cause I plead—plead it in heart and mind;
 A fellow-feeling makes one wondrous kind;

Might

Might we but hope your zeal would not be less
 When I am gone, to patronize distress,
 That hope obtain'd, the wish'd-for end secures,
 To *soothe* their cares, who oft have lighten'd *yours*.
 Shall the great heroes of celestial line,
 Who drank full bowls of Greek and Roman wine,
 Cæsar and Brutus, Agamemnon, Hector,
 Nay Jove himself, who here has quaff'd his nectar!
 Shall they who *govern'd* fortune, cringe and court her,
 Thirst in *this* age, and call in vain for porter?
 Like Bellisarius, tax the pining street,
 With *Date Obolum* to all they meet?
 Sha'n't I, who oft have drench'd my hands in gore,
 Stabb'd many, poison'd some, beheaded more;
 Who numbers slew in battle on this plain,
 Sha'n't I, the slayer, try to feed the slain?
 Brother to all, with equal love I view,
 The men who slew me, and the men I slew:
 I must, I will this happy project seize,
 That those too old to die, may live with ease.
 Suppose *the babes* I smother'd in the Tower,
 By chance, or sickness, lose their acting pow'r,
 Shall *they*, once princes, worse than all be serv'd!
 In childhood murder'd, and when murder'd starv'd?
Matrons half-ravish'd for your recreation,
 In age, should never want some consolation:
 Can I, *Young Hamlet* once, to nature lost,
 Behold, O horrible! my father's ghost,
 With grisly beard—pale cheek—stalk up and down,
 And he, the royal Dane, want half a crown?
 Forbid it, ladies; gentlemen, forbid it;
 Give joy to age, and let 'em say—you did it:
 To you *, *ye Gods!* I make my last appeal,
 You have a right to judge as well as feel;
 Will your *high wisdoms* to our scheme incline,
 That kings, queens, heroes, gods, and ghosts may dine?
 Olympus shakes!—that omen all secures;
 May every joy you give, be tenfold *yours*.

* To the Upper Gallery.

EPILOGUE to the new Comedy of the RUNAWAY.

Written by DAVID GARRICK, Esq.

Spoken by Miss YOUNG.

POST-haste from Italy arrives my lover !
 Shall I to you, good friends, my fears discover ?
 Should foreign modes his virtues mar and mangle,
 And *caro spese* prove—Sir Dingle Dangle;
 No sooner join'd than *separate* we go,
 Abroad—we never shall each other know;
 At home—I mope *above*—he'll pick his teeth *below*.
 In sweet domestic chat we ne'er shall mingle,
 And, *wedded* tho' I am, shall still live *single*.
 However modish, I detest this plan :
 For me no maukish creature, weak and wan :
 He must be English, and an English—Man.
 To nature and his country false and blind,
 Shou'd *Belville* dare to twist his form and mind,
 I will discard him—and to Britain true,
 A Briton chuse—and, may be, one of you !
 Nay, don't be frighten'd—I am but in jest ;
 Freemen, in love or war, should ne'er be press'd.
 If you would know my utmost expectation,
 'Tis one unspoil'd by *travell'd* education ;
 With knowledge, taste, much kindness, and some whim,
 Good sense to govern *me*—and let *me* govern him :
 Great love of me must keep his heart from roving :
 Then I'll forgive him, if he proves too loving.
 If, in these times, I should be bless'd by fate
 With such a *phoenix*, such a matchless mate,
 I will by kindness, and some small discerning,
 Take care that *Hymen's* torch continues burning.
 At weddings, now-a days, the torch, thrown down,
 Just makes a smoke, then stinks throughout the town !
 No married puritan—I'll follow pleasure,
 And ev'n the fashion—but in mod'rate measure ;
 I will of op'ra ecstasies partake,
 Tho' I take snuff to keep myself awake.
 No rampant plumes shall o'er my temples play,
 Foretelling that my brains will fly away ;
 Nor from my head shall strange vagaries spring,
 To shew the foil can teem with every thing !
 No *fruits*, *roots*, *greens*, shall fill the ample space,
 A *kitchen-garden*, to adorn my face !

No

No rocks shall there be seen, no windmill, fountain,
 Nor curls, like guns, set round to guard the mountain!
 O learn, ye fair, if this same madness spreads,
 Not to *bold up*, but to *keep down*, your heads;
 Be not misled by strange fantastic art,
 But in your dress let *Nature* take some part;
 Her skill alone a lasting pow'r insures,
 And best can ornament such charms as *yours*.

VERSES to the late Dr. PEARGE, Bishop of Rochester, and his Lady, on Occasion of their celebrating the Fiftieth Year of their Union, as a Year of Jubilee.

NO more let calumny complain,
 That Hymen binds in cruel chain,
 And makes his subjects slaves:
 Supported by the good and wise,
 Her keenest slander he defies,
 Her utmost malice braves,

To-day—he triumphs o'er his foes,
 And to the world a pair he shews,
 Though long his subjects—free;
 Who happy in his bands appear,
 And joyful call the FIFTIETH year,
 A year of JUBILEE.

To the MEMORY of the late Mr. GRANGER, Author of the Biographical History, who, on the Sunday after Easter (when the Sacrament is administered in the church of Shiplake as well as on Easter-Sunday itself), was seized with an Apoplectic Fit while at the Communion Table there, after having gone through the Duties of the Desk and Pulpit as usual; and, notwithstanding every medical Assistance, died early the next Morning, April 15, 1776.

MORE happy end what saint e'er knew!
 To whom like mercy shown!
 His Saviour's death in rapturous view,
 And unperceiv'd his own.

SONG sung by Mr. BEARD at the Annual Meeting of the President, Vice-President, Governors, &c. of the LONDON-HOSPITAL. From the Works of PAUL WHITEHEAD, Esq. just published.

OF trophies and laurels I mean not to sing,
 Of Prussia's brave prince, or of Britain's good king:
 Here the poor claim my song; then the art I'll display,
 How you all shall be gainers—by giving away.

Derry down.

The

The cuse of the widow you very well know,
The more it was emptied, the fuller did flow:
So here with your purse the like wonder you'll find:
The more you draw out, still—the more left behind.

Derry down.

The prodigal here without danger may spend;
That ne'er can be lavish'd, to heaven we lend;
And the miser his purse-strings may draw without pain,
For what miser won't give—when giving is gain?

Derry down.

The gamester who sits up whole days and whole nights,
To hazard his health and his fortune at White's;
Much more to advantage his betts he may make,
Here, set what he will, he will double his stake.

Derry down.

The fair-one whose heart the four aces controul,
Who sighs for Sans-prendre, and dreams of a vole,
Let her here send a tithe of her gain at quadrille,
And she'll ne'er want a friend in victorious spadille.

Derry down.

Let the merchant, who trades on the perilous sea,
Come here, and insure, if from loss he'd be free;
A policy here from all dangers secures,
For safe is the venture—which Heaven insures.

Derry down.

The stock-jobber too may subscribe without fear,
In a fund which for ever a premium must bear;
Where the stock must still rise, and where scrip will prevail,
Tho' South-Sea, and India, and Omnium, should fail.

Derry down.

* The churchman likewise his advantage may draw,
And here buy a living, in spite of the law—
In heav'n, I mean; then, without any fear,
Let him purchase away—here's no simony here.

Derry down.

† Ye rakes, who the joys of Hymen disclaim,
And seek in the ruin of virtue, a fame;
You may here boast a triumph consistent with duty,
And keep, without guilt, a seraglio of beauty.

Derry down.

* Additional stanza for the annual feast of the sons of the clergy.

† Ditto for the Magdalen Hospital.

If

If from charity then such advantages flow,
That you still gain the more—the more you bestow;
Here's the place will afford you rich profit with ease:
When the bafon comes round—be as rich as you please.

Derry down.

Then a health to that * patron, whose grandeur and store
Yield aid and defence to the sick and the poor;
Who no courtier can flatter, no patriot can blame:
But, our President's here—or I'd tell you his name.

Derry down.

* The late duke of Devonshire.

Account of Books for 1776.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; by Edward Gibbon, Esq; Volume the First.

WE do not remember any work published in our time, which has met with a more general approbation than Mr. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. We are happy in adding our suffrage to the public voice, which has so justly declared in its favour.

The volume published is the execution of a part only, of a very extensive and arduous undertaking. The whole design necessarily comprehends the division of the empire into its two great branches, the western and eastern; and the story of both is to be continued to their final dissolution. The latter survived the former for several centuries, and coincided with the æra of the Crusades. The Crusades therefore, falling in with his history of the eastern empire, (to the fall of which they did not a little contribute) he proposes to enter largely into the history of those enthusiastic enterprises. They are far from being foreign to his subject, and there are few events in the whole course of human affairs, which afford more matter of entertainment and speculation to a philosophical

mind. At the same time he proposes to take a view of the state of the city of Rome itself, during the darkness and confusion of the middle ages, then indeed wholly stripped of its power and grandeur, but never an uninteresting object.

This brings down the narrative to that period where ancient history confines upon the modern, and thus Mr. Gibbon's work, when completed, will form the great connecting link, between two such extremely differing systems of opinions, manners, and politics.

This latter part alone of the undertaking, would require not only great industry, deep learning, and sound judgment, but the rare talent of rendering the transactions of obscure times, and forgotten persons, engaging and delightful. By this first volume now published, the author has shewn that he possesses all these qualities in a very high degree.

The general period which Mr. Gibbon has chosen for his history, is at least equally interesting with that of the prosperous state of the Roman affairs. The instruction to be drawn from the fall, is perhaps fully equal to that, which is to be extracted from the growth of human greatness. In the latter case, fortune throws a glare over every action, which often prevents

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a sober judgment on it. We are too apt to confound the whole in an indiscriminate admiration; and often to decorate successful imprudence, and happy temerity, with the praises which belong to well digested policy, and well regulated boldness.

Wise conduct and virtuous character attended with ill-success, are not so likely to have injustice done to them by an impartial posterity. During a great part of the period of which Mr. Gibbon treats in this volume, the empire began only to discover symptoms of decline, discernible only to those who trace political evils in their remote causes. Yet even at this period of external splendor, the materials for history are mean and scanty. Our author selects what is to be found valuable among them with great judgment, and places it always in the happiest point of view.

A second volume, which is all that our author engages for, will perfect a complete History of the Decline and Fall of Rome, from the age of the Antonines to the subversion of the western empire.

The present volume carries us no farther than the re-union of the whole empire under Constantine. It consists of sixteen chapters; the three first are in a manner preparatory to the history, treating of the extent and force of the union and internal prosperity of the Roman empire, to the age of the Antonines, and concluding with a curious dissertation on the constitution of that empire, at the same age.

The 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th, carry on the history to the time of Philip. The 8th chapter is an historical dissertation on the state of Persia,

after the restoration of its monarchy by Artaxerxes, and the 9th exhibits the state of Germany to the time of the emperor Decius.

The 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14th chapters complete the history to the accession of Constantine to the whole undivided imperial dignity, over the vast extent of the Roman world.

This event first gave christianity the sanction of human authority; we cannot but lament our author's deferring to the next volume, the "very interesting and important" chapter, which he informs us, "is to treat of the motives of Constantine's conversion, as they may variously be deduced from faith, from virtue, from policy, or from remorse." Our author has not however altogether quitted us at this most important period; his two last chapters offer to our consideration the secondary causes of the rapid growth of christianity. They treat of the conduct of the Roman government toward the christians, from Nero to Constantine. Our author seems sensible that the subject of these chapters called for all his abilities, and he has exerted himself accordingly. He may perhaps in them be thought in some degree to have quitted the character of the historian, to assume that of the ecclesiastical critic. In his representation of the great conflict between declining Paganism and growing Christianity, he certainly shews no sort of blind prejudice in favour of the successful cause. If the primitive Christians, through zeal or resentment, have magnified the faults of their adversaries, and their own sufferings, Mr. Gibbon omits no pains to make the balance even. He sometimes

times seems even to labour with somewhat of the earnestness, and with all the skill of an advocate, in favour of the conduct of the Roman government toward the Christians; and so far from allowing merit in the early martyrdoms, they hardly escape the imputation of some degree of guilt. This is managed with great dexterity, and often with a delicate vein of irony—It is impossible to misunderstand, or wholly to approve of the design of the author in this part of his work. He did not probably expect, or perhaps wish, that his opinions and sentiments should rest altogether without contradiction, or opposition; it is however a controversy in which we are not called upon for our opinion, and shall not presume to offer any decision.

The extract we shall offer to our readers, is the conclusion of the third chapter.

“If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose characters and authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of the civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty, and were pleased with considering themselves as the accountable ministers of the laws. Such princes

deserved the honour of restoring the republic, had the Romans of their days been capable of enjoying a rational freedom.

“The labours of these monarchs were overpaid by the immense reward that inseparably waited on their success; by the honest pride of virtue, and by the exquisite delight of beholding the general happiness of which they were the authors. A just, but melancholy reflection embittered, however, the noblest of human enjoyments. They must often have recollected the instability of a happiness which depended on the character of a single man. The fatal moment was perhaps approaching, when some licentious youth, or some jealous tyrant would abuse, to the destruction, that absolute power, which they had exerted for the benefit of their people. The ideal restraints of the senate and the laws might serve to display the virtues, but could never correct the vices, of the emperor. The military force was a blind and irresistible instrument of oppression; and the corruption of Roman manners would always supply flatterers eager to applaud, and ministers prepared to serve, the fear or the avarice, the lust or the cruelty, of their masters.

“These gloomy apprehensions had been already justified by the experience of the Romans. The annals of the emperors exhibit a strong and various picture of human nature, which we should vainly seek among the mixed and doubtful characters of modern history. In the conduct of those monarchs we may trace the utmost lines of vice and virtue; the most exalted perfection, and the meanest degeneracy

teracy of our own species. The golden age of Trajan and the Antonines had been preceded by an age of irbe. It is almost superfluous to enumerate the unworthy successors of Augustus. Their unparalleled vices, and the splendid theatre on which they were acted, have saved them from oblivion. The dark unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the stupid Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius, and the timid, inhuman Domitian, are condemned to everlasting infamy. During fourscore years (excepting only the short and doubtful respite of Vespasian's reign) Rome groaned beneath an unremitting tyranny, which exterminated the ancient families of the republic, and was fatal to almost every virtue, and every talent, that arose in that unhappy period.

" Under the reign of these monsters, the slavery of the Romans was accompanied with two peculiar circumstances, the one occasioned by their former liberty, the other by their extensive conquests, which rendered their condition more wretched than that of the victims of tyranny in any other age or country. From these causes were derived, 1. The exquisite sensibility of the sufferers; and, 2. The impossibility of escaping from the hand of the oppressors.

" I. When Persia was governed by the descendants of Sefi, a race of princes, whose wanton cruelty often stained their divan, their table, and their bed, with the blood of their favourites, there is a saying recorded of a young nobleman, That he never departed from the sultan's presence, without satisfying himself whether his head

was still on his shoulders. The experience of every day might almost justify the scepticism of Rustan. Yet the fatal sword suspended above him by a single thread, seems not to have disturbed the slumbers, or interrupted the tranquillity, of the Persian. The monarch's frown, he well knew, could level him with the dust; but the stroke of lightning or apoplexy might be equally fatal: and it was the part of a wise man, to forget the inevitable calamities of human life in the enjoyment of the fleeting hour. He was dignified with the appellation of the king's slave; had, perhaps, been purchased from obscure parents, in a country which he had never known; and was trained up from his infancy in the severe discipline of the seraglio. His name, his wealth, his honours, were the gift of a master, who might, without injustice, resume what he had bestowed. Rustan's knowledge, if he possessed any, could only serve to confirm his habits by prejudices. His language afforded not words for any form of government, except absolute monarchy. The history of the east informed him, that such had ever been the condition of mankind. The Koran, and the interpreters of that divine book, inculcated to him, that the sultan was the descendant of the prophet and the vicegerent of Heaven; that patience was the first virtue of a Mussulman, and unlimited obedience the great duty of a subject.

" The minds of the Romans were very differently prepared for slavery. Oppressed beneath the weight of their own corruption and of military violence, they for a long

long while preserved the sentiments, or at least the ideas, of their freeborn ancestors. The education of Helvidius and Thrasea, of Tacitus and Pliny, was the same as that of Cato and Cicero. From Grecian philosophy, they had imbibed the justest and most liberal notions of the dignity of human nature, and the origin of civil society. The history of their own country had taught them to revere a free, a virtuous, and a victorious commonwealth; to abhor the successful crimes of Cæsar and Augustus; and inwardly to despise those tyrants whom they adored with the most abject flattery. As magistrates and senators they were admitted into the great council, which had once dictated laws to the earth, whose name still gave a sanction to the acts of the monarch, and whose authority was so often prostituted to the vilest purposes of tyranny. Tiberius, and those emperors who adopted his maxims, attempted to disguise their murders by the formalities of justice, and perhaps enjoyed a secret pleasure in rendering the senate their accomplice, as well as their victim. By this assembly, the last of the Romans were condemned for imaginary crimes and real virtues. Their infamous accusers assumed the language of independent patriots, who arraigned a dangerous citizen before the tribunal of his country; and the public service was rewarded by riches and honours. The servile judges professed to assert the majesty of the commonwealth, violated in the person of its first magistrate, whose clemency they most applauded when they trembled the most at his inexorable and impending cruelty. The

tyrant beheld their baseness with just contempt, and encountered their secret sentiments of devastation with sincere and avowed hatred for the whole body of the senate.

" II. The division of Europe into a number of independent states, connected, however, with each other, by the general resemblance of religion, language, and manners, is productive of the most beneficial consequences to the liberty of mankind. A modern tyrant, who should find no resistance either in his own breast, or in his people, would soon experience a gentle restraint from the example of his equals, the dread of present censure, the advice of his allies, and the apprehension of his enemies. The object of his displeasure, escaping from the narrow limits of his dominions, would easily obtain, in a happier climate, a secure refuge, a new fortune adequate to his merit, the freedom of complaint, and perhaps the means of revenge. But the empire of the Romans filled the world, and when that empire fell into the hands of a single person, the world became a secure and dreary prison for his enemies. The slave of Imperial despotism, whether he was condemned to drag his gilded chain in Rome and the senate, or to wear out a life of exile on the barren rock of Seriphus, or the frozen banks of the Danube, expected his fate in silent despair. To resist was fatal, and it was impossible to fly. On every side he was encompassed with a vast extent of sea and land, which he could never hope to traverse without being discovered, seized, and restored to his irritated master. Beyond the frontiers, his
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anxious view could discover nothing, except the ocean, inhospitable deserts, hostile tribes of barbarians, of fierce manners and unknown language, or dependent kings, who would gladly purchase the emperor's protection by the sacrifice of an obnoxious fugitive. "Wherever you are," said Cicero to the exiled Marcelles, "remember that you are equally within the power of our conqueror."

[For a farther specimen of this work, see pages 134—147, of the second part of this volume.]

An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.
By Adam Smith, LL. D. F. R. S.
2 vols. quarto.

THE growth and decay of nations have frequently afforded topics of admiration and complaint to the moralist and declaimer: they have sometimes exercised the speculations of the politician; but they have seldom been considered in all their causes and combinations by the philosopher. The French œconomical writers undoubtedly have their merit. Within this century they have opened the way to a rational theory, on the subjects of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. But no one work has appeared amongst them, nor perhaps could there be collected from the whole together, any thing to be compared to the present performance, for sagacity and penetration of mind, extent of views, accurate distinction, just and natural connection, and dependence of parts. It is a complete analysis of society, beginning with the first rudiments of the simplest manual labour, and rising by an easy and

natural gradation to the highest attainments of mental powers. In which course not only arts and commerce, but finance, justice, public police, the œconomy of armies, and the system of education, are considered and argued upon, often profoundly, always plausibly and clearly; many of the speculations are new, and time will be required before a certain judgment can be passed on their truth and solidity.

The style of the author may be sometimes thought diffuse, but it must be remembered that the work is didactic, that the author means to teach, and teach things that are by no means obvious.

We cannot better state the nature and plan of his work, than by laying before the reader the doctor's own very short introduction.

"The annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consists always, either in the immediate produce of that labour, or in what is purchased with that produce from other nations.

"According, therefore, as this produce, or what is purchased with it, bears a greater or smaller proportion to the number of those who are to consume it, the nation will be better or worse supplied with all the necessaries and conveniences for which it has occasion.

"But this proportion must in every nation be regulated by two different circumstances: first, by the skill, dexterity, and judgment, with which labour is generally applied in it; and, secondly, by the proportion between the number of those who are employed in useful labour, and that of those who are not so employed. Whatever be the

the soil, climate, or extent of territory of any particular nation, the abundance or scantiness of its annual supply must, in that particular situation, depend upon those two circumstances.

“ The abundance or scantiness of this supply too seems to depend more upon the former of those two circumstances than upon the latter. Among the savage nations of hunters and fishers, every individual who is able to work, is more or less employed in useful labour, and endeavours to provide, as well as he can, the necessaries and conveniences of life for himself, and such of his family or tribe as are either too old, or too young, or too infirm, to go a hunting and fishing. Such nations, however, are so miserably poor, that, from mere want, they are frequently reduced, or, at least, think themselves reduced, to the necessity sometimes of directly destroying, and sometimes of abandoning their infants, their old people, and those afflicted with lingering diseases, to perish with hunger, or to be devoured by wild beasts. Among civilized and thriving nations, on the contrary, though a great number of people do not labour at all, many of whom consume the produce of ten times, frequently of a hundred times more labour than the greater part of those who work; yet the produce of the whole labour of the society is so great, that all are often abundantly supplied, and a workman, even of the lowest and poorest order, if he is frugal and industrious, may enjoy a greater share of the necessaries and conveniences of life than it is possible for any savage to acquire.

“ The causes of this improvement, in the productive powers of labour, and the order according to which its produce is naturally distributed among the different ranks and conditions of men in the society, make the subject of the first book of this enquiry.

“ Whatever be the actual state of the skill, dexterity, and judgment, with which labour is applied in any nation, the abundance or scantiness of its annual supply must depend, during the continuance of that state, upon the proportion between the number of those who are annually employed in useful labour, and that of those who are not so employed. The number of useful and productive labourers, it will hereafter appear, is every where in proportion to the quantity of capital stock which is employed in setting them to work, and to the particular way in which it is so employed. The Second Book, therefore, treats of the nature of capital stock, of the manner in which it is gradually accumulated, and of the different quantities of labour which it puts into motion, according to the different ways in which it is employed.

“ Nations tolerably well advanced as to skill, dexterity, and judgment, in the application of labour, have followed very different plans in the general conduct or direction of it; and those plans have not all been equally favourable to the greatness of its produce. The policy of some nations has given extraordinary encouragement to the industry of the country; that of others to the industry of towns. Scarce any nation has dealt equally
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and impartially with every sort of industry. Since the downfall of the Roman empire, the policy of Europe has been more favourable to arts, manufactures and commerce, the industry of towns; than to agriculture, the industry of the country. The circumstances which seem to have introduced and established this policy are explained in the Third Book.

“ Though those different plans were, perhaps, first introduced by the private interests and prejudices of particular orders of men, without any regard to, or foresight of, their consequences upon the general welfare of the society; yet they have given occasion to very different theories of political œconomy; of which some magnify the importance of that industry which is carried on in towns, others of that which is carried on in the country. Those theories have had a considerable influence, not only upon the opinions of men of learning, but upon the public conduct of princes and sovereign states. I have endeavoured, in the Fourth Book, to explain, as fully and distinctly as I can, those different theories, and the principal effects which they have produced in different ages and nations.

“ In what has consisted the revenue of the great body of the people, or what is the nature of those funds which, in different ages and nations, have supplied their annual consumption, is treated of in these four first Books. The Fifth and last Book treats of the revenue of the sovereign, or commonwealth. In this Book I have endeavoured to show, first, what are the necessary expences of the sovereign, or commonwealth; which

of those expences ought to be defrayed by the general contribution of the whole society; and which of them, by that of some particular part only, or of some particular members of the society; secondly, what are the different methods in which the whole society may be made to contribute towards defraying the expences incumbent on the whole society, and what are the principal advantages and inconveniences of each of those methods: and, thirdly and lastly, what are the reasons and causes which have induced almost all modern governments to mortgage some part of this revenue, or to contract debts, and what have been the effects of those debts upon the real wealth, the annual produce of the land and labour of the society.”

The History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain. By Robert Watson, LL.D. 2 vols. quarto.

WHATEVER preference may, in other respects, be given to former times, the present age, it must be allowed, has retrieved our country from the reproach it lay under, of a deficiency of good historians. Mr. Watson has increased the number of good writers in this line. He has chosen a period, that must ever be interesting, whilst religious and civil liberty hold their natural and proper estimation.

There cannot perhaps be found in history, a story of more instruction to those who govern mankind, if instruction were, as people imagine it, the certain consequence of

example. But the same passions and prejudices seem to govern human actions in the same situations, through all ages, and in all countries.

Men do not view the scene, in which they themselves are the actors, with the same cool eye of impartiality with which they judge of the conduct of those who have trod the stage before them; or, they flatter themselves that they shall conduct themselves with more prudence and discretion in the same course, which has brought on the ruin of others; or, attributing a great deal to chance, they trust that they shall have better fortune than those who failed in similar attempts before them; or, which is, we fear, most probable, they think little of what has been done before, and indulging themselves in the hopes of obtaining the gratification of the object they are at the moment in pursuit of, they precipitate themselves into action, and leave it to their posterity to exercise the same discernment on their conduct, which they very unprofitably find no difficulty in passing on the passions and mistakes of the times that went before them. But if we are obliged reluctantly to admit, that history does not convey that sure instruction and warning, which a pleasing theory might make us hope it did, we must at least allow, that the labours of the historian are not wasted. The mind full of energy, as well as reflection, delights in the contemplation of active life.

The representation of real transactions in the great and busy scenes of the world, certainly make a deeper and more affecting im-

pression, than the most lively exertions of fancy and imagination can impress, or the consideration of merely speculative truth can furnish.

History is naturally of a more grave and sober cast than poetry or romance; but the historian, who is worthy of that name, will find means even to indulge his fancy and imagination, as well, though not as wantonly, as the poet; and the real transactions of man are of so strange and surprising a nature, that the romance-writer will envy the historian the instances of the marvellous that offer themselves in the relation of true history. The siege of Malta, which we shall make our extract from Dr. Watson's history, is of that kind. The reader will find our author animated with the subject; he gives the story with all the warmth and spirit that so great, so wonderful, so gallant a conduct as that successful defence of Malta could excite.

But if the gallantry of the knights of Malta commands our veneration; we must, in the same proportion, contemn and abhor the little politicks, not less unwise than base, of Philip, who risked the loss of that place, of such infinite consequence to himself, and to the christian cause, which he affected to make the object of his reign. It is no less wonderful than lamentable, to consider the character of Philip, whose reign is the subject of this history, and whose disposition gave rise to many important events. Ungrateful to the most indulgent and fondest of fathers, and the murderer of his own son, without one amiable quality to recommend him to the
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love or respect of, the world; of a secluded life, absorbed in the one chimerical idea of raising his own personal authority, and making it the unenviable merit of his reign, that he would rather forego the government of his subjects, than not force them to worship their God in the forms and manner he had himself been brought up; if there is any merit in this, and that obstinacy in such ideas and such pursuits is a virtue, Philip has a claim to one virtue. He actually did forego his government, sooner than indulge liberty of conscience; and the whole use he made of that vast force by which his father had nearly attained universal monarchy, was to lessen that empire, and to leave a lasting debility in the power which he had abused.

The world has been in a practice of admiring this prince as a great politician; we confess ourselves at a loss to justify this opinion: we can see no depth or extent of mind, that can rank him among the able statesmen; his vast power enabled him to continue his ill-judged pursuits; and this obstinacy has been dignified with the name of firmness.

Mr. Watson has chosen his subject well, and managed it with great ability; his style is clear and unaffected, and his observations in general profound, and such as tend to lead his reader into just and reasonable contemplations upon the matter he relates.

The following is the extract from this work.

“ At length the Turkish fleet, having left Constantinople in the end of March, arrived in sight of Malta about the middle of May;

consisting of more than two hundred sail, and having on board, besides a great number of christian slaves, designed to serve as pioneers, above forty thousand land forces, composed chiefly of Janissaries and Spahis, the bravest soldiers of the Ottoman empire. This formidable army landed at some distance from Il Borgo, and soon afterwards spread themselves over the country; setting fire to the villages, putting the peasants to the sword, and carrying off such of the cattle as, notwithstanding the orders of the grand-master, had not been secured within the forts and towns.

“ While the Turks were thus employed, La Valette [the grand-master] sent out de Copier, marshal of the order, with two hundred horse and six hundred foot, to watch their motions. De Copier, an officer of great experience, executed his commission with so much prudence and vigour, that by falling unexpectedly on detached parties, he cut off one thousand five hundred of the Turks, with the loss of only about eighty men.—

“ The Turkish general held a council of war as soon as all his troops were landed, to assist him in resolving where he should begin his attack. Piali, agreeably to what he understood to have been the Sultan's instructions, was of opinion that they ought not to enter upon action till Dragut should arrive. But Mustapha having received information of the king of Spain's preparations, thought that something must be done instantly for the security of the fleet; which lay at present in a creek where it was exposed to the violence of the

cast wind, and might be attacked with great advantage by the Spaniards. On this account he was of opinion, that they should immediately lay siege to a fort called St. Elmo, which stood on a neck of land near Il Borgo, having the principal harbour on one side of it, and on the other another harbour large enough to contain the whole fleet in safety. This proposal was approved by a majority of the council, and Mustapha proceeded, without delay, to carry it into execution. He vainly expected that he would be able to reduce the fort in a few days.—

“ La Valette did not expect that a place which was neither strong, nor large enough to admit a numerous garrison, could be defended long, against so great a force as was employed to reduce it; but he thought it necessary that the siege of this fort should be prolonged as much as possible, in order to give the viceroy of Sicily time to come to his relief. With this view he resolved to throw himself into St. Elmo with a select body of troops; and he was preparing to set out when the whole body of knights remonstrated with such earnest importunity against his leaving the town, that he at last consented to suffer the reinforcement which he had prepared, to be conducted to the fort by a knight called De Medran, upon whose conduct and intrepidity he could rely with the most assured confidence.

“ Not long after De Medran's arrival in the fort, the garrison made a vigorous sally, in which they drove the enemy from their intrenchments, and put a number of them to the sword. But the

rest soon recovered from their surprise, and having returned to the charge, they compelled the Christians to retire. In this encounter, the vigorous efforts of the Janissaries were favoured by the wind, which blew the smoke of the guns upon the fort, and covered the besieged with a thick cloud, through which it was impossible to discern the operations of the enemy. This incident the Turks had the presence of mind to improve to great advantage. They seized, unperceived, upon the counterscarp, made a lodgement there with beams, woolfacks, and gabions; and raised a battery upon it with incredible expedition. After the smoke was dispersed, the besieged beheld what had been done with much astonishment; and they were the more disquieted, as the fortification which the Turks had raised upon the counterscarp overtopped a ravelin which lay near it, in which the besieged could no longer appear with safety. They resolved, however, to defend this ravelin as long as possible, whatever it should cost them.

“ In the mean time Dragut and another noted corsair called Uluchiali arrived with twenty galleys, having, besides slaves and seamen, two thousand five hundred troops on board. This reinforcement and the presence of Dragut, added fresh vigour to the operations of the siege. This gallant corsair exposed himself on all occasions with the utmost intrepidity; spent whole days in the trenches; and as, besides his other extraordinary talents, he was particularly skilful in the management of artillery, he caused some new batteries

teries to be raised in more advantageous situations than had hitherto been made choice of; and kept up a continual fire both upon the ravelin above mentioned, and a cavalier that covered the fort, and was one of its principal defences.

" This cavalier soon became the only defence which could prevent the besiegers from coming up to the very foot of the walls. Some Turkish engineers having approached the ravelin at day-break, to examine the effects of their artillery, they observed a gun-port so low, that one of them, when mounted on the shoulders of another, looked into it, and saw the christian soldiers lying on the ground asleep. Of this they gave immediate information to the troops; who, advancing as quickly and silently as possible, and clapping ladders to the gun-hole, got up into the ravelin, and cut most of the christians to pieces.

" Between this ravelin and the cavalier lay the ditch, over which the besieged had thrown a temporary bridge of planks, leading up to the cavalier. The Turks perceiving this, leapt instantly upon the bridge, and attempted to make themselves masters of the cavalier, as they had already done of the ravelin. But the garrison was now alarmed; the bravest of the knights hastened from different quarters to the post of danger; and, after an obstinate engagement, they compelled the Turks to retire into the ravelin. There observing another way of reaching the cavalier, by a path from the bottom of the ditch, they threw themselves down without dread or hesitation; and having ascended by this path to the other side,

they renewed their attack with greater fury than ever. The combat lasted from sun-rise till noon, when the invincible bravery of the garrison proved at last victorious. About twenty knights and a hundred soldiers were killed, and near three thousand of the enemy.

" As the ravelin was open on the side towards the fort, the besieged pointed some cannon against it, and made great havoc among the infidels. But Mustapha, sensible of the value of the acquisition which he had made, poured in fresh soldiers without number; and the pioneers coming forward with wool-bags, planks, and gabions, put the troops at length in safety, and made a lodgment in the ravelin, of which the garrison were never able to dispossess them.

" The grand-master's concern on account of this disaster was greatly augmented, by considering that it could not have happened so soon, without some negligence on the part of the garrison. He sent them however an immediate reinforcement; and both the siege and the defence were carried on with the same vigour as before.

" But the situation of the besieged was now become much more dangerous than formerly. The Turks applied themselves with unremitting diligence to heighten the ravelin till it overtopped the wall of the fort; and after this, the garrison could no longer appear upon the parapet with safety. Many were killed by the enemy's artillery. Several breaches were made in different parts of the wall, and the hearts of the bravest knights began to fail within them.—

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"They agreed therefore, though with much reluctance, to apply to the grand-master for liberty to quit the fort; and they made choice of the chevalier de Medran for their messenger. De Medran represented that the fort was in reality no longer tenable, and that to continue in it, though only a few days, would infallibly occasion the utter destruction of the garrison.—

"Most of the knights in council thought that this request of the garrison ought to be immediately granted. But la Valette was of a contrary opinion.—This he represented to the chevalier de Medran, and sent him back with instructions to remind the knights of the vow which they took at their entrance into the Order, of sacrificing their lives for its defence. He likewise bade him assure them, in his name, that he would not fail to send them such reinforcements as they should stand in need of, and was determined, as soon as it should be necessary, to come himself to their assistance, with a fixed unalterable purpose to lay down his life, sooner than deliver the fort into the hands of the infidels.

"This answer had the desired effect on several of the knights, and particularly on those whose principles of honour and attachment to the Order were confirmed by years. But the greater part of them were much dissatisfied. They thought the grand-master's treatment of them harsh and cruel, and wrote him a letter, subscribed by fifty-three, in which, after repeating their former request, they informed him, that if he did not, on the next night, send boats to carry

them to the town, they were determined to fall out into the Turkish camp, where they might fall honourably by the sword, instead of suffering such an ignominious death as they had reason to expect, if the fort were taken by storm.

"To this letter la Valette replied, "That they were much mistaken, if they expected to satisfy their honour by throwing away their lives; since it was no less their duty to submit to his authority, than to sacrifice their lives in defence of the Order; that the preservation of the whole depended on their present obedience to his commands: that no aid was to be expected from Spain, if the fort were given up; and that, if he should yield to their request, and bring them to the town, the town itself would then be immediately invested, and they, as well as the rest, soon afterwards reduced to a situation more desperate than that from which they were so solicitous to escape, by deserting an important station which they had undertaken to defend." Besides this letter, he sent three commissioners to examine the state of the fortifications; intending by this measure either to gain time, or to prevent the garrison from sinking into despair.

"These commissioners differed widely in the accounts which they delivered at their return. Two of them thought it impossible to defend the fort much longer. But the third, named Constantine Castriot, a Greek prince, descended from the famous Albanian hero, Scanderbeg, whether from ignorance, or a consciousness of greater resources in his native courage than

the other two possessed, maintained that the garrison was far from being reduced to the last extremity; and to give proof how firmly he was persuaded of the truth of what he said, he offered to enter the fort himself, and to undertake the defence of it with such troops as should be willing to accompany him.

"The grand-master, strongly impressed with a sense of the necessity of protracting the siege, immediately accepted this offer, and bestowed the highest encomiums on Castriot's zeal and resolution. Nor did Castriot find any difficulty in persuading a sufficient number to attend him, who were no less zealous and resolute than himself. The soldiers crowded to his standard, and were emulous to have their names enrolled for that dangerous service in which he had engaged.

"When la Valette saw the spirit by which these men were animated, and had no longer any doubt of being able, by their means, to prolong the siege of the fort, he sent a letter to the knights, acquainting them, that he was now willing to give them their discharge; and would immediately send another garrison, into whose hands, he desired, they should be ready to deliver up the fort, and come themselves to the town, in the boats in which their successors were to be transported.—

"The contents and style of this letter affected the knights in the most sensible manner, and roused within them that delicate sense of honour, by which the Order had been so long and so eminently distinguished.—They resolved, without hesitation to remain in the

fort till every man should perish, rather than either deliver it to the new garrison, or abandon it to the enemy. And they went in a body to the governor, and intreated him to inform the grand-master of their repentance, and to join with them in praying that they might be suffered to wipe out the remembrance of their fault by their future conduct.—

"The grand-master suffered himself at last to be overcome; and henceforth the garrison, dismissing all thoughts of their own safety, were intent on nothing but how to prolong the defence.

"The grand-master sent them every night fresh troops, to supply the place of the killed and wounded; and kept them well-furnished with provisions, ammunition, and fire-works. Of these last he had invented a particular kind, which consisted of hoops of wood, covered with wool, and steeped in boiling oil, and other inflammable liquors, mixed with nitre and gunpowder. To these machines they set fire, and threw them flaming in the midst of the enemy, when they were crowded together at an assault. It happened often that two or three of the Turks were hooked together and scorched to death; and the utmost confusion was produced wherever they were thrown.

"The besieged stood much in need of this, and every other instrument of mischief, that could be devised for their defence. In spite of the most vigorous opposition, the Turks had cast a bridge over the ditch, and began to sap and undermine the wall. From the 17th of June to the 14th of July, not a single day passed without some

some rencounter; and Mustapha had frequently attempted to scale the wall of the fort, but had been as often repulsed with the loss of some of the bravest of his troops.

“ Ashamed at having been detained so long before a place of such inconsiderable strength, he resolved to make one great decisive effort, and to bring to the assault as many of his forces as the situation of the place would permit him to employ. He had already made several breaches; but in order to secure the success of the assault which he now intended, he kept his batteries playing all the 15th without intermission, till the wall on that side where he designed his attack was almost level with the rock. On the 16th the fleet was drawn up before sunrise as near the fort as the depth of the water would allow; four thousand musketeers and archers were stationed in the trenches; and the rest of the troops, upon a signal given, advanced to the breach. The garrison was prepared to receive them. The breach was lined with several ranks of soldiers, having the knights interspersed among them at certain distances. The Turks attempted often to break through this determined band, and to overpower them with their numbers. But their numbers served only to augment the loss which they sustained. Every shot from the fort did execution. The artillery made dreadful havock among them, and the burning hoops were employed with astonishing success. The novelty of these machines, and the shrieks of those who were caught in them, added greatly to the ter-

ror which they inspired, and made it impossible for the Turkish officers to keep their men firm and steady in pursuing the advantages which, had they preserved their ranks, their numbers must have infallibly acquired.

“ At length Mustapha, after having continued the assault for more than six hours, without gaining a single inch of ground on the besieged, gave orders for sounding a retreat.

“ In this attack the garrison lost about twenty knights and three hundred soldiers; but this loss was immediately supplied by a reinforcement from the town: and Mustapha was at last convinced, that, unless the communication between the fort and the town were cut off, it would be impossible to bring the siege of the former to a period, while any troops remained in any other part of the island. By the advice of Dragut he resolved to extend his trenches and batteries, on the side next to the town, till they should reach to that part of the sea, or great harbour, where those supplies were landed which the grand-master daily sent to the garrison. This undertaking, he knew, must be attended with the utmost difficulty, because all the space between his entrenchments and the point to which it was necessary to extend them, lay exposed to the artillery both of fort St. Elmo and St. Angelo. In viewing the ground, a Sangiac, in whom he put confidence, was killed by his side; and, which was still a more irreparable loss, Dragut received a mortal wound, of which he died in a few days. This did not, however, discourage Mustapha from pursuing

puruing his design. By employing his troops and pioneers at the work day and night without intermission, he at length carried it into execution. Then having planted batteries along the shore, and filled his trenches with musketeers, it was impossible for any boat to pass from the town to the fort, without the most imminent danger of either being sunk or intercepted.

"After this precaution, he resumed with fresh vigour his attempt to take the fort by storm. On the twenty-first, he made four different assaults; all of which the garrison withstood, and, in repulsing so many thousand brave and well-disciplined troops, displayed a degree of prowess and fortitude which almost exceeds belief, and is beyond the power of description. But this heroic garrison was now exceedingly reduced in number; and there was the strongest reason to apprehend, that, in one assault more, they must inevitably be overpowered, unless a reinforcement were sent them from the town. Of their desperate situation they gave intelligence to the grand-master, by one who swam across the harbour in the night. The boats were instantly filled with knights and other soldiers, who generously resolved to devote themselves to certain destruction, for the general safety, and the preservation of the fort. They set off from the town with as much alacrity as if they had entertained the most sanguine hope of victory; but they found the Turks every where so much upon their guard, and the lines so strongly defended, that, after several fruitless attempts to land, they were at last

obliged to return, depressed with sorrow for the fate of their brave companions.

"The garrison now despairing of relief, gave themselves up for lost; but instead of either capitulating or attempting to escape, they prepared for death, and passed the night in prayer, and in receiving the sacrament; after which, they embraced one another tenderly, and then repaired to their respective posts; while such of the wounded as had been disabled from walking were, at their own earnest desire, carried to the side of the breach, where they waited, without dismay, for the approach of the Turkish army.

"Early in the morning of the twenty-third of July, the Turks advanced to the assault, with loud shouts, as to certain victory, which they believed so small a handful of men as now remained in the fort would not dare to dispute with them. In this expectation they were disappointed. The garrison being resolved on death, and despising danger, were more than men, and exerted a degree of prowess and valour that filled their enemies with amazement. The combat lasted upwards of four hours, till not only every knight, but every soldier had fallen, except two or three who saved themselves by swimming. The Turkish colours were then planted on the ramparts; and the fleet entered the harbour which the fort commanded in a kind of triumph. When Mustapha took a view of the fort, and examined its size and fortifications, he could not refrain from saying, "What will not the father cost us, (meaning the town) when the son, who is so small, has cost

cost so many thousands of our bravest troops." But this reflection, far from exciting his admiration of that heroic fortitude which he had found so difficult to overcome, served only to inspire him with a brutal fury. He ordered all such of the garrison as were found lying on the breach alive to be ript open, and their hearts torn out. And as an insult on the knights and their religion, he caused their dead bodies to be searched for, and large gashes to be made in them, in the form of a cross, after which he tied them on planks, and threw them into the sea, to be carried by the wind and tide to the town, or fort St. Angelo.

"The grand-master was at first melted into tears at this shocking spectacle; but his grief was soon converted into indignation and revenge: and these passions betrayed him into an action unworthy of the exalted character which he bore. In order to teach the Basha, as he pretended, to make war with less barbarity, he caused all the Turks whom he had taken prisoners to be massacred; and then putting their heads into his largest cannon, he shot them into the Turkish camp.

"In the siege which has been related, the Order lost about one thousand five hundred men, including one hundred and thirty of the bravest knights.—

"Mustapha vainly imagined, that being intimidated by the fate of their companions, they would be now inclined to listen to terms of capitulation; and in this hope he sent an officer with a white flag to one of the gates, attended by a christian slave, design-

ed to serve for his interpreter. The Turk was not allowed to enter within the town; but the christian was admitted, and was led through several ranks of soldiers under arms by an officer, who, after shewing him all the fortifications of the place, desired him to take particular notice of the depth and breadth of the ditch, and said to him, "See there, the only spot we can afford your general; and there we hope soon to bury him and all his Janissaries."

"This insulting speech being reported by the slave, excited in the fiery mind of the Basha the highest degree of wrath and indignation, and made him resolve to exert himself to the utmost in the prosecution of the siege. His troops, though greatly diminished, were still sufficient to invest at once both the town and the fort of St. Michael. He kept a constant fire on both; but he intended first to apply to the reduction of the latter, which he proposed to attack both by land and water, at the extremity of the peninsula on which it stands. In order to accomplish this design, it was necessary he should have some shipping introduced into the harbour, for transporting his forces. But the mouth of the harbour having been rendered inaccessible by a great iron chain, and the cannon of St. Angelo, his design must have been relinquished, if Piali had not suggested an expedient against which the grand-master had not provided. This was to make the christian slaves and the crews of the ships draw a number of boats, by the strength of their arms, over the neck of land on which stood fort St. Elmo. Of this proposal, which Mustapha immediately

immediately adopted, information was carried to the grand-master by a Turkish officer, who, being by birth a Greek, was touched suddenly with remorse, and deserted to the christians. In consequence of this intelligence, La Vallette set a great number of hands to work in framing a stacado along that part of the promontory where the Turks intended their attack; and at another part, where the depth of the water or the hardness of the bottom would not admit of the stacado, he caused strong intrenchments to be made upon the beach. Mustapha in the mean time fired incessantly upon the fort, while the slaves and crews were employed in transporting the boats over land into the harbour. At length the Basba, judging that the number of boats which he had transported would be sufficient, and that the breaches which his artillery had made were practicable, resolved without further delay to make an attack both by sea and land. He was the more confident of success, as, since the taking of St. Elmo, he had received a considerable reinforcement, by the arrival of Hascem, son of Barbarossa, with two thousand five hundred select soldiers, commonly called the Braves of Algiers. Hascem, who possessed a considerable share of his father's fire, and was ambitious to distinguish himself in the Sultan's service, begged of Mustapha to intrust him with the assault of fort St. Michael; and vaunted, with his natural arrogance, that he would soon make himself master of it sword in hand. The Basba, whether from an opinion of his valour, or an intention to make him learn

at his own expence the folly of his presumption, readily complied with his request; and having added six thousand men to his Algerines, he promised to support him with the rest of his army.

" Hascem divided his forces with Candelissa, an old Corsair, his lieutenant; to whom he committed the attack by sea, whilst he reserved that on the land side to himself.

" Candelissa having put his troops on board the boats, set out with drums beating, and hautboys and other musical instruments playing, preceded by a boat filled with Mahometan priests, some of whom were employed in offering prayers to Heaven for his success, or in singing hymns; while others had books in their hands, out of which they read imprecations against the christians. Candelissa attempted first to break down the stacado which had been formed to obstruct his landing; but finding it much stronger than he expected, and that, while he was employed in demolishing it, his troops must suffer greatly from the enemy's fire, he thought it would be easier to make a descent on that part of the shore which the grand-master had strengthened with intrenchments. At this important post, the christian troops were commanded by an ancient knight of the name of Guimeran. This experienced officer reserved his fire till the Turks had advanced within a little distance of the shore, when by a single discharge he killed about four hundred men. This did not prevent the rest from approaching. Candelissa pushed forwards while the christians were loading their cannon, and landed at the head of his
Alge-

Algerines. But Guimeran having reserved some cannon charged with grape-shot, did dreadful execution among them after they had landed, and many of them began to fly to their boats; which Candelissa observing, he commanded the boats to be put off to a little distance from the shore. His troops perceiving then that they must either die or conquer, took courage from despair, and advanced boldly to the intrenchment, with ladders for scaling it in one hand, and their sabres in the other. The combatants on both sides displayed the most intrepid valour. Great numbers fell, and the ditch was choaked with blood, and with the bodies of the dead and wounded. The Turks at last, after an engagement of five hours, reached the top of the intrenchment, and there planted their ensigns. The knights, stung with shame on account of their retreat, returned with redoubled ardour. But they would probably have been overpowered by the superior number of the enemy, had not the grand-master sent them a seasonable reinforcement, under the admiral of Giou, and the chevalier de Quiney; who fell upon the Algerines and Turks with a degree of fury that struck terror into Candelissa himself, who was noted for his intrepidity. Having ordered the boats to be brought nearer the shore, he was among the first who fled. His braves fought desperately for some time after he had left them; but were at length thrown down from the intrenchments, and compelled to fly to their boats with the utmost precipitation. The christians pursued them, and the batteries continued firing on them without in-

termision. Many of the boats were sunk; the water was covered with dead bodies, mangled limbs, shields, and helmets. Of the four thousand who had been sent on this enterprise, scarcely five hundred remained, and many of these were dangerously wounded.

"Hascem was not more fortunate in his assault by land, than Candelissa was by sea. After having been repulsed at one breach with great slaughter, he rallied his troops and led them on to another, where he fought long and desperately, till most of the braves having fallen by his side, he was obliged, with much reluctance and sorrow, to sound a retreat.

"Mustapha, not unmindful of his promise to support him, no sooner perceived him beginning to retire, than he ordered the Janissaries, whom he kept under arms, to advance. The garrison had maintained an engagement with Hascem for five hours, in the middle of the day, and in the hottest season of the year: yet, as if they had not been subject to the wants and weaknesses of humanity, they advanced beyond the breach to meet the Janissaries, and fought apparently with as much vigour and fortitude as before. By the power of superior numbers, they were compelled to fall back within the breach. But there they made the most desperate resistance; and, being reinforced by De Giou and De Quiney, with the troops which had triumphed over Candelissa, they at last repulsed the Janissaries with dreadful slaughter, after having lost more than forty knights, and two hundred of the bravest of the common men.

"Musta-

"Mustapha, enraged by this invincible obstinacy which the christians displayed in their defence, and dreading that the Spanish succours which had been already delayed much longer than he expected, might soon arrive, resolved now to employ his whole force at once, and while he himself prosecuted the siege of fort St. Michael with one half of his troops, to employ the other, under Piali, against the town. More batteries were raised. The trenches were advanced still nearer than before. Bridges of sail-yards and masts were thrown over the ditches. Mines, notwithstanding the hard and rocky soil, were sprung. Assaults were repeated without number; and the two basbas, emulous of one another, and each of them agitated with continual anxiety lest victory should declare first for his competitor, exhibited the most shining proofs of personal courage, and exhausted all the art of war then known in the world. Yet, through the determined bravery of the knights, conducted by the grand-master with consummate prudence and indefatigable vigilance, the Turks were baffled in every attempt, and repulsed with slaughter. Mustapha flattered himself once with the most sanguine hopes of success on his part, from a machine invented by his principal engineer, in the form of a huge cask bound strongly with iron hoops, and filled with gunpowder, nails, chains, bullets, and such other instruments of death. After setting fire to a train which was fastened to this machine, it was thrown by the force of an engine, upon a ravelin that was the principal defence of the fort. But the

garrison undismayed, found means, before it caught fire, to cast it out again into the midst of the assailants. In a moment afterwards it burst with dreadful fury, and filled the Turks with consternation. The knights then sallied out upon them sword in hand, and taking advantage of their confusion, killed many of them, and put the rest to flight.

"Piali had, on some occasions, still more reasons than Mustapha to entertain the hopes of victory, although the town was much stronger than the fort, and La Vallette commanded there in person. By his batteries he had demolished all the outworks of the place, and had made an immense breach in the wall. While his troops were engaged in a furious assault, that engrossed the whole attention of the besieged from morning till night, he employed a great number of pioneers in raising a cavalier or platform of earth and stones, so close by the breach, and so high as to overlook the parapet. Night, in the mean time, came on, and prevented him from carrying any further this great advantage; but he doubted not that next day he should be able to make himself master of the place.

"As soon as he had drawn off his forces, a council of the Order was convened, and most of the knights were of opinion that the town was no longer tenable; that the fortifications which still remained should be blown up, and that the garrison and inhabitants should retire into the castle of St. Angelo. But the grand-master received this proposal with horror and indignation. "This would be

be in effect," said he, "to deliver the whole island into the hands of the infidels. Fort St. Michael, which has been so gallantly defended, and which is preserved by its communication with the town, would thus be soon reduced to the necessity of surrendering. There is no room in the castle of St. Angelo for the inhabitants and troops, nor if there were room, is there water in that fort for so great a number." It was then proposed that at least the relics of the saints and the ornaments of the churches should be carried into the castle; and the knights earnestly intreated the grand-master to retire into it himself, assuring him that they would conduct the defence with the utmost vigour and vigilance. "No, my brethren," he replied, "what you propose as to the sacred things would serve only to intimidate the soldiers. We must conceal our apprehensions. It is here we must either die or conquer. And is it possible that I, at the age of seventy-one, can end my life so honourably, as in fighting, together with my friends and brethren, against the implacable enemies of our holy faith?" He then told them what he thought proper to be done, and proceeded instantly to put it into execution. Having called all the soldiers from fort St. Angelo, except a few who were necessary for managing the artillery, he employed *them* and the inhabitants all night, in throwing up intrenchments within the breach; after which he sent out some of the bravest knights, with a select body of troops, to make an attempt on the cavalier. These men stole softly along the foot of the wall till they arrived at the

place appointed; when they set up a loud shout, and attacked the guards whom Piali had left there with so much fury, that the Turks, believing the whole garrison had fallen upon them, abandoned their post, and fled precipitately to their camp.

"The cavalier was immediately fortified, a battery of cannon planted on it, and a parapet raised on the side towards the enemy. And thus the breach was rendered impracticable; the town put in greater security than before; and a work which had been devised for its destruction, converted into a bulwark for its defence.

"The grand-master had now greater confidence than ever of being able to hold out till the Spaniards should come to his relief. In consequence of the assurances given by Philip and the Sicilian viceroy, he had long before this time, entertained the hopes of their arrival; and had often earnestly solicited the viceroy to hasten his departure from Messina. The conduct of this nobleman was long exceedingly mysterious. The patience of the knights was worn out by his delays; and they, and many others, suspected that the real motive of his conduct was the dread of encountering with an admiral of so considerable reputation as Piali. But it afterwards appeared that the viceroy had acted agreeably to his instructions from the court of Spain. For although Philip was, for the reasons above mentioned, sincerely interested in the preservation of the knights, and had amused them with the most flattering promises of assistance, yet he seems from the first to have

resolved not to expose himself to danger on that account, and to avoid, if possible, a general engagement.

"A generous and grateful prince would have acted very differently towards an ally so deserving of his support; and if either generosity or gratitude had been the leading principle of Philip's conduct, it is probable he would, on this occasion, have regarded the knights as his own subjects, and have thought it no less incumbent on him to exert himself in their defence, than if they had acknowledged him as their sovereign.

"But Philip was affected by their danger only so far as it threatened the tranquillity of his own dominions. He had resolved to interpose in their behalf rather than to suffer them to be overpowered; but he appears to have been very little touched with their calamities; and to have intended to leave them to themselves, as long as there was any prospect of their being able to make resistance; by doing which he considered, that he would not only preserve his own strength entire, but might afterwards engage with the Turks, when they were exhausted by the operations of the siege.

"Philip adhered inflexibly to this plan, notwithstanding the grand-master's repeated importunities, much longer than was consistent with his own selfish views. For, without a degree of fortitude and prowess on the part of the garrison, and a degree of wisdom, vigilance, and magnanimity, on that of the grand-master, infinitely higher than there could be reason to expect, it must have been im-

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possible for such a handful of men to have withstood, for so long a time, so great a force, and such mighty efforts as were employed to reduce them. Even the death of the grand-master alone, whose person was exposed to perpetual danger, would have proved fatal to the knights, long before Philip sent orders to his viceroy to give them any effectual support; and in this case, as his own dominions or his fleet would have been immediately attacked, he would probably have had little reason to be satisfied with the timid, ungenerous counsels which he pursued.

"Whatever judgment may be formed on this head, the viceroy did not think himself at liberty to yield to the repeated applications of the grand-master, till the operations of the siege began to relax, and the Turkish forces were reduced from forty-five thousand to fifteen or sixteen thousand; of whom many were worn out with the fatigues which they had undergone, and others rendered unfit for action by a bloody flux, which for several weeks had raged amongst them.

"In this situation of affairs, when it was probable that the knights would, without assistance, have compelled the Turks to raise the siege, the viceroy let the grand-master know that he had now received such instructions from the king, as put it in his power to shew his attachment to the Order; that he was not indeed permitted to attack the Turkish fleet; but that he would immediately bring him a strong body of troops whose commanders (as he himself must return to Sicily) were to be entirely subject

subject to the grand-master's authority, till the enemy should be expelled.

"The viceroy, although still suspected of interposing unnecessary delays, at length fulfilled his promise; and on the seventh of September landed six thousand men, under Don Alvaro de Sandé and Ascanio della Corua, in that part of the island which lay at the greatest distance from the Turks; after which he immediately carried back the fleet to Sicily.

"In the mean time, intelligence being brought to Mustapha that the Spaniards were landed, and marching towards him, he was thrown into the most dreadful consternation. Sensible that his soldiers were much disheartened by their ill success, he imagined that he was about to be attacked by a superior army, consisting of the bravest and best disciplined troops in Spain. Without waiting for information of their number, he forthwith raised the siege, drew his garrison out of St. Elmo, and leaving all his heavy cannon behind him, embarked his troops with as much precipitation as if the Spaniards with superior forces had been in sight. He had scarcely got on board when a deserter arrived from the Spanish camp, and informed him, that with fifteen or sixteen thousand men, he had fled before an army that did not exceed six thousand, having no general at their head, and commanded by officers who were independent of one another. The basha was overwhelmed with shame and vexation by this intelligence, and would have immediately disembarked; but this, he knew, he durst not attempt without consulting Piali,

Hascem, and his other principal officers.

"While he was deliberating upon it, the grand-master improved to the best advantage the leisure that was afforded him. He employed all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, as well as the soldiers, in filling up the enemy's trenches, and demolishing their works; and put a garrison without delay into fort St. Elmo; in which the Turks now beheld from their ships the standard of St. John erected where that of Mahomet had lately stood.

"This demonstrated to Mustapha how much new labour awaited him in case he should return to the siege; but being enraged against himself on account of the precipitancy of his retreat, and disquieted at the thoughts of the reception which he had reason to expect from Solyman, he wished to atone for his imprudence, and to wipe off the reproach in which it had involved him, by victory or death. Piali, who from his jealousy of the basha's credit with the sultan, was not sorry for the failure of his enterprise, represented, in a council of war convened on this occasion, that as the troops were much dispirited and worn out, it would be exposing them to certain destruction, either to lead them against the enemy, or to resume the operations of the siege. But a majority of the council were of a different opinion; and it was resolved to land the forces again without delay.

"The Turkish soldiers complained bitterly of this unexpected resolution, and obeyed the orders to disembark with the greatest reluctance. Their officers were obliged

to employ threats with some, and force with others. At length the number intended was put on shore, and Mustapha set out at their head in search of the enemy.

"The grand-master had not neglected to give early notice of their march to the Spanish commanders, who had intrenched their little army on a steep hill, which the Turks would have found almost inaccessible; and it was the opinion of some of the principal officers, that they should avail themselves of the advantage of their situation, and stand on their defence. But this proposal was rejected with disdain by the bold adventurous De Sandé, and the greatest part of the Spanish officers; and the troops were led out of their encampment, to meet the enemy in the open field. This conduct, more fortunate perhaps than prudent, contributed to increase the defection of the Turkish soldiers, and to facilitate their defeat. Having been dragged against their inclination to the field of battle; and being attacked by the Spaniards with great fury, both in front and flank, they scarcely fought; but, being struck with a sudden panic, they fled with the utmost precipitation.

"Mustapha, confounded and enraged by this pusillanimous behaviour of his troops, was hurried along by the violent tide of the

fugitives. He fell twice from his horse, and would have been taken prisoner, if his officers had not rescued him. The Spaniards pursued briskly till they came to the sea-shore. There Piali had his boats ready to receive the Turks, and a number of shallops filled with musketeers drawn up to favour their escape. Without this precaution, they must all have perished; and even notwithstanding the protection which it afforded them, the number of their killed amounted to two thousand men, while the victors lost only thirteen or fourteen at most.

"Such, after four months continuance, was the conclusion of the siege of Malta, which will be for ever memorable on account of that extraordinary display of the most generous and heroic valour by which the knights, so few in number, were enabled to baffle the most vigorous efforts which could be made to subdue them by the most powerful monarch in the world. The news of their deliverance gave universal joy to the christian powers; and the name of the grand-master excited every where the highest admiration and applause. Congratulations were sent him from every quarter; and in many states public rejoicings were celebrated on account of his success."

T H E

C O N T E N T S.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

C H A P. I.

Retrospective views of American affairs in the year 1775. Motives which led to the invasion of Canada. Forts of Chambly and St. John taken. Montreal taken. General Carleton retires to Quebec. Armed vessels surrender. Arnold appears before Quebec. Is joined by General Montgomery. The city summoned. Siege. Attempt to take Quebec by escalade. Montgomery killed. Arnold wounded. Rebels retire from before the walls.

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C H A P. II.

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